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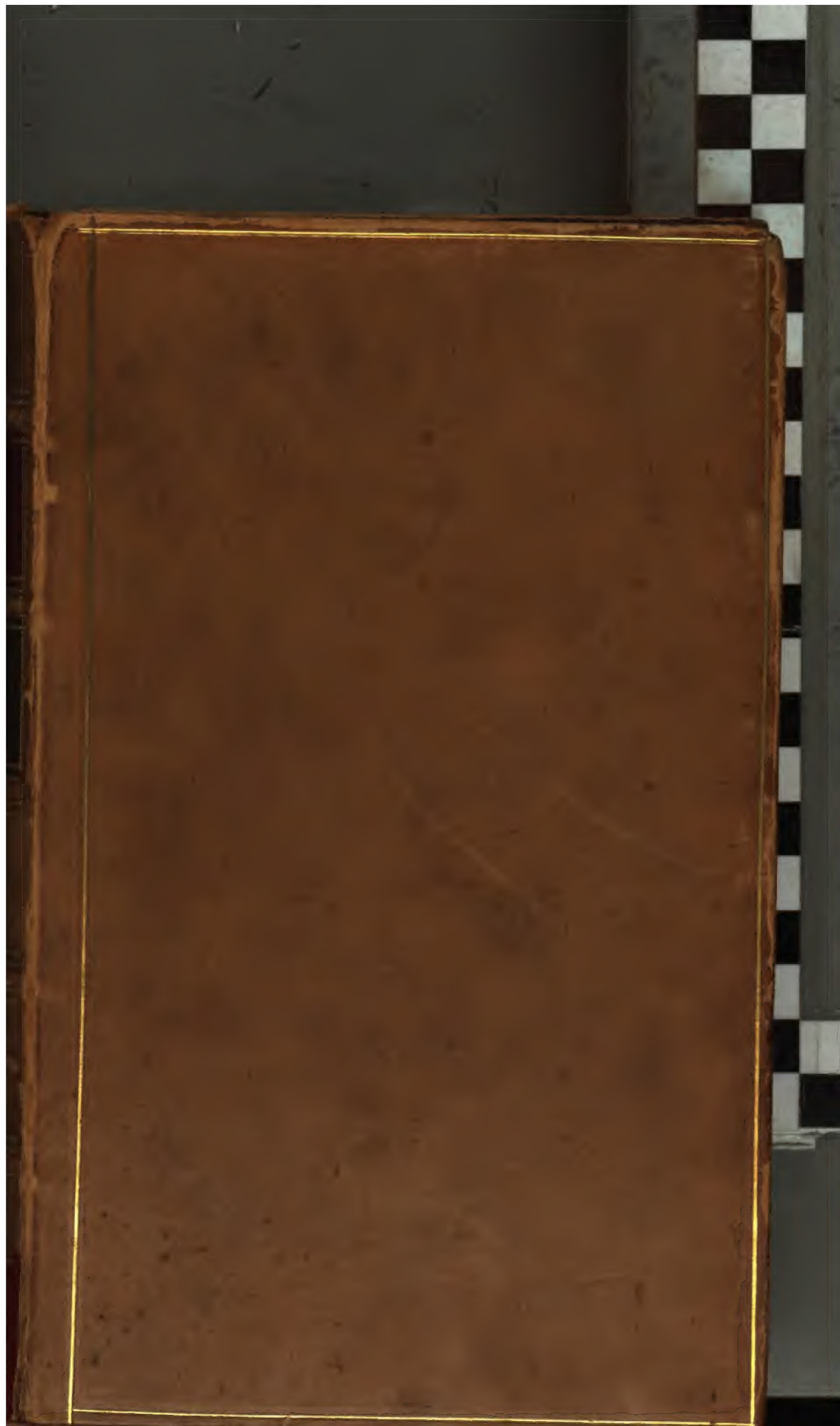
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**HISTORY OF EUROPE**  
**FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE**  
**FRENCH REVOLUTION**

**IN M.DCC.LXXXIX.**

**TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS**

**IN M.DCCC.XV.**

**BY ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.E.**

**ADVOCATE.**

**VOLUME THE SECOND.**

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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

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### CHAPTER IX.

#### STATE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS, AND CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE WAR.

General State of opinion in Europe on the French Revolution—Physical Situation and Statistics of Great Britain—Its Population, Extent, and Resources—Character of the Anglo-Saxon Race, and of the native Irish—Character of Mr Pitt, Mr Fox, and Mr Burke—Division of the two latter on the French Revolution—General view of Austria—Character of Maria Theresa—Its Military Establishments—Prussia and its Army—Russia—Spain and Portugal—Italy—Holland—Switzerland—General temper of the Governments at the opening of the French Revolution—Causes which led to the War—Convention of Pilnitz, and of Mantua—Declamations of the Girondists in support of a War—Death of Leopold, Emperor of Austria, and the King of Sweden—Commencement of the War—Causes which led to the rupture with Great Britain—Decrees of 19th November and 15th December 1792—Forcible opening of the Scheldt by the French—Attempts to Revolutionize England—Declaration of War, and British Manifesto of 29th October 1793.—P. 1-138.

### CHAPTER X.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

Early Disasters of the French in Flanders—Invasion of the Duke of Brunswick—His Character—Selfish views of all the Allied Powers in entering on the War—Invasion of France—Great Danger of Dumourier's Army—Description of the position of St Meneshould—Cannonade of Valmy and Retreat of Brunswick—Its secret motives and disastrous Effects—Operations of Custine on the Upper Rhine—Siege and Bombardment of Lille—Fall of Mayence—Invasion of Flanders by Dumourier—Battle of Jemappe—Retreat of the Allies—Fall of Namur, Brussels, and Antwerp—Operations in Savoy and the Pays de Vaud—Cruel oppression exercised in Flanders—Conquest of Savoy and Nice—Which are revolutionized.—P. 139-210.

## CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE DEATH OF THE KING TO THE  
FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

State of Public Feeling in Paris after the Execution of the King—Retirement of Roland from the Girondist Ministry—Great effect of the commencement of the war—Vast increase in the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal—General distress in Paris, and public clamour for a maximum on prices—Effort of Dumourier to restore the Monarchy—His failure and flight—Appointment of the Committee of Public Salvation—Trial and Acquittal of Marat—Continued contests of the Girondists and Jacobins—Insurrection of 31st May—General Attack on the Convention—The Girondists are given up to the populace—Their trial, execution, and heroic conduct on the scaffold—Death of Madame Roland—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Her trial and heroic death.—P. 211-304.

## CHAPTER XII.

## WAR IN LA VENDEE.

Local situation and aspect of La Vendée—Manners and Character of the Inhabitants prior to the Revolution—Causes which led to the Insurrection—Character of Larochejaquelein, Bonchamps, Lescure, Charette, and the other Chiefs—Their mode of fighting, and astonishing success—Repeated victories of the Peasants, and their Capture of Saumur—Failure at Nantes, and Death of Cathelineau—General Invasion of the Bocage—Desperate Actions sustained by the Vendéans, and their final triumph—A second invasion leads to their defeat at Cholet—Passage of the Loire by the whole population—Repeated and surprising Successes in Brittany—Their Failure at Granville—Disastrous Retreat to the Loire—They are finally routed at Mans and Savenay—Cruel Executions which followed the Success of the Republicans—Anecdotes of Individual Heroism and Escapes.—P. 305-404.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

State of Opinion in Great Britain on the War—Arguments in the Country and in Parliament on the subject—Mr Grey's motion for Parliamentary Reform—Arguments for and against it—Traitorous Correspondence Act, and other coercive measures of the British Government—Preparations for War, and Treaties of Alliance on the part of the Coalesced Powers—Divisions between the Prussians and Austrians—Military efforts of France—Battle of Nerwinde, and loss of Flanders by their Armies—Siege and Recapture of Mayence by the Imperialists—Congress at Antwerp regarding the prosecution of the War, and unhappy plans it adopted—Battle at Famars—Siege

—Horror generally excited by these atrocious Massacres—Fear excited in the Leaders of the Jacobins for their own Safety—Coalition of Parties against Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation—Debates in the Assembly—Arrest of Robespierre and his Party—Their deliverance—Struggle at the Hotel de Ville—Their final seizure and execution—General reflections on the progress of the Revolution—the character of the Jacobins—And the Moral Laws of nature displayed in these events.—670-752.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1794.

Comparative situation of France and England at the opening of this year—Debates on the continuance of the war in Parliament—Naval operations—Lord Howe's Victory on 1st June—Vast preparations of France for the Campaign—Success, in the outset, of the Allies—Bloody but Indecisive Actions along the whole Line—Separation of the Austrians and English, and secret Resolution of the former to abandon Flanders—Battle of Fleurus—Retreat of the English towards Holland; of the Imperialists to the Rhine—Savage orders of the Convention—Campaign in the Maritime Alps, and in the Pyrenees—Retreat of the English into Holland—Advance of the Republicans to Amsterdam in the depth of Winter—Allies driven over the Rhine into Germany—Renewal of the War in La Vendée, and rise of the Chouan Corps.—P. 753-867.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## WAR IN POLAND.

Situation of the Country of Poland—Early Character of its Inhabitants—Causes which led to their singular prejudices and institutions—Ruinous democratic Privileges of the Plebeian Noblesse—Sketch of their Constitution—Its History and continual Deterioration—John Sobieski—His remarkable Prophecy on the future fate of his country—Increasing weakness of the State—Insurrection under Kosciuszko—Its early success, and ultimate overthrow—Storming of Warsaw by Suwarrow, and final Partition of Poland—Causes which led to this catastrophe—Prejudicial effect of the ambitious views of the Allies on Poland upon the Coalition against France.—P. 868-922.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1795.

Peace between France and Prussia—Fresh Treaties between England and Austria and Russia—Arguments used in Parliament and elsewhere for and against the Continuance of the War—Operations in the Maritime Alps—



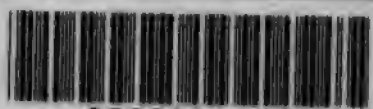
Decisive battle of Loano—Campaign in the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, which terminates in the submission of Spain, and a Treaty with France—Pacification of La Vendée—Expedition to Quiberon Bay—It lands, and terminates in Disaster—Massacre of the Prisoners there by the Republicans—Campaign on the Rhine—Fall of Luxembourg—Able operations of Clairfait at the Lines of Mayence—Declining situation of the Republican Affairs in every quarter, and internal Exhaustion of the Country.—P. 923-971.

## CHAPTER XIX.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE TO THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY.

General reaction against the Reign of Terror after the fall of Robespierre—Rise of the Thermidorians and the Jeunesse Dorée—Their Contests with the Revolutionists—Closing of the Hall of the Jacobins—Manners and ideas at Paris during that period—Gradual abolition of the Revolutionary Measures—Impeachment of the remaining Jacobin Leaders—Revolt in Paris in consequence—Convention Besieged—The Insurgents are at length defeated—Disarming of the Faubourgs—Abolition of the Revolutionary Tribunal—Reaction in the South of France—Liberation of the Duchess d'Angouleme—Formation of a Constitution—Its principal Features—The Project of re-appointing two-thirds of the Convention occasions great Discontent in Paris—Rapid progress of Royalist Principles—Agitation in the Capital—Revolt of the Sections—At first nearly successful, but is at length defeated by Napoleon—Formation of the Council of the Ancients and the Five Hundred—Causes of the Disasters of the Revolution.—P. 972-1041.





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**CHAP. IX.** and Government—Russia—The Russian Army and Cossacks—Character of the Russian Soldiers—The Civil Institutions and Government, and National Spirit of Russia—Poland, its Divisions and Partitions—Heroic Military Character of the Poles—Sweden—Ottoman Dominions—Constant Decline of the Population—Italy—Piedmont—Holland—Spain—Its Military Force—Character of the Spanish Army—Switzerland—State of Society over Europe at this epoch—Difference between the South and the North—General passion for Innovation—State of France when hostilities commenced—Menacing Language of the French to other States—State of Europe at the Commencement of the French Revolution—Diplomacy of Prussia after the death of Frederick the Great—Views of Austria on Turkey—Efforts of Mr Pitt to arrest the ruin of Turkey—Causes of this general pacification—Causes which brought on the Revolutionary War—Violent proceedings of the National Assembly against the German Vassals of the French Crown—Efforts of the King and Queen of France to effect their deliverance—Treaty of Mantua, May 1791—Plans of the Royal Family of France for their escape—Treaty of Pilnitz, Aug. 27, 1791—Which led to nothing—Their Warlike preparations are all abandoned by the Allies—More Vigorous Views of Catharine of Russia and Gustavus of Sweden—Measures of the Emigrant Noblesse—Dispute about the indemnities to the German Princes and Prelates—It was abandoned by the Allies—The French Revolutionary party resolve on War—Declamations of the Girondists in favour of War—Debate on the Foreign Powers and the Emigrants—Declamations of the Girondists to force on a War—Preparations for War—The Emperor wishes to avoid War—Opposed by Robespierre—Brisot's Speech, Dec. 29, 1791; and again on 17th Jan. 1792—Extraordinary efforts of Brisot and the Girondists to force on a War—Mutual recriminations which lead to War—Motives which led all parties to concur in this step—The King yields against his own judgment—He acted contrary to his convictions in doing so—Universal joy which it diffused in France—Real Views of the Allies at this period, 12th May 1792—Accession of the Emperor Francis to the throne of Austria—Great Britain still strictly neutral till the 10th August made her prepare for War—French system of propaganda—French attack on Italy—French Declaration of War against all Nations, Nov. 19—Decree of the Convention, Dec. 15; and violent way in which it was acted on—Alarm excited in Great Britain by these proceedings—Threatened opening of the Scheldt—Preparations for War in England—Answer of the French Envoy—Real Views of Great Britain at this period—War declared by France, Feb. 3, 1793—Reflections on this event—Limits of the principle of Non-interference—Grounds of the War stated in the British Declaration, Oct. 29, 1793.

Great excitement in Europe in consequence of the French Revolution.

“A REVOLUTION in France,” says Napoleon, “is always, sooner or later, followed by a Revolution in Europe.” Placed in the centre of modern civilization, this great country has, in every age, communicated the impulse of its own changes to the adjoining states. It was not to be expected that so great



an event as the French Revolution, rousing as it did the passions of one, and exciting the apprehensions of another portion of mankind, all the world over, should long remain an object of passive observation to the adjoining states. It addressed itself to the hopes and prejudices of the great body of the people in every country, and, exciting their ill-smothered indignation against their superiors, superadded to the sense of real injuries the more powerful stimulus of revolutionary ambition. A ferment, accordingly, immediately began to spread through the neighbouring kingdoms; extravagant hopes were formed; chimerical anticipations indulged; and the labouring classes, inflated by the rapid elevation of their brethren in France, deemed the time approaching when the distinctions of society were to cease, and the miseries of poverty to expire, amidst the universal dominion of the people. The rise of this terrible spirit, destined to convulse the globe, excited the utmost alarm in all the European monarchies. From it sprang the bloody wars of the French Revolution, undertaken to crush the evil, but which at first tended only to extend its devastation by engrafting on the energy of democratic ambition the power of military conquest. With them began a new series of strifes; they terminated the contests of kings among each other, and commenced that of one social principle against another. Wars, thenceforward, became the result of conflicting opinions rather than contending interests, and the jealousies of sovereigns amongst each other were forgotten in the vehement animosities of their subjects. They assumed a less interested, but more terrible character; the passions which were roused brought whole nations into the field, and the strife which ensued

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

CHAP. involved every thing which was most dear to all

IX.

classes of society.

1792.

If we consider the geographical extent and physical resources of Great Britain, nothing in the whole annals of mankind appears more extraordinary than the vast and durable impression it has made in human affairs. Including Ireland, the British islands comprise only 11,390 square geographical leagues, or 91,000 geographical or 122,000 square English miles. This extent is little more than half of the area of France, not more than a third of that of Austria, and scarce a thirteenth of that of Russia in Europe alone.\* Great part of this diminutive territory is sterile and unproductive. In Scotland alone, the mountain wastes extend over fourteen millions of acres, being nearly four-fifths of that whole country. The wastes in Great Britain and Ireland cover no less than 30,871,000 acres, being about three-sevenths of the entire territory, which contains 86,000,000 acres. Of the part which is under cultivation, not 20,000,000 acres in both islands are under the plough, the meadows and pasturage which cover so vast an extent of England being above 27,000,000. Thus the arable land which furnishes the staple of subsistence to the population of the British Islands, which is now just 27,000,000 souls, is under 20,000,000 acres, or three-fourths of an acre to each. This is besides what is absorbed in maintaining horses and cattle ;

<sup>1</sup> Malte Brun, iv. 257. Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 177.

	Sq. Geog. Miles.
* Great Britain and Ireland contain . . . . .	91,000
France, . . . . .	126,000
Austrian Empire, . . . . .	271,208
Russia in Europe, . . . . .	1,200,000

—See MALTE BRUN, vi. 638 ; v. 726 ; iii. 197, 198 ; and iv. 257.

an astonishing fact when the large proportion of the produce of arable land which is consumed in brewing and distillation is taken into consideration.\*

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792,

The aspect of nature is very various in the different parts of the British islands. In the south of England, and in the level parts of Ireland, the earth is fertile, the climate temperate. Vegetation, unaided, springs up in rich luxuriance, and huge trees, the sure mark of a prolific soil, adorn and give variety to the landscape. A range of mountains, almost uninterrupted by plains, runs along the whole western parts of Great Britain, and forms successively the western and southern Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Cumberland and Wales, and the high grounds of Devonshire. Another ridge of inferior height, and often rather a series of elevated plateaus than a range of hills, runs parallel to the former, and, with few interruptions, intersects from north to south the whole of Great Britain. It forms successively the green hills and grassy dells of southern Scotland, the dark and shapeless swells of Stanmore and Ingleborough, and the romantic cliffs of Derbyshire. But this ridge does not extend to the south of the Thames; its vast moors and dark heaths are confined to the northern parts of the island; to the south of that river the hills are gentle, fertility general, and the wide expanse of arable

\* The following Table exhibits the several proportions of arable land, meadow, and waste, in the United Kingdom at this time, (1843.)

	Arable and Garden.	Pasture and Meadow.	Waste Cultivable.	Waste Un- improvable.	Total.
England, acres, ...	19,252,900	15,379,300	3,434,000	3,256,400	41,322,400
Wales, ... ..	890,570	2,226,430	530,000	1,105,000	4,752,000
Scotland, ... ..	2,493,950	2,771,050	5,950,000	8,523,930	19,738,930
Ireland, ... ..	5,399,040	6,736,240	4,900,000	2,416,684	19,441,944
Lesser Islands, ...	109,630	274,000	166,000	569,469	1,119,099
	28,135,990	27,386,920	14,980,000	15,871,463	86,374,373

—PORTER'S *Prog. of Nation*, i. p. 177.

CHAP. land spreads out into level plains, rivaling those of  
IX. Lombardy and Flanders in extent and fertility.

1792. The chief rivers of Great Britain, accordingly,  
Rivers of from this inclination of the ground, flow from the  
Great high grounds in the centre of the island to the  
Britain. sea on either side. Of these the principal are the  
Thames, which, after stealing past the spires and  
domes of Oxford, flows through green meadows to  
that mighty capital, the modern Babylon, where all  
the commerce of the world has found its emporium :  
the Severn, which winds through beauteous vales  
and flowering orchards, to the great mercantile outlet  
of Bristol ; the Mersey, which beholds at its estuary  
the whole commerce of England and America ac-  
cumulated in a single harbour ; the Tyne and the  
Humber, which, meandering to the eastward through  
the rich plains of Yorkshire and Durham, float in  
their bosoms, where they join the sea, the vast  
coasting navy of England. Nor are the rivers of  
Scotland less noted by the efforts of industry and  
the magic of song ; the Clyde, after descending  
over cataracts inferior only to that of Schaffhausen  
in sublimity, flows through luxuriant beauty to the  
vast commercial city of Glasgow, and issues to the  
sea beneath the noble mountains of Arran ; the  
Forth, separating, as it were, the island into two  
parts, opens into the beautiful estuary that bears its  
name, and gives life to the matchless landscape of  
Edinburgh ; the Tay, long fed by mountain tor-  
rents, and winding through Highland glens, at  
length issues into the plains by the magnificent  
gorge of Dunkeld, and washes successively the rich  
fields of Perthshire, and the rising harbour of  
Dundee ; the Dee, flowing in a sequestered valley,  
between lofty mountains, meanders far amidst pine

forest till it joins the sea beside the crowded harbour and indefatigable industry of Aberdeen; and the Tweed, albeit never losing its pastoral character, nor mingling with the busy scenes of men, has yet acquired deathless renown; for it first inspired the genius, and now flows past the grave of Scott.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

The soil and climate of Scotland, even where it is susceptible of cultivation, is incomparably less favoured by nature than that of the southern parts of the island. The level portions of the country are few and narrow, generally spreading little more than a few miles on either side of the numerous streams and rivers which descend from its hills and elevated moors. The intermediate districts, covered with heath or rushes, variously elevated from three to fifteen hundred feet above the sea, are in great part incapable of profitable cultivation, and even after the efforts of husbandry have been applied to them, constant industry and no small expenditure of capital are required to prevent them from being overrun with their original vegetation, and becoming again the abode of the moorfowl and the plover. In the Highlands, which cover four-fifths of the region beyond the Forth, nature has stamped a character upon the country which must remain for ever the same. All the efforts of man appear as nothing amidst the gloomy immensity of the mountains, or the dark shades of the forest; and the eloquent description by Gibbon of Caledonia in the days of the Romans, is there still applicable, at least to inanimate objects—"The masters of the fairest and the most wealthy portion of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills, assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians."

General  
aspect of  
Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon,  
ch. i. vol. i.  
p. 6.

CHAP. IX. Ireland, if the natural capabilities of the country are alone considered, appears to have been more bountifully dealt with by nature than any part of equal extent in Great Britain. Without the vast mountain ranges of Scotland, without the sharp gravelly downs which it is so difficult to bring to fertility in England, it has a soil generally level and rich, and a temperature equally removed from the scorching rays of tropical, or the frosty blasts of northern climates. Such is the mildness of the air in the southern parts of the island, where it projects into the Atlantic waves, that snow seldom lies more than a single day; and the rocks of Killarney and Bantry Bay are covered with a luxuriant fringe of arbutus, on which its brilliant scarlet berry is often to be seen; a proof of the softness of winter which is not again to be met with till the traveller, after traversing the Pontine marshes, reaches the foot of the rocks of Terracina. Owing to the maritime character of the climate, the warmth of summer does not keep pace with the mildness of winter, and frequent rains attest the agency of the clouds which have become charged with humidity in their passage over the Atlantic; but this humidity is itself a prolific source of riches; it promotes a rapid and almost ceaseless vegetation, which appears in the vast produce of the pastures, and the extraordinary rapidity with which trees and evergreens spring up in every sheltered situation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal observation.

It is perhaps the most extraordinary proof that ever occurred of the superior influence of mental qualities over physical circumstances, in the production of human felicity, that this fertile and beautiful island has ever been incomparably the worst conditioned part of the British dominions; and that Scotland, which has been blessed rather

Difference between the agricultural produce of Great Britain and Ireland.

than cursed with a rigorous climate and sterile soil, is by universal consent admitted to be the best. From the investigations made by the parliamentary committee in the Lords in 1836 and 1837, it distinctly appeared that the average produce of an acre in Ireland is not a fourth of what it is in England, although the amount of labour bestowed upon it is twice as great; in other words, an equal amount of agricultural labour produces *eight times* as much subsistence in England as in Ireland. And while the average produce of an acre in all the counties of England is two quarters and five bushels of wheat an acre,\* in Scotland it is, of the same grain, somewhat above three quarters; and the value of the agricultural produce raised from the 5,500,000 acres of arable and grass land of the latter country, is L.20,435,000 annually. Thus, on a much inferior soil, and under the influence of a much ruder climate, the produce of agricultural labour is fully *ten times* greater in Scotland than in Ireland—a fact which speaks volumes as to the incalculable influence of national character and industrious habits on the permanent prosperity of nations.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Lords' Report, 1836 and 1837. M'Culloch's Stat. of England, i. 476. Gazetteer of Scotland, i. Introduction, p. 22.

The population of the British islands, which, by the late census in 1841 was above 27,000,000, had certainly not attained, in 1793 when the contest commenced, to much more than half that number. By the census of 1801, which was the first regular one that ever was taken, the population of Great Britain was 10,942,000 souls; and eight years before, it certainly could not have exceeded 9,800,000. If to this is added 4,000,000 for the population of Ireland at the same period, the result will be some-

Population of the British Isles.

\* Of oats, the average is 4 quarters 3½ bushels; of barley, 4 quarters ¼ bushel.—M'CULLOCH'S *British Empire*, i. 476.

CHAP. IX. what above fourteen millions and a half for the whole inhabitants of the British islands, when the war broke out.\* This limited population, and the slow progress which it had made during the preceding century, is very remarkable, whether we consider the wonderful achievements of the country with those inconsiderable numbers, the much greater population of the country to which it was opposed, or the prodigious start which the numbers of the people had made during, and subsequent to, the the strife. The population of the British isles had not advanced more than seventy per cent in the preceding century, whereas, in the half century that next elapsed it doubled;† and this great increase has taken place chiefly during a contest for life or death with an enemy, which, beginning with twenty-

\* The census of 1841, which combines the general results of all those hitherto made by authority of government, exhibits the following picture of the progress of the population of the empire from the commencement of the present century :—

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.
Great Britain, viz.,					
England,	8,382,434	9,538,927	11,281,437	13,091,005	14,998,138
Wales,	547,346	611,788	717,439	806,182	911,603
Scotland,	1,599,068	1,905,688	2,095,456	2,365,114	2,620,184
Great Britain,	10,472,048	11,906,303	14,072,231	16,262,301	18,531,911
Ireland,	5,308,436	5,987,836	6,801,827	7,767,401	8,175,124
Lesser Islands,			88,488	103,600	124,010
Army, Navy, &c.,	470,586	640,300	319,300	277,017	188,453
	16,338,102	18,534,659	21,362,966	24,410,429	27,019,553

\* Night travellers.

—Census, 1841, p. 7, 8.

† The progress of population in England and Wales during the preceding century had been very different.

1700.....	5,134,516.	1750.....	6,039,684.
1710.....	5,066,337.	1760.....	6,479,730.
1720.....	5,345,351.	1770.....	7,227,586
1730.....	5,687,993.	1780.....	7,814,827.
1740.....	5,829,705.	1790.....	8,540,738.
		1800.....	9,187,176.

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 14.



five millions under its rule, at one period came to have forty-two, besides as many more arrayed among its allied or tributary states. Nothing can evince more clearly the desperate nature of the contest, or the prodigious influence of the energy it developed upon the future growth and destinies of mankind.

The contrast afforded by the present situation of of the southern and western parts of Ireland (for the north is peopled by the British race, and nearly the same as Great Britain) affords decisive evidence that it is in the character of the inhabitants that we are to look for the main cause of the greatness of the British empire. Philosophers may have some difficulty in explaining how it happens; but the slightest acquaintance with history must be sufficient to demonstrate, that there is an essential difference in the intellectual character and ruling propensities of the various races of mankind; and that to the indelible influence of this cause, more even than to the effect of climate, situation, or institutions, the extraordinary diversities in the history, and ultimate fate of nations, are to be ascribed. While some are industrious, energetic, and persevering, others, under precisely similar physical circumstances, are impassioned, volatile, and capricious. While some have an elasticity which causes them to rise superior to the greatest calamities, and often extract good out of the extremity of evil, others are distinguished by a heedlessness which nothing can overcome, and an insensibility to the future which renders valueless in their hands the greatest present advantages. Institutions which philosophers contemporary with the French revolution generally represented as the real moulders of human character, it is now seen, are in reality more frequently moulded

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Great in-  
fluence of  
national  
character.

CHAP. by it. Forms of government are rather the result  
 IX. of national temperament, long and imperceptibly  
 1792. acting on the administration of public affairs, than  
 the means of producing any durable alteration in  
 the disposition of the inhabitants subjected to their  
 influence; and no calamities have been found to be  
 so overwhelming as those arising from the forcible  
 transference, to the people of one race, of the insti-  
 tutions of another. The example of Poland, as  
 contrasted with the neighbouring empires of Austria,  
 Russia, and Prussia; of Great Britain, as opposed  
 to the south and west of Ireland; of the South  
 American Republics, as distinguished from the Fede-  
 ral Union of the north of the same continent; of  
 the enthusiasm of the French Revolution, termi-  
 nating in a monarchy as despotic as that of Louis  
 XIV.; and of Spain, wellnigh blotted from the book  
 of nations by the iniquitous forcing upon it of libe-  
 ral institutions, have not been written in vain in the  
 annals of history.

Character of the Anglo-Saxons. The character of the Anglo-Saxons, which has  
 now become that of nearly the whole of Great  
 Britain, and of the province of Ulster, where their  
 race has long been predominant, is very peculiar,  
 and differs in many essential particulars from any  
 which has yet appeared among mankind. It is  
 not what belongs to any one race, or it would never  
 have done such great things. Formed by the suc-  
 cessive inroads of many different hordes of men, it  
 early acquired in the school of adversity a character  
 almost exclusively its own. Upon the original stock  
 of the Celts or Gaels, the descendants of whom, in  
 nearly unmixed purity, are still to be seen among  
 the mountains of Scotland, Cumberland, and Wales,  
 there has been successively engrafted the blood of

the brave and persevering Romans, of the simple and honest Saxons, of the ruthless and rapacious Danes, and of the chivalrous and haughty Normans. That the Anglo-Saxons were the most numerous and powerful of those different races of conquerors need be told to none who reflect on the language which the English speak, the name which they bear, the light hair and blue eyes by which they are in general distinguished. But it is not the German blood alone which runs in the British veins—it is not German simplicity alone which appears amongst its inhabitants: other nations have bequeathed to them their peculiarities and dispositions; and it is the blending of the whole which has produced the mingled virtues and vices of the British character.

The grand peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon race are their ENERGY and PERSEVERANCE. The history of nations, equally with the experience of common life around us, must convince every one, that although these qualities, if turned into a wrong direction, may often become the source of the greatest calamities, yet they are an essential element both in national and individual success; and that, if kept in the right channel, they are the only sure foundation for public or private elevation. The Germans are as persevering, the Normans as ardent: it is the union of ardour with perseverance, of energy with industry, of fixity of purpose with effort in pursuit, which characterises England, and is the cause of its long-continued greatness. And these qualities appear in the clearest manner both in its past history and present situation. In other states, great and heroic, but generally transient, efforts in defence of freedom have been made; but in England the people have never ceased to contend for that blessing, since the days of Edward the Con-

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Energy  
and perse-  
verance of  
the Anglo-  
Saxons.

CHAP. fessor—a period now of a thousand years. In other

IX.

1792.

free communities, the aristocracy have uniformly in the end yielded to the pressure of internal ambition, or the force of external power; but in England, though often sorely straitened, and at times to all appearance entirely overthrown, the nobles have ever in the end reasserted their pre-eminence, and acquired the lead in the state. In other countries, wealth has for a season, generally fleeting, attended the victories of power or the combinations of wisdom; but in England the efforts of the nation to acquire opulence, though often misdirected and calamitous, have been so incessant, that they have now acquired a colossal amount of riches unknown in any former age of the world.\* In other countries,

\* The following Table exhibits a picture of the British Empire at this period (1843 :)—

GREAT BRITAIN, viz :—		Population.	Extent in English sq. miles.
England,	.	14,995,138	50,387
Wales,	.	910,603	7,425
Scotland,	.	2,620,184	32,167
Travelling,	.	5,016	
Total Great Britain,		18,531,941	89,979
Ireland,	.	8,175,124	32,512
Lesser Isles,	.	114,040	332
Dependencies in Europe,	.	158,729	124
Do. Asia, India,	.	83,300,000	630,000
Do. Ceylon and Hong Kong,	.	1,242,000	24,664
Do. Africa,	.	288,613	200,723
Do. North America,	.	1,530,400	754,577
Do. South America,	.	100,300	52,400
Do. West Indies,	.	790,800	77,552
Do. Australasia,	.	197,912	474,000
Total British Empire,		114,620,312	2,336,863
Protected States in Europe, (Ionian Islands,)	.	221,057	1,041
Do. India,	.	40,000,000	550,000
Total British Empire and dependencies,		154,841,369	2,887,904

*Census 1841; and Malte Brun, iv. 254, 257.*

The Roman Empire at the period of its greatest elevation contained

external success has been various, and successive ebbs and flows in the national progress have attested the mutability of the smiles of fortune ; but in England alone in modern, as in Rome in ancient times, this general instability in human affairs seems to have been mastered by some higher power ; and though calamities, numerous and dreadful, have been sustained, yet they have all been speedily repaired, until the empire has encircled the globe in its arms, and attained a magnitude unknown either to the legions of Cæsar or the phalanx of Alexander.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

But this energy and perseverance are valuable national qualities only when properly directed ; they are nearly allied to corresponding vices, and may, if turned to selfish or unworthy purposes, become the source of unbounded corruption and crushing calamities. The English will do nothing by halves ; if they become corrupt, they will be corrupt indeed. A bad Englishman may not be so cruel, but he is in other respects a more profligate and hardened villain than the wicked of any other European state. The same fixity of purpose and ardour in pursuit which, rightly directed, leads to greatness and renown, if turned to selfish or degrading objects, must end in overwhelming corruption. The inhabitants of Great Britain are grave : and it is in grave nations, as individuals, that intensity and durability of passion are to be found. It is shallow streams only that sparkle and ripple in their course ; the greater the force of the current in the deep one, the more smooth is its surface. Already the national

Their corresponding vices.

120,000,000 of inhabitants ; that of Alexander the Great about 80,000,000. The former embraced 1,600,000 square miles, for the most part fertile ; the latter about half the extent.—*Gibbon*, chapter i. vol. i. p. 37 and 57.

CHAP. IX. 1792. temperament has given evident marks of a tendency to set in in the wrong direction, and woe to the nation when that becomes general! An insatiable thirst for excitement and pleasure in some classes, an unbounded desire for wealth or distinction in others, have become as it were national characteristics, and scruples in the means by which these objects are to be gained are fast melting away before the increasing ardour in the pursuit. The prodigious extent to which the passions for intoxication and sexual licentiousness are carried in all our great towns, may prove to what lengths the temperament of the Anglo-Saxons will carry them when directed to sensual gratification; and, although the objects of physical desire change in the progress of opulence, the desire itself is rather increased than diminished. There will be no "*dolce fare niente*" in Great Britain when corruption becomes general: they will do enough, but it will be little more than evil.

Character of the Irish. Perhaps no two nations ever exhibited a more striking contrast in national qualities than the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of the genuine Hibernian race in the south and west of the Emerald Isle. Unlike their countrymen in Ulster, who are laborious, active, and steady as their progenitors of the Norman or Anglo-Saxon blood, their character is the very reverse of that of the British, and much more closely resembles that of the French, though with some important distinctions from theirs also. Brave, both individually and collectively; kind, charitable, light-hearted, and grateful, they possess many virtues which, in private life, must command esteem or win affection. But they appear to be almost entirely destitute of those more commanding qualities which are necessary to success in the

world, and which, for good or for evil, stamp a great destiny on nations. Ever vehement, often impassioned, they yet want the regulated ardour which sustains great undertakings; indolent and excitable, they seek gratification rather in taking vengeance on their enemies than improving themselves. They are too short-sighted to see what is necessary to durable success—too volatile and inconsiderate to make the sacrifices necessary to attain it. Ever since their conquest early in the twelfth century by Henry II., they have never ceased to nourish a feeling of hatred towards the Saxons, which has frequently burst forth in frightful acts of vengeance; but they have never seen that it was by adopting the arts, and imitating the industry of the stranger, that they alone could be enabled to contend with him. Though possessing double the population, and quadruple the physical resources, of the northern neighbours of England, they were conquered with ease by eleven hundred English men-at-arms and two thousand archers, who followed the Plantagenet standard; while eighty thousand English soldiers have been repeatedly hurled back from the comparatively desolate and ill-peopled realm of Scotland.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

They have proved themselves as incapable of rivaling the British in peace as they were of resisting them in war. They have neither imitated their husbandry, nor adopted their manufactures; their noble natural harbours are desolate, their magnificent fisheries untouched, their rich mineral fields unexplored. Nay, so far has their animosity gone, that like the American Indians, they repel or shun the approach of civilization. If an English manufacturer, bringing bread to thousands, settles in their country, they burn down his factory; if a Scotch farmer appears, capable of quadrupling the

Their want  
of pacific  
industry  
and enter-  
prise.

CHAP. produce of their soil, they shoot him through the  
IX. head. To maintain an idle and barbarous inde-  
1792. pendence is their idea of freedom; to repel the first  
advances of industry their principle of patriotism.  
They have gained their object. Capital shuns their  
fertile and peopled shores; and the overflowing  
wealth of England seeks rather the risks of South  
American insolvency, or North American repudia-  
tion, than the certainty of Irish violence. Equal,  
perhaps superior, to the English in genius, they  
have never directed it to any useful purpose; stead-  
iness in pursuit, a practical turn, have been their  
perpetual bane; constantly complaining of evils, they  
have never suggested any practical remedy for them;  
ever exclaiming against misgovernment, they have  
never given the remotest indication of a capacity to  
govern themselves. With the exception of numerous  
brave recruits which they have ever furnished for  
our armies, they have scarce at any time contributed  
any thing to the general support of the empire;  
though treated with extraordinary, perhaps un-  
merited, indulgence in taxation,\* their national  
resources are scarcely drawn forth; and the most  
fertile part of the British dominions is disgraced  
by two millions of paupers, in a land which might  
with ease maintain three times its present number  
of inhabitants.†

The second great circumstance which has contri-  
buted to the steady progress and present greatness

\* The Irish never paid either the income tax, nor any assessed or di-  
rect taxes, and do not do so at this hour; and the excise and the cus-  
tom-house duties were, till very lately, and in some articles still, are  
materially lower than in the neighbouring island of Great Britain.

† It is hardly necessary to remark that these observations apply to  
the Irish race *as a whole*, and in that respect only. The author is well  
aware that many men of great talents, as well as the most estimable  
character, are to be found among them. But that the description given  
regarding them in general, is not overcharged, appears from the follow-



of the British empire, is the insular situation of Great Britain, and its happy position in the European seas. Though the territorial extent of the British islands is so inconsiderable, yet that of its sea-coast is comparatively very great; and two islands which embrace only 122,000 square English miles in their surface, are encircled by above 3000 miles of sea-coast. The finest natural harbours in this ample circuit lie on the west coasts. Milford haven in South Wales, and Lamlash bay in the island of Arran, in Scotland, are both magnificent natural havens, either of which is capable of containing the whole British navy. By far the finest harbours, however, which nature has given to the British islands, are to be found in the western coast of Ireland, where they lie ready, as it were, to receive the whole trade of the new world in their capacious bosoms; but the indolence and want of perseverance of the inhabitants of those highly favoured regions have rendered them, hitherto at least, of no service to the community; and the vast trade of America passes on to the Mersey, where,

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Happy  
situation of  
Great Bri-  
tain for  
commerce.

ing account of his countrymen, given by the able Catholic Bishop Dr Doyle:—"What," says he, addressing his flock, "are the sources of your evils? A disregard of yourselves, springing out of your own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry in improving your own condition. These are your vices, the fruits of long-continued and grinding oppression, the almost hereditary vices of the Irish people. Your situation never can or will improve until unceasing industry succeed to idleness, until obedience to the laws and self-respect become the characteristic of the Irish people. Till then you may complain of oppression, but it will not cease. You may rail at the law; but it will persecute you. No power on earth can at once remedy your evils. The Government and Legislature are endeavouring to heal them, but time is necessary for the accomplishment of so great a work. More depends on you than on acts of Parliament. All the laws that ever were enacted would not make an idle or a violent people rich or happy."—BISHOP DOYLE'S *Pastoral Charge*, 1831; *Lords' Report on Tithes*, 1832, ii. 52.

CHAP. amidst dangerous shoals, and on an open beach,  
 IX. industry and perseverance have reared the now  
 1792. magnificent docks of Liverpool.

Nursery  
 for seamen  
 in its coast-  
 ing trade  
 and fish-  
 eries.

But if in this quarter the heedlessness of man has hitherto rendered nugatory the choicest gifts of nature, in other parts of the British islands, his energy and vigour have extracted out of the apparent hardships of his situation the elements of strength and the source of riches. Around the stormy and inhospitable Hebrides, and in the dark and dangerous seas that flow round the Orkney islands, thirty-five thousand hardy seamen are engaged in fisheries, which now cause to flow into the British empire that stream of wealth which the republic of Holland so long drew from the deep-sea fisheries in the North Seas. The tempestuous German Ocean, and iron-bound east coast of England, which renders a voyage from London to Edinburgh more perilous to the inexperienced navigator than one to the East Indies, have conspired to produce that incomparable race of seamen in every age—the nursery of the British navy, and carry on the vast coasting trade by which coal is conveyed from the mouth of the Tyne to that of the Thames; while the whole southern coast of Great Britain is studded with active fishing stations, whose indefatigable seamen supply the huge metropolis with the delicacies of the table, and are superior to any in the world in hardihood and daring.

Its happy  
 situation  
 for foreign  
 commerce.

So favourable is the situation of Great Britain for foreign commerce, that it is recorded by the ancient historians, that when Carausius, the Roman governor of the island, threw off the yoke of the Capitol, he succeeded, by means of his fleets, in maintaining his independence for sixteen years, and the future mistress of the waves, in Gibbon's words, had already

assumed its station as a respectable maritime power. It is not merely the extent of its sea-coast, and the intrepidity which necessity has given to its seamen, which is the cause of this superiority; it is owing, also, in an equal degree to its happy situation with reference to external commerce. Placed midway between northern and southern Europe, its ships had only half the distance to go to supply the wants of either, and thus its shipping became the readiest vehicle by which the productions of the north and the south were mutually exchanged for each other. When the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, its situation was found to be the best adapted of any in Europe for the formation of a great emporium for Asiatic merchandise; and thus it became, to the destruction of Venice, the centre of that lucrative traffic which in every age has constituted the principal source of commercial greatness. When America was gradually peopled with British descendents, and the Anglo-Saxon race in the new world opened a market for manufacturing industry greater than any other in existence, the British isles still remained in the very front of the traffic, and their cliffs formed the first landmarks to the transatlantic mariner on approaching the European shores. Thus Great Britain, alike by its situation, its advantages, and its dangers, was fitted by nature for commercial greatness; and the empire of the seas was in a manner forced upon it by Providence, as a part of the mysterious design going forward for the colonization and peopling of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon,  
c. xi. vol. i.

But if this object is apparent from the external situation of the British isles, what shall be said to the astonishing mines of wealth which they contain in their bosom? It is in them that the Anglo-Saxon race have found treasures far exceeding those

And vast  
mineral  
riches.

CHAP. of Mexico or Peru. Valueless to the unskilled barbarian, unknown in many subsequent ages of national advancement, they yield boundless streams of wealth to reward civilized industry, and contain the elements of the greatest achievements to the ceaseless efforts of practised knowledge. Across England there runs, in a diagonal direction, dipping towards the south-west, a broad belt of coal and ironstone. Similar strata in Scotland lie beneath the basin of the Clyde and the Forth; and these valuable seams, often in close juxtaposition to each other, at once furnish the means of obtaining the great moving Power of Steam, which subsequent discoveries have rendered the indispensable foundation of manufacturing opulence, and the materials of the most extensive and durable manufacture which the wants of man require in civilized life.\* It is to the presence of those invaluable elements of manufacturing greatness, that the fabrics of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and South Wales in the southern, and Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire in the northern parts of Great Britain, are to be ascribed: their astonishing present magnitude, demonstrate the vast influence of these subterraneous treasures, when applied to their destined purpose by human knowledge and industry. The approach to this mineral region is indicated by its prodigious population; its boundless wealth; its provinces of houses; but with them are connected, as usual in human affairs, the prolific seeds of evil.

\* Sixty years ago James Watt said, speaking of the cotton fabrics of Glasgow. "The manufacturers of Glasgow are quite wrong in seeking the materials for their fabrics in America; *their cotton is to be found under their own feet.*" Subsequent times have abundantly proved the sagacity of the prophecy. There are now sixty-five blast furnaces in Lanarkshire, consuming annually 650,000 tons of coal, and producing 260,000 tons of iron. This immense manufacture is almost entirely the growth of the last fifteen years.—See Dr WATT's *Statistics of Glasgow, Lanarkshire*, p. 57, a most curious and valuable work.

Agriculture, overlooked for the gambling speculations of commerce, is generally neglected; tall chimneys every where attest the frequent steam-engine; the sky is loaded with sulphurous clouds; pallid countenances, and diminutive forms, indicate the long continued influence of unhealthy employments: the jails are loaded with criminals, the spirit-cellars with profligates; female virtue and usefulness are lost amidst the fatal precociousness of labour. Wealth accumulates and men decay; and the universal thirst for excitement and riches spreads corruption, and lays the foundation of ruin.\*

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

The commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, which, under the influence of the war, and of these causes, has now arisen to such an astonishing pitch of greatness, were in 1792, when the contest commenced, comparatively speaking, in a state of infancy. If the exports, imports, and shipping of three years ending with 5th January 1792, be compared with what they had respectively reached fifty years afterwards, they appear each to have tripled; •

\* The following List exhibits the population of the principal cities in "the Empire," according to the census of 1841. Their magnitude may well excite astonishment, and can be accounted for only from the vast increase of commerce and manufacture. In 1792 London was not half, the other cities not a fourth, of their present size.

Population of the chief cities and towns in England and Scotland in 1841:—

The Metropolis.....	1,873,677	Newcastle-on-Tyne....	49,860
Manchester, Salford, and suburbs.....	296,183	Hull.....	41,629
Liverpool.....	286,487	York city.....	28,842
Birmingham and suburbs.....	182,922	Edinburgh city, (in- cluding North and South Leith,).....	166,450
Leeds.....	152,054	Glasgow, city and suburbs,.....	274,556
Bristol.....	122,296	Paisley.....	60,487
Plymouth.....	80,059	Aberdeen.....	64,767
Sheffield.....	68,186	Dundee.....	62,794
Rochdale (part of parish) .....	67,889	Greenock.....	36,936
Norwich.....	62,344		

CHAP. a prodigious increase, and amply explaining the  
IX. duplication of population during the same period.\*

1792. It may safely be affirmed, that this half century exhibits a progress in commerce and opulence in the British Empire, which is unparalleled in the history of mankind. But it is impossible now to contemplate it without the deepest apprehension. The social balance has become overloaded on the other side. An amount of population has now come to depend on the precarious and fluctuating interests of commerce which exceeds any thing yet witnessed among men, and has induced that unstable equilibrium in the state, which threatens, in the event of any serious external disasters or internal convulsions, the most dreadful calamities.

And still those who are accustomed to regard foreign commerce and manufactures as the main source of the wealth and grandeur of Great Britain, will be surprised to learn that, not only in 1793, when the war broke out, but even at this time, notwithstanding the prodigious increase they have since undergone, these sources of opulence bear but a small proportion to that which is derived from the cultivation of the soil. The total amount of British manufactures annually produced is about L.180,000,000 worth, of which only L.47,000,000 is taken off by the whole

\* Table showing the exports, imports, and shipping of Great Britain in 1789, 1790, and 1791, and 1839, 1840, 1841, respectively.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Declared Value of Exports.	Tons British Shipping.
1789	L.18,372,149	L.22,147,361	...	1,272,114
1790	18,921,347	23,021,472	...	1,321,231
1791	19,659,858	24,904,851	...	1,363,483
1839	62,004,000	110,198,716	L.53,233,580	3,000,000
1840	67,432,964	116,479,678	51,406,430	3,512,480
1841	64,377,962	116,903,668	51,634,623	3,619,850

—*Parl. Papers*, 1843, and Mr ADDINGTON'S *Finance Resolutions* 1801; *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 1563.

external trade of the world put together, while no less than L.133,000,000 is consumed in the home market; and of the foreign consumption, fully a third is absorbed by the British Colonies, in different parts of the world. So that the home and colonial trade is to the whole foreign put together as 5 to 1.\* And, while the total produce of manufactures is L.180,000,000 annually, and of mines and minerals L.13,776,000, the amount of agricultural produce annually extracted from the soil is not less than L.300,000,000; or a half more than the whole manufactures and mines put together.

In truth, though less noticed than the dazzling splendour of commercial greatness, the marvels of British agriculture exceed all other marvels in this land of wonders. Perhaps there never was a country in which the cultivation of the soil has been exposed to such a strain as that of Great Britain has been for the last half century, or in which it has so wonderfully kept pace, during the whole period, with the wants of the community. Not only has it been

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Marvels of  
British  
agricul-  
ture.

\* MANUFACTURES AND MINES IN 1840.

For manufacturing exportation, . . .	L.47,257,766
For home markets, . . .	133,500,000
Total Manufactures, . . .	L.180,757,766
Mines and minerals, . . .	13,776,286
Manufactures and Mines, . . .	L.194,534,052

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

19,135,000 arable acres, at L.7 each, . . .	L.133,945,000
27,000,000 acres of meadows, at L.6 each, . . .	162,000,000
15,000,000 do. of wastes, . . .	5,000,000
	L.300,945,000
Exports of manufactures to British Colonies, . . .	16,500,000
Home consumption, . . .	133,500,000
Home and Colonial, . . .	L.150,000,000
All the rest of the world, . . .	L.30,757,766

—See PLACKMAN's *Stat. Tables for 1842*, p. 45, (a most useful work;) and PORTER's *Prog. of Nation*, i. 177.

CHAP. called upon in an old state, with a territory narrow  
 IX. and wholly appropriated, to keep pace with an in-  
 1792. crease of population which has doubled in that time,  
 and an increase in horses and the wants of animals of  
 luxury, which have advanced in a still greater propor-  
 tion, but it has been exposed to the constant abstrac-  
 tion of capital and enterprise into the more tempting  
 transactions of commerce and manufactures, then  
 advancing in the same community with unheard of  
 rapidity. Yet in spite of this constant and in-  
 creasing strain upon its produce, and abstraction of  
 the capital which should sustain it, the agriculture  
 of the British islands has fully kept pace with the  
 wants of the community, and until the late unpre-  
 cedented occurrence of *five* bad harvests in succes-  
 sion, the average amount of foreign grain imported  
 was steadily diminishing, and at length had become a  
 perfect trifle.\* And while a deluded generation  
 was believing the doctrine, that population in the  
 later stages of society has a tendency to increase  
 faster than food can be provided for it, nature was  
 silently, in that very community, rebuking their error,  
 and furnishing decisive demonstration of its fallacy.  
 For at the time that, in the basin of the Mississippi,  
 and surrounded by the virgin riches of the Far-  
 West, seven cultivators only raised surplus produce  
 sufficient for one manufacturer, on the narrow ter-  
 ritory and amidst the aged population of Britain,  
 one agriculturist was raising food sufficient for four  
 manufacturers; in other words, in the old and

\* Annual Average of Foreign Grain imported into Great Britain—

1801 to 1810,	.	.	600,946 quarters.
1811 to 1820,	.	.	458,578
1821 to 1830,	.	.	534,992
1831 to 1835,	.	.	398,509
1835 to 1840,	.	.	1,992,548

Five bad years in succession.

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 146; and *Parl. Tables*, ix. 548.



dense community, the power of labour in producing food for the other classes of society was EIGHT AND TWENTY TIMES what it was in the young and advancing one.\*

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

The government of Great Britain, which was supposed by theoretical observers to have been, anterior to the great change of 1832, a mixed constitution, in which the crown, the nobles, and the commons mutually checked and counteracted each other, was in reality an aristocracy, having a sovereign for the executive, disguised under the many forms of a republic. The system of separate powers controlling and checking each other, sounds well in theory, but in practice it induces an immediate stoppage of the most important functions of government. England had enough of it from 1832 to 1840. But although the practical direction of affairs was, by the old constitution, generally vested in the majority of the nobles, yet was the spirit of the country so essentially democratic, and so large the intermixture of popular institutions which had grown up in the midst of the monarchy, that a strong check existed on the power of the magnates, which in periods of excitement became irresistible, and always operated as a powerful check on the

* Agriculturists beyond the Alleghany mountains	
in America, . . . . .	2,092,250
All other classes, . . . . .	287,751
Or about 7 to 1.	
Agriculturists all over America, . . . . .	3,717,756
All other classes, . . . . .	1,078,680
Or about 3½ to one,	
Agricultural families in Great Britain in 1831, . . . . .	961,134
All other classes, . . . . .	2,453,041
3,414,175	

Or about 1 agriculturist to 2½ other classes. By the census of 1841, the proportion of agriculturists to other classes is about 1 to 3.—See PORTER'S *Progress of Nation*, i. 59; and *Census* of 1841; and *American Census* 1841.

CHAP. abuses into which that form of government has a

IX.

1792.

tendency to run. The close, or nomination boroughs, long so much the object of invective, had become, situated as the British Empire was, not the least valuable part of its constitution: for they furnished an inlet to commercial and colonial wealth, which practically represented their interests, and prevented the selfish views of the dominant island from exercising excessive oppression on the unrepresented distant dependencies. They furnished a ready entrance to talent which might disdain the arts requisite to win the suffrages of a numerous constituency, and they admitted a body of men into the legislature who had the invaluable quality of independence, for many of them had purchased their seats. A legislature entirely composed of such men would be highly objectionable, because it would be destitute of the element of popular representation; but a certain number were an invaluable addition to an assembly ruling a vast multitude of distant dependencies, with interests adverse to those of the dominant people in the heart of the empire: and time will show whether any thing has been gained by subjecting the whole legislature to the direct nomination of numbers in the British islands.

Society existed in Great Britain, when the war commenced, in a form which had never before been witnessed since the beginning of the world, and which may well arrest attention; for it never will be seen in it again. Manufactures and commerce, though considerable and increasing, were as nothing to what they have since become: not only did the strength of the state consist, as it still does, in the land, but the national feelings and customs were formed by its attachments. Commercial fabrics existed in many quarters; nume-

rous towns were rising on all sides ; but their influence was felt rather in the quickened sale of produce, and the stimulus given to general wealth and agricultural industry, than in any change they had effected in the national habits or dispositions. The heart of the nation was still in the country ; and a variety of circumstances had given it a peculiar and delightful character. The long security from foreign warfare or domestic dissension ; the necessity of cultivating the yeomanry with a view to parliamentary influence : the passion for field sports, which seems indelible in the Anglo-Saxon blood, had combined to make the nobles and landholders almost universally reside upon their estates. The principal ones had houses in London or Edinburgh, but their homes were in the country. Thus they were identified in feeling, interest, and amusements with the rural population ; and a feeling had grown up between them akin to that which subsisted in La Vendée between the seigneurs and peasants. They followed the same hounds, sat in the same church, they were carried at last to the same churchyard. One common faith united the rich and the poor. The graceful steeple of the parish church frequently arose from amidst the oaks of the nobleman's park, and his younger brother held the living. He visited the poor in their affliction ; he vied with the rich in their festivity ; he was the link which united the extremes of society, too apt in the progress of opulence to be severed from each other. The counties were covered with manor-houses, the fields with cottages ; fearless industrious poverty spread into nature ; haughty opulence sought to improve its beauties. The frequency of enclosures and hedge-row timber gave the country the appearance of a continued forest ; but

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Aspect of  
society in  
the Bri-  
tish islands  
in 1792.

CHAP. the frequent green meadow, trim garden, flower-  
 IX. ing orchard, and ornamented cottage, bespoke the  
 1792. abode of happy and contented man.

Great  
 firmness of  
 George  
 III. A monarch was on the throne peculiarly fitted  
 for the stormy period in which his lot had been  
 cast. With little education, and no great acquired  
 information, George III. had yet that solid judg-  
 ment, that native sagacity, which so often compen-  
 sates all other deficiencies, and for the want of  
 which all the most laboured accomplishments can sel-  
 dom afford any compensation. Simple in his tastes,  
 correct and decorous in his manners, essentially  
 patriotic in his affections, he faithfully represented  
 the feelings of the best part of the British people ;  
 and though frequently, from external disaster or  
 internal faction, the object of vehement obloquy with  
 the noisy multitude, yet these ebullitions were tran-  
 sient, and he never failed, ere long, to regain that  
 favour with the unthinking many, which he never  
 lost with the thinking few. He was a more valu-  
 able king of England, at that period, than one with  
 more shining talents or extensive knowledge might  
 have been ; for he was in no danger of being swept  
 away by philosophical theories of which he was igno-  
 rant, or delusions which arose out of views which  
 he did not possess. His temper was obstinate ; but,  
 directed by good sense, this peculiarity seldom led  
 him into error, and often was productive of incal-  
 culable advantage. He was the very opposite of  
 Louis XVI. ; without his philosophic speculation,  
 with less unforeseeing philanthropy, he had incom-  
 parably more firmness and resolution.\*

\* An eminent instance of this had recently occurred. When Lon-  
 don was in flames during the dreadful riots of Lord George Gordon in  
 1780, and the cabinet was assembled to deliberate on what should be  
 done, an order to the military to fire upon the people, if in the act of  
 breaking into or destroying, was made out ; but the other cabinet mi-

Nine years of peace had enabled Great Britain to recover, in a great degree, the losses and exhaustion of the American war. If she had lost one empire in the Western, she had gained another in the Eastern world: the wealth of India began to pour into her bosom; and a little island in the west of Europe already exercised a sway over realms more extensive than the arms of Rome had reduced to subjection. A vast revenue, amounting to L.7,000,000 annually, was already derived from her Indian possessions; and, although nearly the whole of this great sum was absorbed in their costly establishment, yet her rulers already looked forward with confident hope to the period, now never likely to be realized, when the empire of Hindostan, instead of being as heretofore a burden, should be a source of revenue to the ruling state, and the wealth of India really become that mine of gold to Britain, which it had long proved to numbers of her children. Her national debt, amounting to L.244,000,000, and occasioning an annual charge of L.9,317,000, was indeed a severe burden upon the industry of the people; and the taxes, though light in comparison of what have been imposed in later times, were still felt as oppressive; but, nevertheless, the resources of the state had augmented to an extraordinary degree during the repose which had prevailed since the conclusion of the ~~former~~ contest.<sup>1</sup>

nisters declined to sign it, from doubts as to its legality. Upon this the King asked the attorney-general (Wentworth), "If the writ was agreeable to the law of England." The Attorney replied it was. "Give me the papers," cried the monarch, "and I will sign it myself." He did so; the troops immediately acted upon it, and in six hours the devastation was at an end. But George III. was weary in his ruling-school, if tranquillity had not been restored to have sent at the head of his guards into his burning capital.—WARRICK: MEMOIRS. — 1791. 357.

CHAP. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, had  
IX. rapidly increased; the trade with the independent states of North America, had been found to  
1792. exceed what had been enjoyed with them when in  
Revenues, a state of colonial dependence; and the incessant  
and mili- exertions of every individual to better his condition,  
tary and had produced a surprising effect upon the accumu-  
naval lation of capital and the state of public credit. The  
forces. three per cents, from 57, at the close of the war, had risen to 99; and the overflowing wealth of the capital was already finding its way into the most circuitous foreign trades, and hazardous distant investments. The national revenue amounted to L.16,000,000, and the army included 32,000 soldiers in the British isles, besides an equal force in the East and West Indies, and thirty-six regiments of yeomanry; but these forces were rapidly augmented after the commencement of the war, and, before 1796, the regular army of Britain amounted to two hundred and six thousand men, including forty-two thousand militia. More than half of this force, however, was required for the service of the colonies; and experience has proved, that Britain can never collect above forty thousand men upon any one point on the continent of Europe. The real strength of England consisted in her inexhaustible wealth, in the public spirit and energy of her people, in the moral influence of centuries of glory, and in a fleet of a hundred and fifty ships of the line, which gave her the undisputed command of the seas.\*

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
250. Ann.  
Reg.  
xxxiii. 124.  
Report of  
Finance  
Commit-  
tee, May  
10, 1791.  
State  
Papers.  
James i.  
Table i.  
App. Feb.  
247.

\* The British Navy on 5th January 1792 contained—

	Fit for Service.	Old and Guard Ships.	Total.
Line,	115	38	153
Frigates,	84	5	89

—JAMES'S *Naval History*.

But, though abounding in all the resources, England, at this period, had little of the moral strength so necessary in war. During the disastrous contest in America, the national glory had been seriously tarnished. Two large armies had laid down their arms to the enemy; and even the ancient supremacy of the seas seemed to have been put in hazard when the combined fleets of France and Spain rode triumphant in the British Channel. The glorious defence of Gibraltar alone had maintained the ancient celebrity of the English land forces; the splendid victory of the 12th April, under Rodney, vindicated the ancient prowess of her seamen. Nor was either the army or the navy in such a state as to render any early success probable in any new contest. Abuses of the most flagrant description existed in every department of the army: young men were appointed to commissions by purchase, or in consequence of parliamentary influence, without any knowledge of their profession; promotion was seldom awarded to real merit; and no academies or schools were in existence to teach the inexperienced officer even the rudiments of the military art.\* It was by slow degrees, and in the school of adversity, that the British army was improved, and her commanders rendered capable of turning to good account that undaunted courage, which in every age has formed the honourable characteristic of the British people.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

England, like the other monarchies of Europe,

\* To such a length was this system carried, that it was not unusual for infants to obtain commissions in the cradle, and draw pay regularly for sixteen years before they joined their corps. The well-known story in Scotland when a loud noise was heard in the nursery, "Oh, it's only the *Major roaring for his parritch!*" shows how common this abuse had become in families of influence.

CHAP. had slumbered on, contented, prosperous, and for  
IX. the most part inglorious, during the eighteenth cen-  
1792. tury. The bright aurora with which it was ushered  
in, in the days of Eugene and Marlborough, had  
afforded no true promise of the general character  
of the political era which followed; the fierce pas-  
sions, the heart-stirring feelings, the enduring energy  
of the civil wars, had passed into the page of history,  
and, with the licentious profligacy of Charles II.,  
were pictured only in contemporary annals, or the  
reflecting mirror of the national theatre. The arms  
of Frederick, and the administration of Chatham,  
alone cast a fleeting lustre over the general mono-  
tony of the period; but even their glories were the  
result of the ambition of kings or the rivalry of  
cabinets, and partook not of the profound interest  
of the theological contests which had preceded, or  
the political passions which followed them. The  
strife of religion had ceased, that of equality had  
not commenced; between the two there intervened  
a long repose of a hundred years, illustrated by few  
glories, stained by still fewer crimes, during which  
the fervour springing from the former great convul-  
sion insensibly expired, and the seeds destined to  
produce a still fiercer collision were gradually ripen-  
ing to maturity.

It was a generally received opinion among the  
philosophers and statesmen of this period, that so-  
ciety had at length assumed a settled and permanent  
form, that all the great causes of discord had been  
extinguished, and that history would never again  
have to commemorate the vehement contentions and  
tragic incidents which had arisen in an earlier period  
of human existence. Adam Smith observed, that  
while the population of America was doubling every



five-and-twenty years, that of Europe was slumbering on with an increase which would hardly arrive at the same result in five hundred; while Gibbon lamented that the period of interesting incident was past, and that the modern historian would never again have to record the moving events and dismal catastrophes of ancient story. Such were anticipations of the greatest men of the age, on the verge of a period destined to be illustrated by the blood of Robespierre, the constancy of Pitt, and the triumphs of Nelson; when the human race, mowed down by the merciless sword of Napoleon, was to spring up again with an elasticity almost equalling the far-famed rapidity of Transatlantic increase.\*

The opinions of the country as might have been expected on so great an event, were divided on the French Revolution. The young, the ardent, the philosophical, were sanguine in their expectations of its success; a new era seemed to have dawned upon the world; from the rise of freedom in that great empire, the fetters of slavery, and the bonds of superstition, appeared to be dropping from the hands of the human race. It was not merely the factious, the restless, and the ambitious, who enter-

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Views of  
the Whigs  
on the Re-  
volution.

CHAP. IX. 1792. classes generally inclined to these opinions, those entertaining extreme views were comparatively inconsiderable in number. The vast majority of the nation were decidedly loyal; in the country almost invariably so. The confirmed democrats in Great Britain at that period were by no means numerous. They were estimated by Mr Burke, who was noways inclined to diminish the dangers of the time, at eighty thousand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burke, viii. 140, 141.

But if the changes in France were regarded with And of the favour by one, they were looked on with utter horror Tories. by another class of the community. The great majority of the great aristocratic body, all the adherents of the church, all the holders of office under the monarchy, in general the great bulk of the opulent ranks of society, beheld them with apprehension or aversion. Many of those who had life before them, rejoiced in the changes which society seemed about to undergo; those who had passed through it, trembled at their approach: those who had nothing to lose, had no fears of the consequences of innovation; those who had acquired, or inherited much, were justly apprehensive that they would be the first objects of spoliation. These were the general divisions of society; but of course they were modified by the temper or habits of thought in different individuals, and the partisans of innovation numbered many of the most ancient and illustrious noble families among their supporters.

At the head of the first party was Mr Fox, the eloquent and illustrious champion of freedom in every part of the world. Descended of a noble family, which combined political distinction with literary talent, he seemed born to wield both the mighty levers which move mankind. He was the

Early history of Mr Fox.

third son of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, whose great talents raised him to the situation of Secretary of State for the War department in the Seven Years' War; and who was long the antagonist of Mr Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham. His father, who was a man of refined and cultivated taste, as well as forensic ability, took infinite pains with the education of young Fox, whose great talents were soon conspicuous. Unfortunately his excessive indulgence gave too early a development to his dissipated propensities, which were as precocious as his powers of acquiring languages; and when he set out on his travels, at the age of twenty, he was already a deep gamester, an experienced rake, and excessively expensive in his dress and habits. Distinction was his constant passion: in youth he sought it by elegance in attire, or extravagance in expenditure; in maturer years by oratorical power and the lead of a party. In 1768 he entered Parliament as member for Medhurst in Sussex, and made his first speech on a petition of the celebrated democrat Wilkes. His great powers of speaking soon made themselves conspicuous, and early attracted the notice of the author of Junius, who, in his celebrated Letters, warmly praised the rising orator. Down to 1772 he voted in general with Ministers, though his independent disposition was on many occasions conspicuous; but in that year he united himself to the Opposition, of whom he soon became the acknowledged leader. This was confirmed by the death of his father in 1774, which set him free from all Ministerial ties; and his ardent admiration of Mr Burke, whom he justly denominated the finest genius of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and with whom he com-

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Trotter's  
Life of  
Fox, i. 84.  
Biog. Univ.  
xv. 403.  
(Fox.)

CHAP. IX. bated Lord North and the Tory Ministry through the whole course of the American war.

1792.

His character.

He inherited the love of liberty which had long been hereditary in his race, and by the impetuous torrent of his eloquence, long maintained his place as leader of the Opposition of the British empire. His talents for debate were of the very highest order; and in the impassioned energy with which he delivered his opinions, he never was exceeded by any orator in the British Parliament. Though he was a refined classical scholar, yet he was too indolent to have acquired extensive erudition, and was often indebted, like Mirabeau, for the facts connected with the subjects of discussion rather to the industry of his friends than his own research. Yet no one could make a more skilful use of the information with which he was furnished, or gathered in the course of debate; or descant with more originality on a subject apparently exhausted by the efforts of others. Profuse, dissipated, and irregular in private life, he had none of the weight, ever so powerful in England, which arises from the purity of personal character; but amidst all his frailties, the warmth of his heart and generosity of his disposition secured the ardent attachment of a numerous body of private friends, embracing a large proportion of the ablest men and oldest families in the state; while his vehement and impassioned oratory readily commanded the admiration of that numerous class who longed after more popular government, or the general license of a revolution. But his intellect was not equal to his eloquence; his judgment was inferior to his debating powers. Mr Gibbon observed, that "his inmost soul was tinged with democracy;"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miscellaneous Works, i. 386.

and such in truth was his character. He saw no danger to liberty but in the power of the crown : the violence of the people never occurred to him as likely to put it in peril. Sincere in his attachment to freedom, he advocated, during the best part of his life, a political system, which was entailing upon the country where it arose the most degrading bondage ; passionately devoted to the cause of liberty, he continued constant in his admiration of those frantic innovations which, more than the coalition of kings, against which the thunders of his eloquence were directed, rendered impossible its duration in the first of European monarchies.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Mr Pitt was the leader of the second party, which at the commencement of the French Revolution was in the full possession of government, and supported by a decided majority in both Houses of Parliament. He was born at Hayes in Kent, on the 28th May 1759, the second son of William first Earl of Chatham. His mother, a lady of great talents and uncommon strength of understanding, was Lady Hester, and only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq., and Countess Temple. At first young Pitt's constitution was uncommonly feeble, insomuch that great fears were entertained that he could not be reared to maturity ; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, his diligence and ability were such that at the age of fourteen, when he was sent to Cambridge, his proficiency in Greek and Latin was truly extraordinary. By Lord Chatham's desire Thucydides was the first Greek book he read after coming to college, and he could read six or seven pages he had never previously seen, without more than two or three mistakes. With such penetration did he seize the meaning of this great writer, and so rapidly

Mr Pitt.  
His early  
biography.

CHAP. imbibe his ideas, that it was observed of him at the  
IX. time by his preceptor, "that he never seemed to  
1792. learn, but only to recollect." At this period, and

during all the time he remained at college, his conduct was correct, his conversation easy, his application ceaseless. Lord Chatham had from the first conversed with him on every subject: the true system of education, but which is hardly safe but in a parent's hand. His knowledge of scripture was extensive and accurate: insomuch that long after, and

<sup>1</sup> Tomline's  
Life of  
Pitt, i. 1,  
4.

when immersed in political life, he could distinguish at once a quotation from the Bible from one from the Apocrypha.<sup>1</sup>

His youth. After being some years at college, he read habitually the orators and historians of antiquity; particularly Livy, Thucydides, and Sallust. It was his favourite occupation to compare opposite speeches upon the same subject, and to examine how each speaker managed his own side of the question, and obviated or answered the reasoning of his opponent. When alone he dwelt for hours upon striking passages of these historians and orators, and was particularly captivated by their inimitable brevity and force of expression. He had little turn for the minute details of grammar: but read several sentences at once, and then rendered them at once into free English to the great astonishment of his masters: he was set on things, not words. All his leisure hours were devoted to translating the finest passages of the classic authors into English: the most useful, as the opposite one of turning English into Greek or Latin is the most useless, occupation which can be given to youth. With equal diligence he applied to mathematics, and displayed such skill in the solution of problems, that it was evident he

would have reached the very highest eminence in science, if fortune had not thrown him into public life. With equal avidity he studied the great poets and authors of his own country, and when he left college at the age of twenty-one, there were few of the historical or literary writers of Great Britain with which he was unacquainted. But these calm studies were soon interrupted: in spring 1780 he became resident in Lincoln's Inn, and regularly attended Westminster Hall; and in January 1781 he was introduced into Parliament for the burgh of Appleby. Even before he appeared in public life, his great father had anticipated his future distinction, and dwelt on the prospect with fond and touching enthusiasm.<sup>1\*</sup>

CHAP.

IX.

1792.

Tomline's  
Life of  
Pitt, i. 9,  
23.

Modern history has hardly so great a character to exhibit. Inheriting from his father, the first Lord Chatham, a patriotic and truly British spirit, he early imbibed, at the same time, a strong attachment to those liberal principles on which the administration of that illustrious man was founded, and which had given to his government such general and deserved popularity. His early career was chiefly remarkable for these sentiments, and his great abilities, from the very first, gave him a distinguished place in Parliament; but circumstances soon arose which called forth the latent powers of his mind, and exhibited in full lustre the

His early  
difficulties  
as a states-  
man.

\* The last letter of Lord Chatham to Mr Pitt began in these terms. —“How can I employ my reviving pen so well as in addressing a few lines to the *hope and comfort* of my life, my dear William?”—and ends, “So, with best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting Locke, Grotius, and the Law of Nations, adieu, my dearest William. Your most affectionate father, Chatham.”—LORD CHATHAM to MR PITT, September 22, 1777; TOMLINE'S *Life of Pitt*, i. 23.

CHAP. indomitable firmness of his character. Mr Fox and  
IX.  
1792.

Lord North had formed a coalition, after their chief cause of discord had been extinguished by the termination of the American war; and, strong in the possession of an apparently invincible majority in the Lower House, had ventured upon the bold measure of bringing in a bill which took from the East India Company the government of India, and vested it in certain commissioners, to be appointed, not by the crown, but by the House of Commons. It is impossible to doubt that such a change, if carried into execution, would have subverted the constitution, by the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, possessed of greater authority and influence than the executive. But this catastrophe was averted by the firmness and sagacity of the monarch who then held the British sceptre. Perceiving at once the full extent of the danger; well aware, in the emphatic words of Lord Thurlow, "that this bill, if carried, would take the crown from the king's head, and place it on that of Mr Fox,"<sup>1</sup> he instantly resolved to interpose his influence to prevent it from passing into a law, and resolutely declared his determination, if necessary, to retire to Hanover, rather than continue in Britain the mere instrument of a parliamentary oligarchy. By his exertions the bill, after having passed the Commons by a great majority, was thrown out, by a slender majority of eight, in the House of Lords; and this led to the immediate resignation of the Coalition Ministry. The king instantly sent for Mr Pitt, and on the 12th January 1784, he took his seat in the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
Hist. xxiv.  
125.

Dec. 8,  
1783.

Never did a more arduous struggle await a min-



ister. The Opposition, led by the impetuous energy of Fox, aided by the experienced influence and admirable temper of Lord North, were possessed of a great majority in the Lower House, and treated at first with the utmost scorn this attempt on the part of a young man of six-and-twenty to dispossess them of the government. But it was soon evident, that his talents were equal to the task, how arduous and apparently hopeless soever. Invincible in resolution, and yet cool in danger ; possessed of a moral courage which nothing could overcome ; fertile in resources, powerful in debate, eloquent in declamation—he exhibited a combination of great qualities, which for political contests never was excelled. A pure and irreproachable private character, gave his opponents no weak side wherein to assail the panoply with which he was surrounded : a temperament, the energies of which were wholly concentrated on national objects, left him no room for selfish passion or private gratification. The ordinary vices of men of rank had no attractions for him ; he was never the slave of woman ; though he often drank largely, it was only to restore nature after the incessant exhaustion of his parliamentary efforts.

Incorruptible, though wielding the wealth of England and the Indies ; fearless, though combating alone the whole weight of an apparently irresistible Opposition ; cool, though tried by all the means which could overcome the firmest patience ; cautious, when prudence counselled reserve—energetic and eloquent, when the moment for action had arrived ; he successfully withstood the most formidable parliamentary majority which had appeared in English history since the Revolution, and ultimately remained victorious in the struggle. An adminis-

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

His cha-  
racter.

CHAP. IX. 1792. tration thus tried in its infancy, was proof against any other danger in its maturer years ; the intellect of its head clearly and at once perceived both the peril of the French revolutionary principles, and the expedience of making no attempt by external means to check its progress ; and, fortunately for the cause of freedom throughout the world, that great convulsion found the British government in the hands of one, alike friendly to the cause of freedom, and hostile to the excesses which so often lead to its destruction. An attentive observer of the progress of the Revolution, therefore, he cautiously abstained from any act which might involve England in any hostility with its distracted neighbour ; and, though strongly pressed in the outset to take a part in the struggle, he maintained a strict neutrality, when the German armies had penetrated to the very heart of France, and the moment seemed to have arrived when it was possible to terminate, by a single hostile demonstration, the rivalry of four centuries.

Mr Burke. His character and early history. Mr Burke was the leader of a third party, composed of the old Whigs, who supported the principles of the English, but opposed those of the French Revolution. He was born in Arran Quay, Dublin, on January 12, 1730. His family were very old, and of Norman extraction, and originally bore the name of "De Burgh," of which *Burke* is only a corruption. His father was a respectable attorney, in extensive practice—so lucrative indeed, that Edmund, though a younger son, received nearly L.20,000 as a patrimony. He is an exception therefore to Johnson's celebrated saying, that one great use of primogeniture is to secure having only one fool in a family. His mother, by whom he was taught to read, and instructed in the rudiments of

education, was a woman of a very cultivated understanding; a circumstance which almost invariably is the case with those who afterwards rise to great celebrity. His constitution was at first weak, and his early proficiency in learning not remarkable; another peculiarity which is generally, though not always, observed in those destined to ultimate greatness, and which arises from their attention being early fixed on things, not words—on the latter of which a schoolboy's, on the former a man's celebrity depends. At the age of thirteen, he was removed to the academy at Ballitore, in the county of Kildare, and there his great powers soon developed themselves. They consisted at first, not so much in brilliancy, as steadiness of application, facility of comprehension, and strength of memory. The same characteristics distinguished his early writings and speeches, and it was not till late in life, that his imagination shone forth with such lustre; a peculiarity common to him with Milton, Shakspeare, Bacon, and many other of the greatest poets and orators who ever existed. It is easily explained, if we reflect, that a quick and fervent mind readily fans a flame from a few perishable materials; but a great

CHAP.

IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus.

Prior's

Life of



CHAP. nary distinction — reading incessantly, but often  
IX. poems and novels, rather than the works of the Aca-  
1792. demic curriculum, dwelling much on the sublime pas-  
sages of Shakspeare, Milton, and Young, and not  
unfrequently essaying himself in their career. He  
was destined for the bar, to which he was entered  
in 1747, in London; but before this period, the bent  
of his genius to historical and political subjects, was  
very apparent, and signally evinced in the debates of  
the Historical Society, in Dublin College, of which  
he was a zealous member. After arriving in Lon-  
don, in 1750, to prosecute his legal studies, he found  
them wholly distasteful to his multifarious genius,  
and, possessing an adequate independence, quitted it  
for the more attractive paths of literature. He soon  
after published his *Essay on the Sublime and Beau-  
tiful*; and in 1758, began to write the historical  
part of the *Annual Register*, which he superintended  
for many years. Little of the fire of the orator,  
however, or the depth of the philosopher, is to be  
found in these compositions; he was then only col-  
lecting the materials on which the immortal super-  
structure of his fame was afterwards to be reared.  
In 1765 he was, from the reputation he had acquir-  
ed as a writer, appointed private secretary to Lord  
Rockingham; and soon after entered Parliament,  
as member for Wendover, in Buckinghamshire.  
Thenceforward his biography forms part of the his-  
tory of England.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prior's  
Life of  
Burke, i.  
24, 139.

His views  
on the  
French  
Revolu-  
tion.

Mr Burke had long combated in the ranks of  
Opposition with Mr Fox, and the warmest private  
friendship had cemented their political alliance; but  
on the breaking out of the French Revolution, they  
embraced different views. Mr Fox warmly ap-  
plauded its principles, and declared in the House of

CHAP. debates which took place in the House of Commons  
 IX. at that period; and it was especially the subject of  
 1792. vehement and impassioned declamation, on occasion  
 April 15, of the debate on Mr Baker's motion relative to a war  
 1791. with Russia, and the first introduction of the Canada  
 April 8. Government Bill, subjects which not unnaturally  
 led to the supposed tendency of the French Revolution on the external relations and internal happiness of nations. From that time a rupture between these two great men was distinctly foreseen, both by their friends and the public. It was, in truth, unavoidable; and is to be regarded as the index to the schism which must ensue in every free community, on occasion of strong democratic excitement, between those who adhere to the landmarks of the past, and those who are willing to adventure on the dark sea of future innovation. Still, however, the external appearances of friendship were maintained between them; they visited, though not so frequently as in former years; and, on the 6th of May, when the Canada Bill was to be debated in committee, they not only walked to the House together, but Mr Fox treated Mr Burke, in a previous conversation, with confidence, and mentioned to him a political circumstance of some delicacy. But the feelings of the latter were too ardent to be restrained; the future, big with disaster, revealed itself so clearly to his view, that it obliterated the past, overshadowed the present; and, in the debate which followed on that night, these two illustrious men were for ever severed, the popular party in Great Britain permanently rent in twain. The debates on this subject possess the highest interest.<sup>1</sup> They not only embrace the most thrilling event in the biography of both, but they constitute an era in

<sup>1</sup> Parl Deb. xxix. 362; and Burke's Speeches, iv. 2, 3.

the history of Europe during its most eventful period. The destinies of civilization hung upon their words. CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

On the part of Mr Fox it was urged on this occasion, and in the previous debate on the Russian armament—"Without entering into the question whether hereditary honours are in themselves an advantage or an evil, the point which the House has now to consider is, Whether there is any thing in them so peculiarly advantageous as to incline us to introduce them into a country where they are unknown, and by such means distinguish Canada from all the other colonies of the New World? In countries where they make a part of the constitution it is not wise to destroy them; but it is a very different matter to give them birth and life in a country where they at present do not exist. It is impossible to account for such an attempt, except on the principle that, as Canada was formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplore, and of reviving in the West that spirit of chivalry which has fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring country. Are those red and blue ribands which have lost their lustre in the Old World again to shine forth in the New? What can be so absurd as to introduce hereditary honours in the New World where they are so much the object of undisguised aversion? The proposed Upper Chamber would be equally objectionable if the council were hereditary, for such an assembly would be nothing more than a tool in the hands of the Royal authority. Equally objectionable is the clause for making provision for the Protestant clergy, by enacting that, in all grants by the Crown of unappro-

CHAP. mence hostilities in order to prop up the decaying  
IX. Turkish empire, the overthrow of which would be  
1792. more likely to prove advantageous than injurious to

our interests? If we compare the present state of France with its past condition, both as respects the politics of Europe and the happiness of the people, even those who most detest the Revolution must see reason to rejoice in its effects. I cannot but applaud the government of France, in its internal tendency, as good, because it aims at the happiness of those who are subject to it. Different opinions may be entertained by different men as to the change of system that has taken place in that country; but

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist. xxix. 107, 248, 379; and Fox's Speeches, iv. 217, 204, 199. I, for one, admire the new constitution of France, considered altogether, *as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which has been erected on the foundations of human integrity in any age or country.*"<sup>1</sup>

Argument  
against it  
by Mr  
Burke, and  
rupture  
between  
them.

Mr Burke commenced his reply in a grave and solemn tone, befitting the solemnity of the occasion, and the rending asunder of ties which had endured unbroken for a quarter of a century. "The House," said he, "is now called upon to do a high and important act: to appoint a legislature for a distant people, and to affirm its own competency to the exercise of such a power. On what foundation is such an assumption to rest? Not, surely, on a vague conception of the rights of man; for, if such a doctrine is admitted, all that the House should do, is to call together the whole male inhabitants of Canada, and decide by a majority of their votes what form of government they are to receive. Setting aside so absurd a proposition, on what must this House found its competence to legislate at all on this matter? Clearly on the law of nations, and the acquired title

so to legislate from the right of conquest, and a cessation of the rights of the old government, obtained by us in the treaty which confirmed it. These principles bind us to legislate in an equitable manner for the people of Canada, and they are in return to owe allegiance to us. The question then is, On what basis is this new government to be formed? Are we to frame it according to the old light of the English constitution, or by the glare of the new lanterns of the clubs at Paris and London?

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

“In determining this point, we are not to imitate the example of countries which have disregarded circumstances, torn asunder the bonds of society, and the ties of nature. To the constitution of America, doubtless, great attention is due, and it is of importance that the people of Canada should have nothing to envy in the constitution of a neighbouring state. But it is plain that they have not the same elements for the enjoyment of republican freedom which exist in the United States. The people of America have a constitution as well adapted to their character and circumstances as they could have; but that character and these circumstances are essentially different from that of the French Canadians. The Americans have derived from their Anglo-Saxon descent a certain quantity of phlegm, of old English good nature, that fits them better for a republican government. They had also a republican education; their form of internal government was republican, and the principles and vices of it have been restrained by the beneficence of an overruling monarchy in this country. The formation of their constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which, by military discipline, they had learned order, submission, and command, and a regard for great men. They had



CHAP. learned what a King of Sparta had said was the  
IX. great wisdom to be learned in his country—the  
1792. art of commanding and obeying. They were trained  
to government by war, not by plots, murders, and  
assassinations.

“ But what are we to say to the ancient Canadians, who, being the most numerous, are entitled to the greatest attention? Are we to give them the French constitution—a constitution founded on principles diametrically opposite to ours, that could not assimilate with it in a single point; as different from it as wisdom from folly, as vice from virtue, as the most opposite extremes in nature—a constitution founded on what was called the rights of man? But let this constitution be examined by its practical effects in the French West India colonies. These, notwithstanding three disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing till they heard of the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora’s box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites, whites against blacks, and each against the other, in murderous hostility; subordination was destroyed, the bonds of society torn asunder, and every man seemed to thirst for the blood of his neighbour.

‘ Black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey,  
Mingle, mingle, mingle.’

All was toil and trouble, discord and blood, from the moment that this doctrine was promulgated among them; and I verily believe that wherever the rights of man are preached, such ever have been, and ever will be the consequences. France, which had generously sent them the precious gift of

CHAP. they choose to call it, can never serve the cause  
IX. of liberty, but will inevitably promote tyranny,  
1792. anarchy, and revolution. I have never entertained  
ideas of government different from those which I  
now maintain. Monarchy, I have always thought,  
is the basis of all good government; and the nearer  
to monarchy any government approaches, the more  
perfect it is, and *vice versa*. Those who are  
anxious to subvert the constitution are now, indeed,  
few in number in this country; but can we be sure  
that this will always be the case, or that the time  
may never come, when, under the influence of scar-  
city or tumult, the monarchical institutions of the  
country may be threatened with overthrow? Now,  
then, is the time to crush this diabolical spirit, and  
watch, with the greatest vigilance, the slightest at-  
tempt to subvert the British constitution.

“It is perhaps indiscretion at any period, but espe-  
cially at my advanced years, to provoke enemies, or  
give friends an occasion for desertion; but if a firm and  
steady adherence to the British constitution should  
place me in such a dilemma, I will risk all, and  
with my last words exclaim,—Fly from the French  
constitution.”—“There is no loss of friends,” said  
Mr Fox.—“Yes,” said Mr Burke, “there is a loss  
of friends. I know the price of my conduct: I have  
done my duty at the price of him I love: our friend-  
ship is at an end. With my last breath I will ear-  
nestly entreat the two right honourable gentlemen  
who are the great rivals in this house, that, whether

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Deb. xxix. they hereafter move in the political hemisphere as  
364, 366,  
380, 388; two flaming meteors, or walk together like brethren  
and hand in hand, to preserve and cherish the British  
Burke's constitution; to guard it against innovation, and  
Speeches, iv. 3, 8, 9,  
17, 23. save it from the dangers of theoretic alterations.<sup>1</sup>

It belongs to the infinite and unspeakable Power, the Deity, who with his arm hurls a comet, like a projectile, out of its course, and enables it to endure the sun's heat and the pitchy darkness of the chilly night, to aim at the formation of infinite perfection; to us, poor, weak, incapable mortals, there is no safe rule of conduct but experience."

CHAP.

IX.

1792.

Mr Fox rose to reply, but tears for some time choked his utterance, and they continued to roll down his cheeks even for some time after he had begun his speech. He commenced by expressing, in the strongest terms, his love and affection for Mr Burke, which had begun with his boyhood, and remained unbroken for five and twenty years; but by degrees the subject of their present division again rushed upon his mind, and, although he called him his right honourable friend, yet it was evident to all that their friendship was at an end. A meeting of the Whigs was held to consider this great schism which had broken out in their party, and the following resolution appeared in their official journal, *the Morning Chronicle*, on the subject. "The great and firm body of the Whigs of England, true to their principles, have decided on the dispute between Mr Fox and Mr Burke; and the former is declared to have maintained the pure doctrines by which they are bound together, and upon which they have invariably acted. The consequence is, that Mr Burke retires from Parliament." Mr Burke, in alluding to this resolution, said, on the same night, that he knew he was excommunicated by one party and that he was too old to seek another;<sup>1</sup> and though in his age he had been so unfortunate as to meet this disgrace, yet he disdained to make any recantation, and

Their final  
separation.May 12,  
1791.Burke's  
Speeches,  
iv. 34, 38.

CHAP. did not care to solicit the friendship of any man in  
IX. the House, either on one side or the other.

1792. Nothing can be imagined more characteristic of  
Reflections both these illustrious men, and of the views of the  
on the parties of which they severally were the heads, than  
event. the speeches now given. On the one side are to  
be seen, warm affection, impassioned feeling, philan-  
thropic ardour, vehemence of expression, worthy of  
the statesman who has been justly styled by no com-  
mon man, "the most Demosthenian orator since the  
days of Demosthenes."<sup>1</sup> On the other, an ardent  
mind, a burning eloquence, a foresight chastened by  
observation of the past, benevolence restrained by  
anticipation of the future. In the impetuosity of  
the latter in support of the truths with which he was  
so deeply impressed, there is perhaps some reason to  
lament the undue asperity of indignant prophecy;  
in the former, too great stress laid upon political  
consistency under altered times. But time, the  
great test of truth, has now resolved the justice of  
the respective opinions thus eloquently advanced,  
and thrown its verdict, with decisive weight, into the  
scale with Mr Burke. There is, perhaps, not to be  
found in the whole history of human anticipation, a  
more signal instance of erroneous views than were  
advanced by Mr Fox, when he said that the French  
constitution was the most stupendous fabric of wis-  
dom ever reared in any age or country; that no  
danger was to be apprehended from the balance of  
power in Europe, now that France had obtained  
democratic institutions; and that, if it was subverted,  
no peril was to be apprehended to European liberty  
from the power or ambition of Russia. On the  
other hand, all must admit the extraordinary saga-

<sup>1</sup> Mackin-  
tosh.

city with which Mr Burke not merely predicted the consequences to itself and to Europe, which necessarily would arise from the convulsions in France, but also pointed out so clearly that vital distinction between the Anglo-Saxon and the Gallic race on the shores of the St Lawrence, and the remarkable difference in their capacity to bear democratic institutions, which was destined not to produce its natural effects for half a century, and of which we are now only beginning to see the ultimate results.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Unwearied in perseverance, firm in purpose, unchangeable in ambition, the Austrian government was the most formidable rival with whom the French Republic had to anticipate a contest on the continent of Europe. This great empire, containing at that time nearly twenty-five millions of inhabitants, with a revenue of ninety millions florins, or about £9,000,000 sterling, numbered the richest and most fertile districts of Europe among its provinces. The manufacturing wealth of Flanders, the agricultural riches of Lombardy, added not less to the pecuniary resources, than the energetic valour of the Hungarians, and the impetuous zeal of the Tyrolese, to the military strength of the empire. The possession of the Low Countries gave them an advanced post, formerly strongly fortified, immediately in contact with the French frontier ; while the mountains of the Tyrol formed a vast fortress, garrisoned by an attached and warlike people, and placed at a salient angle between Germany and Italy, the certain theatre of future combats. Her armies, numerous and highly disciplined, had acquired immortal renown in the wars of Maria Theresa, and maintained a creditable place, under Daun and Laudohn, in the scientific campaigns with the great

State of  
Austria.

CHAP. Frederick. Her government, nominally a monar-  
IX. chy, but really an oligarchy, in the hands of the

1792. great nobles, about three hundred in number, pos-  
sessed all that firmness and tenacity of purpose, and,  
at the same time, selfish monopolizing disposition,  
by which aristocratic powers have always been dis-  
tinguished ; and which, under unparalleled difficul-  
ties and disasters, brought them at last successfully  
through the long struggle in which they were shortly  
after engaged.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
33.

Character of Maria Theresa. Maria Theresa was the soul of the Austrian monarchy ; it was her heroic spirit, sage administra-  
tion, and popular character, which brought its for-  
tunes safe through the terrible crisis that occurred  
in the middle of the eighteenth century, and laid the  
foundation of its present grandeur and prosperity.  
Never was seen greater moral courage, or steadiness  
of purpose, than in this most remarkable woman.  
She may almost be said to have been the founder  
of the real Austrian empire, for she found it on the  
verge of perdition, and she raised it, by the vigour  
of her counsels and heroism of her conduct, to the  
highest pitch of glory. When the Hungarian nobles,  
with tears in their eyes, drew their swords, and said  
with one voice, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria  
Theresa,*" they expressed the sympathy of noble  
minds for such signal intrepidity and resolution as  
she evinced in her distress. Unlike Catharine of  
Russia, her private character was irreproachable ;  
profoundly influenced by religion, she maintained  
unsullied purity in the Imperial Court. Her  
elevation of mind may be judged of by one cir-  
cumstance. When on her deathbed, she was so  
feeble as to be with difficulty preserved from drop-  
ping into a slumber ;<sup>1</sup> but she insisted upon being

<sup>1</sup> Wraxall's  
Hist. Mem.  
i. 456.  
Weber, i.  
471, App.

prevented: "I would meet," said she, "my Creator  
awake." The annals of Rome contain nothing more  
sublime.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

At the accession of her son Joseph II. in 1780,  
new maxims of government succeeded: the ancient  
spirit of the monarchy seemed about to expire. His  
mind was cultivated, his views benevolent, his habits  
simple; but these amiable qualities were combined  
with others of a more dangerous nature. An ardent  
reformer, a philanthropic philosopher, deeply im-  
bued with the delusions of perfectibility, he was im-  
patient to change every thing in the civil, religious,  
and military administration of his vast states; and,  
in the warmth of his benevolence, urged on many  
reforms neither called for by, nor beneficial to his  
subjects. Endowed with an ardent and innovating  
temperament, he, at the same time, was animated by  
a desire for territorial acquisition and military glory.  
Strongly impressed with the inconvenience and ex-  
pense attending the possession of the Low Countries,  
so much exposed to France, so far removed from  
the hereditary states; and relying on the support of  
Catharine, Empress of Russia, in whose ambitious  
designs on Turkey he was participant, he was ex-  
tremely desirous of incorporating Bavaria with his  
vast possessions, by giving the elector the Low  
Countries in exchange, with the title of king.  
Frederick of Prussia instantly sounded the alarm  
on this dangerous proposal, and, by his influence, a  
treaty was concluded at Berlin between Prussia,  
Saxony, and Hanover, which was the last act of  
that great man, and for the time caused this ambi-  
tious project on the part of Austria to miscarry.  
But the Imperial cabinet never lost sight of the  
design,<sup>1</sup> and their attempts to carry it into execution

Innovation  
and im-  
provement  
became the  
order of  
the day.

March 17,  
1786.  
Hard. i.

32, 36.

CHAP. IX. during the course of the revolutionary war, became,  
 1792. as will appear in the sequel, the source of numberless calamities to themselves and to Europe.

Military  
 forces of  
 Austria.

The Austrian forces, at the commencement of the war, amounted to two hundred and forty thousand infantry, thirty-five thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand artillery; but the extent and warlike spirit of the imperial dominions furnished inexhaustible resources for the maintenance of the contest. Sincere and honest in principle, attached to old institutions, and powerfully swayed by religion, the inhabitants of these varied dominions were, with the exception of some of the Italian provinces, unanimous in their horror of the French republican principles; while the power and firm ascendant of the nobility gave steadiness and consistence to their efforts to oppose it. The cavalry was in the finest order, and performed splendid services during the course of the war; but the infantry, though well adapted for plain fighting in a good position, was incapable of the energetic movements which the new system of military operations required, and was disgraced by the frequent occurrence of large bodies laying down their arms. The provinces of Croatia, Transylvania, and the Bannat, lying on the frontier of Turkey, were organized in a military manner; all the inhabitants were trained to the use of arms, from whence the government derived inexhaustible supplies of irregular troops. Hungary and the Low Countries formed the *élite* of the infantry, and composed the principal part of the Imperial guard. The cavalry, admirably mounted, were skilled in all the movements of war, and the artillery respectable, and in good equipment; but the officers of the infantry were deficient in military information,<sup>1</sup> and the sol-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
 33, 34.  
 Jom. i.  
 235, 236.



diers, though well disciplined, wanted the fire and vivacity of the French troops. CHAP.  
IX.

The Flemish dominions of Austria had recently 1792.  
 been the theatre of a revolt so different from that of <sup>Austrian</sup> France, that it is difficult to conceive how they could <sup>Nether-</sup>  
 both have arisen in countries so near each other in <sup>lands.</sup>  
 the same age of the world. The Emperor Joseph II. had alienated the affections of these provinces, by the proposal to exchange them for Bavaria—a project which was only prevented from taking effect by the armed intervention of Prussia; and next excited their alarms by a variety of reforms, founded on philosophical principles, but totally unsuited to the character, religious spirit, and degree of information possessed by the people. At length the proposal to give a colony of Genevese and Swiss, established near Ostend, the free exercise of their religion, brought matters to a crisis; the universities protested against the innovation, and he replied by abolishing the seignorial jurisdictions, and authorizing the sale of a great proportion of the estates of the monasteries, establishing schools independent of the clergy, and curtailing the privileges of the Estates, by introducing intendants, who almost superseded their authority. These changes excited <sup>1 Hard. i.</sup>  
 an universal spirit of disaffection in the provinces, <sup>89, 90.</sup>  
 and led to a measure the most extraordinary <sup>Lac. viii.</sup>  
 and the most fatal which modern history has to <sup>157, 159.</sup>  
 record.<sup>1</sup> <sup>Scott's</sup>  
<sup>Napoleon,</sup>  
<sup>i. 12, 13.</sup>

The barrier towns of the Netherlands, extorted from France after so much bloodshed, or erected at <sup>Destruc-</sup>  
 so vast an expense, were demolished, and the level <sup>tion of the</sup>  
 country left open and unprotected, as if done ex- <sup>barrier</sup>  
 pressly to invite the invasion of their enterprising <sup>fortresses.</sup>  
 neighbours. It seemed as if the Emperor imagined

CHAP. that the marriage of his sister Marie Antoinette to  
IX. the King of France had made the union between the

1792. two kingdoms perpetual ; and that his whole danger arose from the discontented disposition of his own subjects. "Europe," says Jomini, "beheld with astonishment those celebrated fortresses, so famous in former wars, demolished by the very power which had constructed them ; and the Flemings, proud of the recollections with which they were associated, sighed as they saw the plough razing the vestiges of so much historical glory. The event soon proved the fatal tendency of the measure. The Low Countries, bereft of their fortresses, destitute of mountains, and too distant from the centre of the empire to be effectually defended, fell a prey to the first attack ; and the Austrian government were first apprised of the ruinous tendency of their measures, by the loss of that ancient province of their empire."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
159.

Accession  
and cha-  
racter of  
Leopold.

The discontents and indignation of the Flemings at this disastrous measure, preyed so severely on the susceptible heart of Joseph II., that they shortened his life. Upon his death, which happened on 16th February 1790, he was succeeded by his brother Leopold, whose paternal and benevolent system of government in Tuscany had long been the object of admiration to all the philosophers of Europe ; but whose character, admirably adapted for the pacific administration of that tranquil duchy, was little calculated for the government of the great and varied provinces of the Austrian empire. He found the monarchy shaken in all its parts by the reforms and innovations of his predecessor ; the Belgian provinces in open insurrection ; Bohemia and Lower Austria in sullen discontent ; and Hungary in a state of menacing insubordination. To complete his

difficulties, the seeds of a revolution were rapidly expanding in Poland, while the distracted habits and feeble government of that feeble democracy afforded little hope that it would be permitted to extricate itself from its embarrassments without foreign invasion; and it was easy to foresee that the spoliation of its rich and defenceless plains would throw the apple of discord among the ambitious military monarchies by which it was surrounded.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Hard. i.  
79, 80.

The ill humours of the Flemings had already broken out into open insurrection. In the autumn of 1789, at the very time that the French were revolting against the privileged classes and the authority of the church, the inhabitants of the Netherlands took up arms to support them. France sought to impose liberal measures upon its government; Flanders to resist those introduced by its sovereign; France to abolish religion, Flanders to support it. Brussels, Ghent, and Mons speedily fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the rapidity of the disaster accelerated the death of the Emperor Joseph. But this success was of short duration. Leopold, his successor, took the most energetic measures to re-establish his authority; the partisans of

Revolt of  
the Flemings  
against  
Austria.  
Sept. 1789.



CHAP. and acknowledged supremacy of the Cæsars, could  
IX. not conceal the real weakness of their authority.

1792. The vast but unwieldy fabric of the empire was  
State of governed by the diet assembled at Ratisbon, which  
the Ger- consisted of three colleges ; that of the electors, that  
man Em- of the princes, and that of the free towns. The first,  
pire. which had been fixed by the treaty of Westphalia  
at eight electors, to which Hanover was afterwards  
added, possessed the sole right of electing the em-  
peror : the second, composed of thirty-three eccle-  
siastical and sixty-one lay princes, enjoyed little  
influence, and afforded only an inviting prospect to  
the rapacity of their superiors ; the third, consisting  
of forty-seven towns, was consulted only for form's  
sake, and had no real deliberative voice in public  
affairs. Each circle was bound to furnish a certain  
contingent of troops for the defence of the empire ;  
but their soldiers, disunited and various, formed but  
a feeble protection, and the real strength of the  
empire consisted in the Austrian and Prussian  
monarchies.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
8, 9.

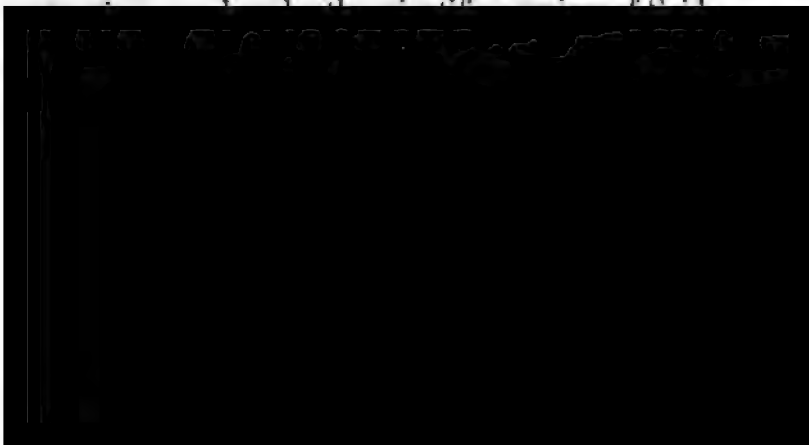
Military The military strength of Prussia, raised to the  
state of highest pitch of which its resources would admit by  
Prussia. the genius and successes of the Great Frederick, had  
rendered this inconsiderable kingdom a first-rate  
power on the continent of Europe. Its army, one  
hundred and sixty thousand strong, comprising thirty-  
five thousand horse, was in the highest state of dis-  
cipline and equipment ; but this force, how consider-  
able soever, formed but a small part of the strength  
of the kingdom. By an admirable system of organi-  
zation, the whole youth of the nation was compelled  
to serve a limited number of years in the army in  
their early life, the effect of which was, not only that  
a taste for military habits was universally diffused,

but that the state always possessed within its bosom an inexhaustible reserve of experienced veterans, who might, in any emergency, be called to its defence. The aversion evinced in so many other countries to the military service, from the unlimited length to which it extended, was unknown where it reached only to four years, and it came rather to be regarded as an agreeable mode of spending the active and enterprising period of youth. Prussia reaped the full benefit of this judicious system, when she withstood the three greatest powers in Europe during the Seven Years' War; and she was indebted to the same cause for those inexhaustible and courageous defenders who flocked to her standard during the latter part of the revolutionary contest.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

At the death of the Great Frederick, the Prussian army was considered as the first in Europe. Proud of a struggle without a parallel in modern times, and of the unrivalled talent of their commander, the Prussian soldiers possessed not only the moral strength so necessary in war, but had been trained, in a variety of exercises, to the rapid movement of great masses. Annual evolutions, on a large scale, accustomed the army to that necessary piece of in-

Military  
system of  
the mo-  
narchy.



CHAP. IX. classes could alone save them from destruction,  
 1792. Prussia had reason to felicitate herself upon the  
 change.

Its statis-  
 tics and  
 govern-  
 ment.

The states which composed the Prussian monarchy were by no means so coherent or rounded as those which formed the Austrian dominions. Nature had traced out no limits like the Rhine, the Alps, or the Pyrenees, to form the boundary of its dominions; no great rivers or mountain chains protected its frontiers; few fortified towns guarded it from the incursions of the vast military monarchies by which it was surrounded. Its surface consisted of fourteen thousand square leagues, and its population, which had been doubled under the reign of Frederick the Great, amounted to nearly eight million souls, but they were composed of various races, spoke different languages, professed different religions, and were protected by no external or internal line of fortresses. Towards Russia and Austrian Poland, a frontier of two hundred leagues was totally destitute of places of defence: Silesia alone enjoyed the double advantage of three lines of fortresses, and the choicest gifts of nature. The national defence rested entirely on the army and the courage of the inhabitants: but, animated by the recollection of the Seven Years' War, they were both elevated to the highest pitch. The government was a military despotism: no privileges of individuals or corporations restrained the authority of the sovereign; the liberty of the press was unknown: but nevertheless the public administration was tempered by the wisdom and beneficence of its state policy. This system, begun by Frederick the Great, had passed into settled maxims, which governed the administration of his successors. In no

country of Europe, not even in England or Switzerland, was private right more thoroughly respected, or justice more rigidly observed, both in the courts of law and the domestic measures of government. “Every thing for the people, nothing by them,” was the principle of its administration. Toleration, established even to excess, had degenerated into its fatal ally, indifference and infidelity, in many of the higher orders; manners imitating the seductions of Paris, were corrupt in the capital; while the middle ranks, united in secret societies of Freemasonry,<sup>1</sup> already indulged those ardent feelings which afterwards exercised so important an influence on the destinies of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Cap.  
l'Eur. i. 47.  
Hard. i.  
37, 40, 44.

The might of Russia, first experienced by Frederick at the terrible battle of Cunnersdorff, was now beginning to fill the north with apprehension. This immense empire, comprehending nearly half of Europe and Asia within its dominions, backed by inaccessible frozen regions, secured from invasion by the extent of its surface and the severity of its climate, inhabited by a patient and indomitable race, ever ready to exchange the luxury and adventure of the south for the hardships and monotony of the north, was daily becoming more formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Empress Catharine, endowed with masculine energy and ambition, was urging a bloody war with Turkey, in which the zeal of a religious crusade was directed by the sagacity of civilized warfare. The campaign had commenced with the taking of Oczakoff, which easily yielded to the audacity and fortune of Prince Potemkin; but the courage of the Turks, though long dormant, was at length roused to the highest pitch. Undisciplined and unstable in the field, they were almost invinci-

Russia.

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

ble behind walls, and the most inconsiderable forts, manned by such defenders, became impregnable save at an enormous expense of blood and treasure. But a new and terrible enemy to the Ottomans arose in SUWARROW, one of those extraordinary men, who sometimes, by the force of their individual character, alter the destiny of nations. This determined and dauntless general, who to the highest talents for war united a religious influence over the minds of his soldiers, joined the Austrians with eight thousand men, who, with seventeen thousand, were maintaining a doubtful contest with a hundred thousand Turks on the banks of the river Rymniski, and infused such energy into the combined army, that they gained a complete victory over their formidable enemies. He was afterwards employed in the siege of Ismael, and, chiefly by the ascendancy of real greatness, over the minds of his soldiers, succeeded in carrying by assault that celebrated fortress, though defended by twenty-four thousand of the bravest troops in the Turkish dominions. British diplomacy was employed before it was too late to avert the threatened calamities of the Ottoman empire; new objects of contention arose; fresh contests sprang out of the Western Revolution, and the glory of placing the cross on the dome of St Sophia was reserved for a future age.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. viii. 155, 156.  
Ann. Reg. xxxiii. 201.  
Tooke's Russia, i. 128.  
Ségur, ii. 279. Biog. Univ. xliiii. 217. Suwarrow.

The Russian army and Cosacks.

The Russian infantry had long been celebrated for its immovable firmness. At Pultowa, Cünnersdorff, Choczim, and Ismael, it had become distinguished; and the cavalry, though greatly inferior to its present state of discipline and equipment, was inured to service in the war with the Turks, and mounted on a hardy and admirable race of horses. The artillery, now so splendid, was then remarkable only



for the cumbrous quality of the carriages, and the obstinate valour of the men. The armies were recruited by a certain proportion of conscripts drawn out of every one hundred male inhabitants; a mode of conscription which, in an immense and rapidly increasing population, furnished an inexhaustible supply of soldiers. They amounted in 1792, to two hundred thousand men; but the half of his force alone was disposable for active operations, the remainder being cantoned on the Pruth, the Caucasus, and the frontiers of Finland. In this enumeration, however, was not comprised either the youth of the military colonies, who afterwards became of great importance, or the well-known Cossacks of the Don. This irregular force, composed of the pastoral tribes in the southern provinces of the empire, costs almost nothing to the state; the government merely issues an order for a certain number of this hardy band to take the field, and crowds of active young men appear, equipped at their own expense, mounted on small, but indefatigable horses, and ready to undergo all the hardships of war, from their duty to their sovereign, and their hopes of plunder or adventure. Gifted with all the individual intelligence which belongs to the pastoral and savage character, and yet subjected to a certain degree of military discipline, they make the best of all light troops, and are more formidable to a retreating army than the *élite* of the French or Russian guards.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Inured to hardships from his infancy, the Russian soldier is better calculated to bear the fatigues of war than any in Europe. He knows no duty so sacred as obedience to his officers; submissive to his discipline as to the ordinances of religion, no fatigue, no privation, can make him forget its obligations.

Character  
of the  
Russian  
soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
254, 258.

CHAP. IX. Through every march, through entire campaigns,

1792. you behold the cannonier near his piece, at the post assigned to him by his commander; and, unless authorized to do so, nothing will induce him to abandon it. The waggon-train was their harness in bivouacs, under a cold of 15 deg. of Reaumur, corresponding to 5 deg. above zero of Fahrenheit, as they would do for a day of parade in the finest weather. This admirable spirit of precision renders their defeats extremely rare; and the soldiers are so accustomed, in their wars with the Turks, to look for safety only in closing their ranks, and to expect destruction if they fly, that they are hardly ever broken. If they have not the facility at rallying after a defeat, which their high degree of individual intelligence has given to the French soldiers, they have greater firmness in resisting it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
256.

The civil  
institu-  
tions and  
govern-  
ment, and  
national  
spirit of  
Russia,

The whole energies of the nation are turned towards the army. Commerce, the law, and all civil employments, are held in no esteem; all the youth of any consideration betake themselves to the profession of arms. Immense military schools, in different parts of the empire, annually send forth the whole flower of the population to this dazzling career. Precedence depends entirely on military rank; and the heirs to the greatest families are compelled to enter the army in the lowest grade. They face hardship and danger with the same courage as the private soldiers; they were to be found by their sides in the breach of Ismael and in the snows of Finland. Promotion is open equally to all:<sup>2</sup> a government depending entirely on its military prowess, finds itself obliged to promote real merit; and great part of the officers at the head of the army have risen from the inferior stations of society.

<sup>2</sup> Jom. i.  
257.

But, formidable as the power of Russia appeared even at that period, the world was far from anticipating the splendid part which it was destined to bear in the approaching conflict. Her immense population, amounting in Europe alone to nearly thirty-five millions, afforded an inexhaustible supply of men. The ravages of war, or pestilence, were speedily filled up in a country whose numbers were doubling every fifty years. Her soldiers, inured to heat and cold from their infancy, and actuated by a blind devotion to the Czar, united the steady valour of the English to the impetuous energy of the French troops. Dreaded by all her neighbours, and too remote to fear attack, she could afford to send forth her whole disposable force on foreign service; while the want of pecuniary resources was of little importance, as long as the wealth of England could be relied on to furnish the sinews of war. Before the conclusion of hostilities, France saw one hundred and fifty thousand Russian soldiers reviewed on the plains of Burgundy; a force greater than that with which Attila combated on the field of Chalons.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Tooke's  
Russia, ii.  
138. Jom.  
i. 257.

Poland, the destined theatre of glorious achievements, was, at the commencement of the French Revolution, groaning under the weight of foreign oppression. This heroic country, long the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, the deliverer of Germany under John Sobieski, the ancient conqueror of Russia, had been the victim of the insane democratic passions of its people, and an atrocious conspiracy of the neighbouring kings. The flatness of its surface, the want of fortified towns, and the weakness incident to an elective monarchy and turbulent democracy, had rendered all the valour of the people unavailing, and the greater part of its dominions had been ret

Poland, its  
divisions  
and parti-  
tions.

CHAP. by its ambitious neighbours at the disastrous epoch  
IX. of 1772. In 1792, the neighbouring sovereigns  
1792. found a new pretence for renewing their spoliations. Stanislaus Augustus, the last nominal king, had granted a constitution to his subjects, better adapted than could have been hoped for to their peculiar situation. By it, the crown was declared elective, but the dynasty hereditary—the Princess of Saxony was proclaimed heiress of the throne after the demise of the king. Legislative measures and decrees were to be proposed by the crown, and sanctioned by the Chambers of Lords and Commons. The nobles abandoned their privilege of engrossing every employment under government; and, to provide for the gradual elevation of the people, the king was obliged, during the sitting of each diet, to ennoble thirty of the bourgeois class. The Catholic religion was declared the established faith. This constitution was proclaimed amidst the universal acclamations of the people; and new life thought to have been infused into the ancient monarchy, from the intermixture of popular vigour. But these transports were of short duration. Stanislaus Augustus, how enlightened soever in framing a constitution, was ill qualified to defend it. The people, disunited for centuries, were incapable of any measures for their common defence. The jealousy of the Empress Catharine was awakened by the prospect of Poland again emerging into political vigour, and her fears by the proximity of revolutionary principles to her hereditary states. A new treaty of partition was signed between the three adjoining powers, and the conqueror of Ismael called from the Turkish war, to give the last blow to the ancient defenders of the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 205.  
Lac. viii.  
168, 172.  
Burke, vi.  
178.

Though deprived of the weight arising from unity

of empire, the native valour of the Poles destined them to perform an important part on the theatre of Europe. Napoleon has characterised them as the people who most rapidly become soldiers; and their ardent patriotism rendered them the ready victims of any power, which held out the prospect of restoring the national independence. The valour of the Polish legions made them distinguished in the wars of Italy and Spain; they followed the French standards to Smolensko and Moscow, and maintained an unshaken fidelity to them during all the disasters of the subsequent retreat. Though cruelly abandoned by Napoleon in the commencement of the Russian campaign, they adhered to his fortunes through all the subsequent changes; and amidst the general defection of Europe, kept their faith inviolate on the field of Leipsic.

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Their  
heroic  
military  
character.

Sweden was too remote from the scene of European conflict to have much weight in the political scale. Secure in a distant, and almost inaccessible situation, blessed with a hardy, intrepid, and honest peasantry, she had nothing to dread but from the insatiable progress of Russian ambition. She had recently, however, concluded a glorious war with her powerful neighbour; her arms, in alliance with those of Turkey, had taken the Imperial forces by surprise; and Gustavus, extricating himself by a desperate exertion of valour from a perilous situation, had destroyed the Russian fleet, and gained a great victory so near St Petersburg, that the sound of the cannon was heard in the palace of the Empress. But such is the weight of Russia, that her enemies are always glad to purchase peace, even in the moments of their greatest success. Catharine hastened to get quit of the Swedish war, by offering advan-

Sweden.

CHAP. IX. tageous terms to her courageous rival, and flattered his chivalrous feelings into accepting them, by representing that the efforts of all sovereigns should now be directed towards resisting the progress of the French Revolution, and that he alone was worthy to head the enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. viii.  
107.

Ottoman  
dominions.

<sup>2</sup> Nap. i.  
375.

Placed on the other extremity of the Russian dominions, the forces of Turkey were still less capable of affecting the balance of the European states. Formidable during the period of its vigour and rise, the Ottoman power, like that of all barbarous nations, had rapidly and irrecoverably declined, after the zenith of its greatness had been attained. It was defended chiefly by the desert and inaccessible nature of its territory, the consequence of the incessant and grievous oppression of its government, and the jealousies of the European powers, who never failed to interfere when the danger became imminent to the existence of its dominion. Its cavalry, brave, skilful, and admirably mounted, was the most formidable in the world;<sup>2</sup> but the desultory temper of its people was incapable of the submission and constancy requisite to form an experienced and disciplined body of infantry. Sometimes, however, the spirit of fanaticism roused them to extraordinary exertions, and on such occasions it was not unusual to see a hundred and fifty thousand armed men on the banks of the Danube; but these efforts were of short duration, and the first serious reverse dissipated the mighty host, and reduced its leaders to the command of a few regiments of horse. But though these causes rendered the Ottomans incapable of foreign conquest, they were still extremely formidable to an invading army; their desert and waterless plains afforded no resources to an enemy,

while the total want of roads fit for the transport of wheeled carriages, made it almost impossible to bring supplies from the adjoining states, or advance the artillery requisite for the siege of their fortresses. Behind the walls of the most inconsiderable towns, the Janizaries fought with desperate, and often successful valour ; the whole inhabitants took to arms in defence of their lives and their religion ; and, lined with such defenders, trifling cities frequently presented a more formidable resistance than the most regular fortifications of Western Europe.

The incessant and grinding oppression, however, of the Ottoman government, had implanted a principle of weakness in the Turkish power, little attended to in former times, but of which the effects have since been strikingly displayed. This consisted in the constant and rapid decay of the population, which soon rendered the Osmanlis unequal even to those sudden and vehement exertions, which at former periods had struck such terror into the neighbouring states. At the same time the ignorant and brutal pride of the government, which prevented them from acquiring any knowledge of the situation of the European powers, rendered them incapable

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Constant  
decline of  
its popula-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> Walsh's  
Constan-

CHAP. ancient greatness, and containing the cradle of mo-  
 IX. dern freedom, the people of Italy were yet as dust  
 1792. in the scale of nations. The loss of military courage  
 and of private virtue seems to have been the cause  
 of this sad degradation. When conducted by foreign  
 leaders, the inhabitants of its northern states, like  
 the Portuguese and the Hindoos under British  
 direction; have risen to honourable distinction be-  
 neath the standard of Napoleon; but led by their  
 own officers, and following their national colours,  
 they have never been able to stand the shock of  
 the Transalpine forces. Tuscany, from the effects  
 of the sage and paternal government of Leopold,  
 was flourishing, prosperous, and contented; but the  
 proximity of France had spread the seeds of discon-  
 tent in Piedmont, and, in common with its inhabi-  
 tants, the Milanese beheld with undisguised satis-  
 faction the triumph of the republican arms on the  
 other side of the Alps. It was in vain, however,  
 that a smothered feeling of indignation at foreign  
 rule pervaded the Italian states; in vain all their  
 theatres rung with acclamations at the line of Al-  
 fieri:

‘ *Servi siam sì! ma servi ognor frementi;*’

they were incapable of those steady and sustained  
 efforts, which are essential to the establishment either  
 of civil liberty or national independence. Hence,  
 during all the contests of which it was the theatre,  
 Italy became the unresisting prey of the northern  
 victor. The Austrian and French eagles alternately  
 ruled her plains, but the national colours were never  
 unfurled, nor any effort made to liberate them from  
 foreign dominion; and on the few occasions on  
 which the Neapolitans and Venetians attempted to  
 raise the standard of independence, they were van-



quished by the mere sight of the enemy's force. It is melancholy to reflect, that the descendants of the Romans, the Samnites, and the Cisalpine Gauls, should so far, and to appearance so irrecoverably, have degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors; but it seems to be the law of nature, that a high state of civilization cannot *long* co-exist with military courage in the favoured climates of the world; and that, as some counterpoise to the lavish accumulation of her gifts, Nature has denied to their inhabitants the permanent resolution to defend them.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

<sup>1</sup> Bot. i.  
21. Lac.  
viii. 147.

The kingdom of Piedmont, situated on the frontier of Italy, partook more of the character of its northern than its southern neighbours. Its soldiers, chiefly drawn from the mountains of Savoy, Liguria, or the maritime Alps, were brave, docile, and enterprising, and, under Victor Amadeus, had risen to the highest distinction in the commencement of the eighteenth century. The regular army amounted to thirty thousand infantry, and three thousand five hundred cavalry; but, besides this, the government could summon to their support fifteen thousand militia, who, in defending their mountain passes, rivalled the best troops in Europe. They were chiefly employed during the war in guarding the fortresses; and the number of these, joined to the natural strength of the country, and its important situation, as holding the keys of the great passes over the Alps, gave this state a degree of military importance beyond what could have been anticipated from its physical strength.<sup>2</sup>

Jom. i.

244.

Sunk in obscure marshes, crushed by the naval supremacy of England, and cooped up in a corner of Europe, the political importance of the Dutch Republic had fallen in a great degree in the scale of

Holland.

CHAP. Europe. Its army was still composed of forty-four  
IX. thousand men, and its fortified towns and inunda-

1792. tions gave it the same means of defence which had formerly been so gloriously exerted; but the resolution of the inhabitants was by no means at that time equal to the strength of their situation. A long tract of peace had weakened the military spirit of the people, and their chief defence was placed in the wretched assistance of auxiliary troops, which never enabled the Republic, during the subsequent contests, to bring thirty thousand men into the field. The world at this period was far from anticipating the glorious stand which the Dutch subsequently made, in 1834, against the hostility by land and sea

<sup>1</sup> Jom. 246. of the two greatest powers in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Spain. Animated by stronger passions, descended from more fiery progenitors, and inured to a more varied climate, the people of the Spanish Peninsula were calculated to perform a more distinguished part in the strife for European freedom. This singular and mixed race united to the tenacity of purpose which distinguished the Gothic, the fiery enterprise which characterised the Moorish blood; centuries of almost unbroken repose had neither extinguished the one nor abated the other; and the Conqueror of Europe erroneously judged the temper of her people, when he measured it by the inglorious reigns of the Bourbon dynasty. The nobles, degenerated by long continued intermarriage with each other, were indeed incapable of strenuous exertion, and the reigning family had none of the qualities calculated to command success; but the peasantry, bold, prosperous, and independent, presented the materials for a resolute army; and the priesthood, possessed of an unlimited sway over the minds of the lower orders,

were animated by the most inextinguishable hatred at the principles of the French Revolution. The decay of its national strength, falsely ascribed by superficial writers to the drain of colonial enterprise,\* and the possession of the mines of America, was really owing to the accumulation of estates in the hands of communities and noble families, and the predominant influence of the Catholic priesthood, which for centuries had rendered that fine kingdom little else than a cluster of convents, surrounded by a hardy peasantry. But though these causes had rendered Spain incapable of any sustained foreign enterprise, they had not in the least diminished its aptitude for internal defence ; and the people, who in every age have there made common cause with the king and the nobles, flew to arms with unequalled enthusiasm, when their loyalty was awakened by the captivity of their sovereign, and their fanaticism roused by the efforts of their pastors. By a just retribution, the first great reverse of the French arms was occasioned by the spirit of religious resistance nourished by their first flagrant acts of injustice ; and the disaster of Baylen would not have arisen, nor the bones of five hundred thousand French whitened the plains of Spain, but for the confiscation of the property of the French church by the Constituent Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Foy, ii.

143, 144,

151, 160,

170.

Jovell.

171. Napier, i. 4, 5.

The nominal military strength of Spain, at the commencement of the Revolution, was one hundred and forty thousand men ; but this force was far from being effective, and in the first campaigns the cabi-

its military  
forces.

\* The exports of Spain to her colonies, in 1790, were L.15,000,000 annually ; nearly as much as those of Great Britain at this time to her colonies, which was L.16,280,000.—See HUMBOLDT, *Nouvelle Espagne*, iv. 153, 154.

CHAP. net of Madrid were never able to raise their force  
IX. in the field to eighty thousand combatants, though  
1792. they reinforced their army by thirty-six battalions  
on the breaking out of the war. But on occasion of  
the invasion in 1808, an immense insurrectionary  
force sprung up in every part of the country. These  
undisciplined levies, however, though occasionally  
brave, like the Turks, in defending walls, were  
miserably deficient in the essential qualities of regu-  
lar soldiers; they had neither the steadiness, mutual  
confidence, nor conduct necessary for success in the  
field. Accordingly, they were almost invariably  
routed in every encounter: and but for the tenacity  
of purpose arising from their character, ignorance,  
and habit of boasting, which effectually concealed  
the extent of their disasters from all but the sufferers  
under them, and the continued presence of a large  
English force in the field, the war would have been  
terminated soon after its commencement, with very  
little trouble to the French Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Napier, i.  
237, *et seq.*  
Jom. i. 240.

Character  
of the  
Spanish  
army.

The Spanish soldiers have never exhibited in the  
wars of the Revolution that firmness in the field  
which formerly distinguished their infantry at Pavia,  
Rocroi, and in the Low Countries. They have been  
distinguished rather by the tumultuary habits and  
tendency to abandon their colours on the first reverse,  
which belongs to the troops of tropical climates, and  
characterized their forefathers in the Roman wars.  
It would seem as if the long residence of their an-  
cestors in a warm climate had melted away the in-  
domitable valour of the Gothic race in their original  
frozen seats. Military glory was held in little es-  
teem; hardly four of the *grandees* were to be found,  
in 1792, in the army or naval service. But the  
peasantry have evinced throughout the war the

most obstinate and enduring spirit: Though routed CHAP. IX.  
 on numberless occasions, they almost always rallied, 1792.  
 as in the days of Sertorius, in more favourable cir-  
 cumstances; and though deserted by nearly all the Jom. i. 242, 243.  
 nobility, maintained a prolonged contest with the  
 Conqueror of Northern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Cradled in snowy mountains, tilling a sterile soil,  
 and habituated to severe habits, the Swiss peasantry Switzer-land.  
 exhibited the same features which have always ren-  
 dered them so celebrated in European wars. Their  
 lives were as simple, their courage as undaunted,  
 their patriotism as warm, as those of their ancestors  
 who died on the field of Morat or Morgarten. For-  
 midable in defence, however, their numerical strength,  
 which did not exceed thirty-eight thousand regular  
 soldiers,<sup>2</sup> rendered them of little avail in the great Statistique de la Suisse, 102.  
 contests which rolled round the feet of their moun-  
 tains. Occasions, indeed, were not wanting, when  
 they displayed the ancient virtue of their race:  
 Their conflicts in Berne and Underwalden, at the  
 time of the French invasion, equalled the far-famed  
 celebrity of their wars of independence; and, amidst  
 the disgraceful defection of the 10th August, the  
 Swiss guards alone remained faithful to the fortunes  
 of Louis, and merited, by their death, the touching  
 inscription on the graves at Thermopylæ:

“ Go, stranger! and at Lacedæmon tell,  
 That here, obedient to her laws, we fell.”

Such was the state of the principal European  
 powers at the commencement of the French Revo- State of so-  
ciety over  
Europe at  
this epoch.  
 lution. A spirit of gentleness pervaded the political  
 world, the effect of increasing knowledge and long-  
 continued prosperity. Even the most despotic em-  
 pires were ruled with a lenity unknown in former  
 times, and the state-prisons of all the European

CHAP. monarchies would probably have exhibited as few  
IX. inmates as the Bastile when it was stormed in 1789.

1792. Ever since the termination of the general war in 1763, a growing spirit of improvement had pervaded the European states, and repeatedly called forth the praises of the contemporary annalists. Agriculture had risen into universal esteem; kings were setting the example of cultivating the soil; and a large portion of the nobility were every where lending their aid to improve that first and best of human pursuits. Leopold in Tuscany and Flanders, and Louis in France, were ardently engaged in the amelioration of their dominions. Even in the regions of the North, the spirit of improvement was steadily advancing. The able exertions of Frederick had nearly doubled in a single reign the resources of his dominions; and in Poland and Russia, the example of a gradual enfranchisement of the serfs had been set with the happiest success. The haughtiness and pride of aristocratic birth was gradually yielding to the influence of extending wants and an enlarged commerce, and in many of the European states the highest offices under government were held by persons of plebeian birth. Necker, Vergennes, and Sartines, who successively held the most important situations in France, were of this class. The Inquisition had been voluntarily abandoned in Parma. Placentia, Milan, and Modena, and toleration over all Europe, had spread to a degree unknown in former times. All the remaining vestiges of that fierce spirit, which sullied with barbarism the lofty and romantic courtesy of ancient manners, were gradually softening away; and the flames of that religious zeal, which for two centuries had so often kindled the torch of civil discord, were sunk into ashes.

Every succeeding generation was of a character milder and gentler than the last. There was a diffusion of liberality that was beginning to pervade the mass of mankind, although the prophetic eye could discern in it the fatal intermixture of religious indifference. The diversified classes of society harmonized with each other in a way hitherto unknown; and whatever might be the peculiarities of particular constitutions, a sweeter blood seemed in all to circulate through every member of the political body.<sup>1</sup> The lowest of the people, under governments the most despotic, no longer held their countenances prone to the earth, but were taught to erect them, with a becoming sense of their own nature; and the brow of authority, instead of an austere frown, wore a more inviting air of complacency and amenity.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. viii.  
140. Bot.  
i. 13, 19.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 207,  
211; xxiv.  
12, 13;  
xxvii. 3, 4;  
xxviii. 169.

But while such was the general character of Europe, there was an important distinction between the national tendency of its Northern and Southern states, which soon produced the most lasting effects on their respective fortunes: the spirit of the South was in general pacific, that of the North ambitious; the repose of the former bordered on inertness, the energy of the latter on turbulence. The amelioration of the first was slow and almost imperceptible, flowing chiefly from the energy or benignity of the sovereigns; the improvements of the latter rapid and violent, taking their origin in the increasing importance of the people. Pleasure was the leading object in the South; glory, military glory, in the North. The difference was perceptible even during the progress of pacific changes; but when war broke out, its effects became of the last importance, and speedily led to the subjugation of the Southern by the Northern states of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Difference  
between  
the South  
and the  
North.

<sup>2</sup> Lac. viii.  
141.

CHAP. IX. The greatest blessings border upon misfortunes; out of the bosom of calamity often springs the chief improvement of the human race. To the eye of philosophy it was not difficult to discern that the growing passion for innovation, to which all reform is more or less related, was pregnant with political danger; that the universal toleration which prevailed bordered upon infidelity; and that the disposition to improve, emanating from the purest intention in the higher ranks, was likely to agitate the spirit of democracy in the lower. Such a peril, accordingly, was foreseen and expressed by the contemporary historians; but they did not foresee, nor could human imagination have anticipated, either the terrible effects of that spirit upon the passing generation, or the beneficial effects which the storm of the world was destined to have upon the future condition of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

General  
passion for  
innovation.

<sup>1</sup> Ann.  
Reg.  
xxviii. 29,  
30.

State of  
France  
when hosti-  
lities com-  
menced.

The state of France at the period when hostilities first commenced, cannot be better described than in the words of the eloquent and philanthropic Abbé Raynal, in a letter to the National Assembly:—  
“ Placed on the verge of the grave, on the point of quitting an immense family, of which I have never ceased to wish the happiness, what do I behold around me in this capital? Religious troubles, civil dissension, the consternation of some, the audacity of others, a government the slave of popular tyranny, the sanctuary of the laws violated by lawless men; soldiers without discipline, chiefs without authority, ministers without resources; a king, the first and best friend of his people, deprived of all power, outraged, menaced, a prisoner in his own palace, and the sovereign power transferred to popular clubs, where ignorant and brutal men take upon themselves to



decide every political question. Such is the real state of France; few but myself would have the courage to declare it, but I do so, because I feel it to be my duty; because I am bordering on my eightieth year; because no one can accuse me of being a partisan of the ancient *régime*; because, while I groan over the desolation of the French church, no one can assert that I am a fanatical priest; because, while I regard as the sole means of salvation the re-establishment of the legitimate authority, no one can suppose that I am insensible to the blessings of real freedom."<sup>1</sup> When such was the language of the first supporters of the Revolution, it is noways surprising that the European powers beheld with dismay the progress of principles fraught with such calamitous consequences, according to the admission of their own partisans, in the countries where they had commenced.

The language of the French government towards the people of all other states, was such as to excite the most serious apprehension of the friends of order in every civilized country. Not only the orators in the clubs, but the members of the Assembly, openly proclaimed the doctrine of fraternization with the revolutionary party all over the world. The annexation of the states of Avignon and the Venaisin, was early marked by Mr Burke as the indication of an ambitious spirit, which ere long the limits of Europe would not contain. The annexation of this little state to the French Republic was the more remarkable, that it was the first decided aggression on the part of its rulers upon the adjoining nations, and that it was committed on an independent sovereign, with whom not even the pretence of a quarrel existed,<sup>2</sup> and who was not alleged to have entered

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. viii.  
355, 356.

Menacing  
language  
of the  
French to  
other  
states.

Sept. 17,  
1791.  
Oct. 4.  
1791.

<sup>2</sup> Parl.  
Hist.  
xxxiv.  
1316. Ann.  
Reg.  
xxxiii. 199,  
206;  
xxxiv. 39.

CHAP. into any hostile alliances against that power. This  
IX. was followed up in the same year by the seizure of  
1791. Porentrui, part of the dominions of the Bishop of  
Bâle, a German prelate noways subject to the French  
government.

The French Revolution surprised the European powers in their usual state of smothered jealousy or open hostility to each other. Catharine of Russia was occupied with her ambitious projects in the south-east of Europe, and her ascendancy at the Courts of Berlin and Vienna was so great, that no serious opposition was to be apprehended from their hostility. France had shortly before signed a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which was considered as indicating the ascendancy of her naval rival, and seriously impaired her influence on the continent of Europe; while Frederick the Great had recently before his death concluded the Convention of Berlin, for the protection of Bavaria and the lesser powers from the ambition of the House of Austria. But the death of that great monarch, which took place in August 1786, was an irreparable loss to the diplomacy of Europe at the very time when, from the commencement of new and unheard-of dangers, his sagacity was most required.<sup>1</sup>

His successor, Frederick William, though distinguished for personal valour, and not destitute of penetration and good sense, was too indolent and voluptuous to be qualified to follow out the active thread of negotiation which his predecessor had held. Hertzberg became, after the death of the late monarch, the soul of the Prussian cabinet, and his whole object was to provide a counterpoise to the enormous preponderance of the two Imperial courts,

Sept. 28,  
1786.

Jan. 22,  
1785.

Aug. 17,  
1786.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. i.  
72, 80.

Diplomacy  
of Prussia  
after the  
death of  
Frederick  
the Great.

which had recently become still more formidable from the intimate union which prevailed between Catharine and Joseph II., cemented by their common ambitious designs on Turkey, and which had been ostentatiously proclaimed to Europe during a voyage which the two potentates made together on the Volga to the Crimea and shores of the Black Sea. A treaty with France promised no satisfactory result in the distracted state to which that kingdom was now reduced. In these circumstances, an alliance of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, appeared the only means of providing for the balance of power in Europe; and under the influence of Mr Pitt, a convention was concluded at Loo between these three powers, which again established the preponderance of England on the Continent, and long preserved the balance of European power.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at the very time that the most appalling dangers were about to arise to the liberties of Europe from the revolutionary ambition of France on its western side, the views of its statesmen were turned to another quarter, and solely directed to prevent the aggrandizement of the military monarchies, who seemed on the point of swallowing up its eastern dynasties.<sup>2</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

June 13,

1788.

<sup>1</sup> Martens,  
Trait. v.  
172.<sup>2</sup> Hard, l.  
62, 63.

Passionately desirous of military renown, Joseph II. addressed, early in 1788, a confidential letter to Frederick William, in which he openly avowed his designs on Turkey, and justified them by the practice of the Turks themselves and all the European powers in similar circumstances.\* Though flattered

Views of  
Austria on  
Turkey.

\* "The sword is drawn," said he, "and it shall not be restored to the scabbard till I have regained all that has been wrested by the Osmanlis from my house. My enterprise against Turkey has no other object but to regain the possessions which time and misfortunes have detached from my crown. The Turks consider it as an invariable maxim to seize the first convenient opportunity of regaining the pos-

CHAP. by this mark of confidence, the Prussian cabinet  
IX. were not blinded to the danger which menaced

1791. Europe from the approaching dismemberment of Turkey, so rapidly following the second partition of Poland. Meanwhile the united forces of Austria and Russia made great progress; the progress of the Muscovite and Imperial arms was daily more alarming; the throne of Constantinople seemed shaken to its foundation. Oczakow had fallen, and with it the bravest defenders of the Turkish power; the Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Suwarrow successively defeated large bodies of Osmanlis at Fochzani and Martinesti, while Belgrade, the bulwark of Transylvania, yielded to the scientific measures of Marshal Laudohn: the Russians, on the shores of the Black Sea, had completely routed Hassan Pacha at Tobak, and, after a long siege, made themselves masters of Bender; while the Imperialists, no less successful, reduced Bucharest, and spread themselves over all the northern shores of the Danube. Orsova had fallen; and the united Imperial armies, two hundred and fifty thousand strong, extending over a line four hundred miles in length, already, in the spring of 1790, menaced Gergevo and Wid-  
din, and threatened instantaneous destruction to the Ottoman empire.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann.  
Reg. xxxi.  
182, 200;  
and xxxiii.  
1, 18,  
Hard, i. 68,  
84.

Seriously alarmed at the dangers which evidently sessions which they have lost. The House of Brandenburg has risen to its present pitch of glory by adopting the same principles. Your uncle wrested Silesia from my mother at a moment when, surrounded by enemies, she had no other support but her native grandeur of mind and the love of her people. During a century of losses, Austria has made no proportional acquisition; for the larger portion of Poland, on the last partition, fell to Prussia. I hope these reasons will appear sufficient for me to decline the intervention of your Majesty; and that you will not resist my endeavours to Germanize some hundreds of thousands of Orientals."—HARD, i. 65, 66.

menaced Europe from the fall of the Turkish empire, Mr Pitt was indefatigable in his exertions, before it was too late, to arrest the march of the Imperial courts. By his means the bands were drawn closer between Prussia and Great Britain; and Frederick William, fully alive to the dangers which threatened his dominions from the aggrandizement of Austria, advanced, at the head of one hundred thousand men, to the frontiers of Bohemia. Unable to undertake a war at the same time on the Elbe and the Danube, and uneasy, both on account of the menacing aspect of France and the insurrection in Flanders, Austria paused in the career of conquest. Conferences were opened at Reichenbach, midway between the headquarters of the Prussian and Imperial armies; and, after some delay preliminaries were signed, which concluded the differences between the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin, and opened the way to the accommodation of the former with the Porte. The Prussian army immediately retired: thirty thousand Austrians, under Marshal Bender, moved towards the Low Countries, and speedily reduced its discontented provinces to submission; while a truce was shortly

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

Efforts of  
Mr Pitt to  
arrest the  
ruin of  
Turkey.July 27,  
1790.

CHAP. IX. up arms, and contended with undaunted valour  
against his gigantic neighbour.

1791.

Causes of  
this gene-  
ral paci-  
fication.

This general and rapid pacification of Europe, this stilling of so many passions and allaying of so many jealousies, was not the result of accident. It arose from the general consternation which the rapid progress of the French Revolution occasioned, and the clear perception which all the cabinets now began to have of the imminent danger to every settled institution from the contagion of its principles. But, amidst the general alarm, wiser principles were generally prevalent than could reasonably have been anticipated, as to the means of warding off the danger. Mr Pitt in England, Kaunitz at Vienna, and Hertzberg at Berlin, concurred in opinion that it would be imprudent and dangerous to oppose the progress of innovation in France, if it could be moderated by a party in that country sufficiently strong to prevent its leaders from running into excess; and that, in the mean time, the strictest measures should be adopted which circumstances would admit, to prevent its principles from spreading into other states. Such were the maxims on which the conduct of England, Austria, and Prussia were founded during the first two years of the Revolution; though Catharine, more vehement and imperious in her disposition, or possibly more sagacious in her anticipations, never ceased to urge the necessity of a general confederacy to arrest the march of so formidable a convulsion. But circumstances at length occurred, which put a period to these moderate councils at Vienna and Berlin, and precipitated the European monarchies into the terrible contest which awaited them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Eur.  
i. 98, 99.  
Hard. i.  
85, 90.

From the time that Louis had been brought a prisoner to Paris on October 5, 1789, he had recommended to the King of Spain to pay no regard to any public act bearing his name, which was not confirmed by an autograph letter from himself; and in the course of the following summer, he authorized the Baron Breteuil, his former minister, to sound the German powers on the possibility of extricating him from the state of bondage to which he was reduced. In November 1790, after he found that he was to be forced to adopt measures of hostility against the Church, he resolved to be more explicit; and, in December 1790, he addressed a circular to the whole sovereigns of Europe, with a view to the formation of a congress, supported by an armed force, to consider the means of arresting the factions at Paris, and re-establishing a constitutional monarchy in France.\* This circular excited every where the warmest feelings of sympathy and commiseration; but the policy of the cabinets, notwithstanding, continued divided—that of Vienna still adhered to the necessity of recognising the revolutionary *régime*, those of St Petersburg and Stockholm openly proclaimed the necessity of an immediate crusade against the infected powers.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

Causes  
which  
brought on  
the Revolu-  
tionary  
war.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
95, 97.

\* "The dispositions of your Majesty," said he, in this circular, "have awakened my warmest gratitude, and I invoke them at this moment, when, notwithstanding my acceptance of the new constitution, the factions openly avow their intention of overturning the monarchy. I have addressed myself to the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, and have suggested the plan of a congress of the principal powers, supported by an armed force, as the best means of arresting the factions here, establishing a more desirable order of things in this kingdom, and preventing the malady under which it labours from extending to the adjoining states. I need hardly say, that the most absolute secrecy is required in regard to this communication."

—HARD. i. 94, 95.

CHAP. IX. So early as the close of 1790, however, the violent proceedings of the National Assembly had brought them into collision with the states of the empire.

Violent proceedings of the National Assembly against the German vassals of the French crown. Dec. 14, 1790. The laws against the emigrants and priests, which were passed with so much precipitance by that body, infringed the rights of the German vassals of the French crown in Alsace and Lorraine, whose rights were guaranteed by the treaty of Westphalia; and the Emperor, as the head of the empire, addressed a remonstrance to the French King on the subject.

Overruled by his revolutionary ministry, Louis made answer, that the affair was foreign to the empire, as the princes and prelates affected were reached as vassals of France, not as members of the empire, and that indemnities had been offered. This answer was not deemed satisfactory; a warm altercation ensued: Leopold asserted, in a spirited manner, the rights of the German princes; and this dispute, joined to the obvious and increasing dangers of his sister, Marie Antoinette, gradually inclined the Emperor to more vigorous measures, and strengthened the bonds of union with Frederick William, whose chivalrous spirit and heroic courage more openly inclined towards the deliverance of the unhappy princess. The King of England, also, took a vivid interest in the misfortunes of the royal family of France; promising, as Elector of Hanover, to concur in any measures which might be deemed necessary to extricate them from their embarrassments; and he sent Lord Elgin to Leopold, who was then travelling in Italy, to concert measures for the common object. An envoy from Prussia, at the same time, reached the Emperor, and to them was soon joined the Count d'Artois,<sup>1</sup> who was at Venice, and brought to the scene of deliberation the warmth, haste, and incon-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i. 100, 107.  
Cap. Eur. pe d la Rév.  
Franc. i. 87, 108, 109.



siderate energy, which had rendered him the first decided opponent of the Revolution, and ultimately proved so fatal to the fortunes of his family.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1791.

Meanwhile, the King and Queen of France, finding their situation insupportable, and being aware that not only their liberty, but their lives were now endangered, resolved to make every exertion to break their fetters. With this view, they dispatched secret agents to Brussels and Cologne, to communicate with the Emperor and King of Prussia; and Count Alphonso de Durfort was instructed to inform the Count d'Artois, that the king could no longer influence his ministers; that he was in reality the prisoner of M. La Fayette, who secretly and hypocritically was conducting every thing to a republic; that they were filled with the most anxious desire to make their escape by the route either of Metz or Valenciennes, and placed entire reliance on the zeal and activity of their august relatives. Furnished with these instructions, Count Durfort left Paris in the end of April 1791, and soon joined the Count d'Artois at Venice, who was already arranging, with the English and Prussian envoys, the most probable means of overcoming the scruples of the Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

Efforts of  
the King  
and Queen  
of France  
to effect  
their deli-  
verance.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
105, 111.  
Bertrand  
de Molle-  
ville, Mém.  
de Louis  
XVI. ii.  
309, 318.

When these different parties met with the Emperor at Mantua, on 20th May 1791, the most discordant plans were submitted for his consideration. That of the Count d'Artois, which was really drawn up by M. Calonne, the former minister of Louis XVI., was the most warlike, and proposed the adoption, in July following, of hostile measures. The allied Courts did not go into these precipitate views; but alarmed by the menacing principles openly announced by the National Assembly, and by the

Treaty of  
Mantua,  
May 1791.

CHAP. growing symptoms of disaffection among their own  
IX. subjects, the Emperor of Germany, the King of

1791. Sardinia, and the King of Spain, concluded an agreement, by which it was concerted:—1. That the Emperor should assemble thirty-five thousand men on the frontiers of Flanders, while fifteen thousand soldiers of the Germanic Body should present themselves in Alsace; fifteen thousand Swiss on the frontiers of Franche Comptè; fifteen thousand Piedmontese on the frontiers of Dauphiné; and the King of Spain collect an army of twenty thousand men on the Pyrenees. 2. That these forces should be formed into five armies, who should act on their respective frontiers of France, and join themselves to the malecontents in the provinces and the troops who had preserved their allegiance to the throne. 3. That in the following July, a protestation should be issued by the princes of the House of Bourbon, and immediately after a manifesto by the Allied Powers. 4. That the objects of these assemblages of troops was, that the French people, terrified at the approach of the Allied forces, should seek for safety in submitting themselves to the King, and imploring his mediation." The sovereigns counted on the neutrality of England; but it was expected, from the assurances given by Lord Elgin, that, as Elector of Hanover, the English monarch would accede to the coalition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
Jom. i. 262.  
Pièces  
Just. No. 1.  
Mig. i. 131.  
Bertrand  
de Molle-  
ville, Mém.  
sur la  
Règne de  
Louis  
XVI. ii.  
317, 324.  
Cap. i. 116.

Plans of  
the royal  
family of  
France for  
their es-  
cape.

Meanwhile, the royal family of France, following the councils of Baron Breteuil, and influenced by the pressing and increasing dangers of their situation, had finally resolved on escaping from Paris. While Louis and M. de Bouillé were combining the means of an evasion, either towards Montmedy or Metz, the principal courts of Europe were ap-

prized of the design ; Leopold gave orders to the government of the Low Countries to place at the disposal of the king, when he reached their frontiers, not only the Imperial troops, but the sums which might be in the public treasury ; while the King of Sweden, stimulated by his chivalrous spirit, and the instance of Catharine of Russia, drew near to the frontiers of France, under pretence of drinking the waters, but in reality to receive the august fugitives. The Emperor, the Count d'Artois, and M. Calonne, however, strongly opposed the contemplated flight, as extremely hazardous to the royal family, and calculated to retard rather than advance the ultimate settlement of the affairs of France. They were persuaded that the only way to effect this object, so desirable to that country and to Europe, was to support the Royalist and Constitutional party in France, by the display of such a force as might enable them to throw off the yoke of the revolutionary faction, and establish a permanent constitution by the consent of king, nobles, and people. Impressed with these ideas, the Emperor addressed a circular \* from Padua to the principal powers, in which he announced the principles according to which, in his opinion, the common efforts should be directed. At the same

CHAP.  
IX.  
1791.

July 6,  
1791.

\* He invited the sovereigns to issue a joint declaration.—“ That they regard the cause of his most Christian Majesty as their own ; that they demand that that prince and his family should forthwith be set at liberty, and permitted to go wherever they chose, under the safeguard of inviolability and respect to their persons ; that they will combine to avenge, in the most striking manner, every attempt on the liberty, honour, or security of the King, the Queen, or the royal family ; that they will recognise as legitimate only those laws which shall have been agreed to by the King when in a state of entire liberty ; and that they will exert all their power to put a period to an usurpation of power which has assumed the character of an open revolt, and which it behoves all established governments for their own sake to repress.”—HARD., i. 116.

CHAP. IX. time Count Lamark, a secret agent of Louis, came to London, to endeavour to engage Mr Pitt in the

1791. same cause; but nothing could induce the English government to swerve from the strict neutrality which, on a full consideration of the case, they had resolved to adopt. At Vienna, however, the efforts

July 25,  
1791.

of the anti-revolutionary party were more successful; and on the 25th July, Prince Kaunitz and Bischofswerder signed, on the part of Austria and Prussia, a convention, wherein it was stipulated that the two courts should unite their good offices to combine the European powers to some common measure in regard to France, and that they should conclude a treaty of alliance, as soon as peace was established between the Empress Catharine and the Ottoman Porte, and that the former power, as well as Great Britain, the States-General, and the Elector of Saxony, should be invited to accede to it. This convention, intended to put a bridle on the ambition of Russia on the one hand, and of France on the other, deserves attention as the first basis of the grand alliance which afterwards wrought such wonders in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
114, 119.  
121.

Treaty of  
Pilnitz,  
Aug. 27,  
1791.

The pressing dangers of the Royal family of France, after the failure of the flight to Varennes, and their open imprisonment in the Tuileries by the revolutionists, soon after suggested the necessity of more urgent measures. It was agreed for this purpose, that a personal interview should take place between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, to concert measures on that all-important subject. This led to the famous meeting at Pilnitz, which took place in August 1791, between the Emperor and the King of Prussia. There was framed the no less celebrated Declaration of Pilnitz, which was conceived in the following terms:—"Their Ma-

jesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, having considered the representations of Monsieur, brother of the king, and of his Excellency the Count d'Artois, declare conjointly, that they consider the situation of the King of France as a matter of common interest to all the European sovereigns. They hope that the reality of that interest will be duly appreciated by the other powers, whose assistance they will invoke, and that, in consequence, they will not decline to employ their forces, conjointly with their Majesties, in order to put the King of France in a situation to lay the foundation of a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the well-being of the French nation. In that case, the Emperor and King are resolved to act promptly with the forces necessary to attain their common end. In the mean time, they will give the requisite orders for the troops to hold themselves in immediate readiness for active service.\* It was alleged by the French, that, besides this, several secret articles were agreed to by the Allied Sovereigns; but no sufficient evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the allegation.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.

265.

Pièces

Just. No. 1.

Ann. Reg.

1792, 86,

87.

Although these declarations appeared abundantly hostile to the usurpation of government by the democracy of France, the Allied Powers soon proved

\* "As far as we have been able to trace," said Mr Pitt, "the Declaration signed at Pilnitz referred to the imprisonment of Louis XVI.; its immediate view was to effect his deliverance, if a concert sufficiently extensive could be formed for that purpose. It left the internal state of France to be decided by the King restored to his liberty, with the free consent of the States of the kingdom, and it did not contain one word relative to the dismemberment of the country."—"This, though not Hist. a plan for the dismemberment of France," said Mr Fox in reply, "was in the eye of reason and common sense, an aggression against it. There was, indeed, no such thing as a treaty of Pilnitz; but there was a Declaration, which amounted to an act of hostile aggression."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Parl.

Hist.

xxxiv.

1315.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 1356.

CHAP. that they had no serious intention at that period of  
IX. going to war. On the contrary, their measures  
1791. evinced, after the Declaration of Pilnitz, that they  
were actuated by pacific sentiments; and, in October  
1791, it was officially announced by M. Montmorin  
the minister of foreign affairs, to the Assembly,  
“that the king had no reason to apprehend aggres-  
sion from any foreign power.”\* Their real object  
was to induce the French, by the fear of approaching  
danger, to liberate Louis from the perilous situa-  
tion in which he was placed. Their forces were  
by no means in a condition to undertake a contest.  
This is admitted by the ablest of the Republican  
writers.<sup>1</sup>†

<sup>1</sup> Bot. l. 73.  
Jom. i. 191.  
Lac. ix. 24.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiv. 86.  
Cap. i 117.

Nor did the actions of these powers belie their  
declaration: No warlike preparations were made  
by the German states, no armies were collected on

\* “We are accused,” said M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign  
affairs, in a report laid before the Assembly on 31st October 1791, “of  
wishing to propagate our opinions, and of trying to raise the people of  
other states against their governments. I know that such accusations  
are false, so far as regards the French Ministry; but it is too true that  
individuals, and even societies, have sought to establish with that view  
correspondences in the neighbouring states; and it is also true, that all  
the princes, and almost all the governments of Europe, are daily insulted  
in our incendiary journals. The king, by accepting the constitution,  
has removed the danger with which you were threatened: nothing in-  
dicates at this moment any disposition on their part to a hostile enter-  
prise.”—JOM. i. 286; *Pièces Just.*, No. 6.

† “The declaration of Pilnitz,” says Thiers, “remained without  
effect; either from a cooling of zeal on the part of the Allied Sovereigns,  
or from a sense of the danger which Louis would have run, after he was,  
from the failure of the flight to Varennes, a prisoner in the hands of the  
Assembly. His acceptance of the constitution was an additional reason  
for awaiting the result of experience, before plunging into active opera-  
tions. This was the opinion of Leopold and his minister Kaunitz.  
Accordingly, when Louis notified to the foreign courts that he had  
accepted the constitution, and was resolved faithfully to observe it,  
Austria returned an answer entirely pacific, and Prussia and England  
did the same.”—THIERS, ii. 19.

the frontiers of France; and accordingly, when the struggle began next year, they were taken entirely by surprise. France had one hundred and thirty thousand men on the Rhine, and along her eastern frontier, while the Austrians had only ten thousand soldiers in the Low Countries. In truth, the primary and real object of the Convention of Pilnitz, was the extrication of the king and royal family from personal danger: and no sooner did this object appear to be gained by their liberation from confinement, and the acceptance of the constitution, than the coalesced sovereigns gladly laid aside all thoughts of hostile operations, for which they were but ill prepared, and which the urgent state of affairs in Poland, ready to be swallowed up by the ambition of Catharine, rendered in an especial manner unadvisable. When Frederick William received the intelligence, he exclaimed—"At length, then, the peace of Europe is secured." The Emperor testified his satisfaction at the acceptance of the constitution, in a letter addressed to Louis; and shortly after dispatched a circular to all the sovereigns of Europe, in which he announced that the king's acceptance of the constitution had removed the reason for hostile demonstrations, and that they were in consequence suspended.\* The cabinet of Berlin entered

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

These war-like preparations are all abandoned by the Allies.

\* "His Majesty announces to all the courts, to whom he transmitted his first circular, dated Padua, 6th July, that the situation of the King of France, which gave occasion to the said circular, having changed, he deems it incumbent upon him to lay before them the views which he now entertains on the subject. His majesty is of opinion, that the King of France is now to be regarded as free; and, in consequence, his acceptance of the constitution, and all the acts following thereon, are valid. He hopes that the effect of this acceptance will be to restore order in France, and give an ascendancy to persons of moderate principles, according to the wish of his most Christian Majesty; but as these appearances may prove fallacious, and the disorders of license and the violence towards the king may be renewed, he is also of opinion,

CHAP. entirely into the same sentiments ; and the opinion  
IX. was general, both there and at Vienna, that the  
1791. troubles of France were at length permanently ap-  
peased by the great concessions made to the demo-  
cratic party ; and that prudence and address were  
all that was now necessary to enable the French  
monarch to reign, if not with his former lustre, at  
least without risk, and in a peaceable manner.<sup>1</sup>

These being the views entertained by the two  
powers whose situation necessarily led them to take  
the lead in the strife, it was of comparatively little  
importance what were the feelings of the more dis-  
tant or inferior courts. In the North, Catharine and  
Gustavus were intent on warlike measures, and  
refused to admit into their presence the ambassador  
who came to announce the king's acceptance of the  
constitution, upon the ground that he could not be  
regarded as a free agent ; and the courts of Spain  
and Sardinia had coldly received the intelligence.  
Impressed with the idea, which the event proved to  
be too well founded, that the king's life was serious-  
ly menaced, and that he was, even in accepting the  
constitution, acting under compulsion, these North-  
ern and Southern potentates entered into an agree-  
ment, the purport of which was, that an armament  
of thirty-six thousand Russians and Swedes were to  
be conveyed from the Baltic to a point on the coast  
of Normandy, where they were to be disembarked  
and march direct to Paris,<sup>2</sup> while they were supported  
by a hostile demonstration from Spain and Pied-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
159, 163.  
Cap. Eur.  
i. 88, 89.

Oct. 19,  
1791.

that the measures concerted between the sovereigns should be sus-  
pended, and not entirely abandoned, and that they should cause their  
respective ambassadors at Paris to declare, that the coalition still sub-  
sists, and that, if necessary, they would still be ready to support the  
rights of the king and of the monarchy."—*Letter, 23d October, 1791,*  
HARD. i. 159.



mont on the Pyrenees and Alps: a project obviously hopeless, if not supported by the forces of Austria and Prussia on the Rhine, and which the failure of the expedition to Varennes, and the subsequent course of events, entirely dissipated.

Meanwhile the Count d'Artois, and the emigrant nobility, taking counsel of nothing but their valour, and relying on the open support and encouragement afforded them by the Courts of Stockholm and St Petersburg, proceeded with the rashness and impetuosity which, in every period of the Revolution, have been the characteristics of their race. Numerous assemblages took place at Brussels, Coblenz, and Ettenheim: the Empress Catharine, in a letter addressed to Marshal Broglie, which they ostentatiously published, manifested the warm interest which she took in their cause; horses and arms were purchased, and organized corps of noble adventurers already began to be formed on the right bank of the Rhine. Twelve thousand of those gallant nobles were soon in arms, chiefly in squadrons of cavalry. Transported with ardour at so many favourable appearances, the exiled princes addressed to Louis an open remonstrance, in which they strongly urged him to refuse his acceptance to the constitution which was about to be submitted to him; represented that all his former concessions had led only to impunity, to every species of violence, and the despotism of the most abandoned persons in the kingdom; protested against any apparent consent which he might be compelled to give to the constitution, and renewed the assurances of the intention of themselves and the Allied Powers speedily to deliver him from his fetters.<sup>1</sup>

The only point that remained in dispute between the Emperor and the French King was, the indem-

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

Measures  
of the  
Emigrant  
Noblesse.

Sept. 10,  
1791.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
152, 153,  
165. Cap.  
Eur. pend  
la Rév.  
Franc. i.  
169, 170.

CHAP. IX.  
1791. Dispute about the indemnities to the German princes and prelates.

nities to be provided to the German princes and prelates who had been dispossessed by the decrees of the National Assembly; but on this point Leopold evinced a firmness worthy of the head of the empire. Early in December he addressed to them a formal letter, in which he announced his own resolution and that of the Diet "to afford them every succour which the dignity of the Imperial Crown and the maintenance of the public constitutions of the empire required, if they did not obtain that complete restitution or indemnification which existing treaties provided." Notwithstanding this, however, the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin still entertained so confident an opinion that the differences with France would terminate amicably, and that Louis, now restored to his authority, would speedily do justice to the injured parties, that they not only made no hostile preparations whatever, but withdrew a large proportion of their troops from the Flemish provinces.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i. 169, 171. Cap. i. 87.

It was abandoned by the Allies.

In truth, though they felt the necessity of taking some measures against the common dangers which threatened all established institutions with destruction, the Allied Sovereigns had an undefined dread of the magical and unseen powers with which France might assail them, and pierce them to the heart through the bosom of their own troops. The language held out by the National Assembly and its powerful orators, of war to the palace and peace to the cottage; the hand of fraternity which they offered to extend to the disaffected in all countries who were inclined to throw off the yoke of oppression; the seeds of sedition which its emissaries had so generally spread through the adjoining states, diffused an anxious feeling among the friends of order throughout the world, and inspired the dread

that, by bringing up their forces to the vicinity of the infected districts, they might be seized with the contagion, and direct their first strokes against the power which commanded them. England, notwithstanding the energetic remonstrances of Mr Burke, was still reposing in fancied security; and Catharine of Russia, solely bent on territorial aggrandizement, was almost entirely absorbed by the troubles of Poland, and the facilities which they afforded to her ambitious projects. Prussia, however anxious to espouse the cause of royalty, was unequal to a contest with revolutionary France; and Austria, under the pacific Leopold, had entirely abandoned her military projects since the throne of Louis had been nominally re-established after the state of thralldom, immediately consequent upon the flight to Verennes, had been relaxed. Accordingly, the protestation<sup>1</sup> and manifesto contemplated in the agreement at Mantua never were issued, and the military preparations provided for by that treaty never took place. Of all the powers mentioned in the agreement, the Bishop of Spire, the Elector of Treves, and the Bishop of Strasburg alone took up arms; and their feeble contingents, placed in the very front of danger, were dissolved at the first summons of the French government.<sup>1</sup>

But it was no part of the policy of the ruling party at Paris to remain at peace. They felt, as they themselves expressed it, "that their Revolution could not stand still; it must advance and embrace other countries, or perish in their own." Indeed, the spirit of revolution is so nearly allied to that of military adventure, that it is seldom that the one exists without leading to the other. The same restless activity, the same contempt of danger, the same

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. i.

99, 100.

Lac. ix.

24, 25, 26.

Th. ii. 76,

77, 78.

Dum. 410.

Bot. i. 73,

75. Ann.

Reg.

xxxiv.

86, 87.

Hard. i.

172, 180.

The

French

Revolu-

tionary

party re-

solve on

war.

CHAP. IX. craving for excitation, are to be found in both: it is extremely difficult for the fervour excited by a successful revolt to subside till it is turned into the channel of military exploit. Citizens who have overturned established institutions, demagogues who have tasted of the intoxication of popular applause, who have felt the sweets of unbridled power during the brief period which elapses before they fall under the yoke of despots of their own creation, are incapable of returning to the habits of pacific life. The unceasing toil, the obscure destiny, the humble enjoyments of laborious industry, seem intolerable to men who have shared in the glories of popular resistance; while the heart-stirring accompaniments, the licentious habits, the general plunder, the captivating glory of arms, appear the only employment worthy of their renown. The insecurity of property and fall of credit which invariably follow any considerable political convulsion, throw multitudes out of employment, and increase the necessity for some drain to let off the tumultuous activity of the people. It has, accordingly, been often observed, that democratic states have, in every age, been the most war-like, and the most inclined to aggression upon their neighbours; and the reason must be the same in all periods, that revolutionary enterprise both awakens the passions, and induces the necessity which leads to war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mitford's History of Greece. Sismondi's Rep. Ital.

The party of the Girondists, who were at that period the ruling power in France, were absolutely bent on war. The great object of their endeavours was to get the king involved in a foreign contest, in the hope, which subsequent events so completely justified, that their cause being identified with that of national independence, would become triumphant.

Debate on the foreign powers and the emigrants. Nov. 29. 1791.

They expressed the utmost satisfaction at the firm tone adopted by the sovereign in the proclamation against the emigrants. "Let us raise ourselves," said Isnard, "on this occasion, to the real dignity of our situation; let us speak to the ministers, to the king, to Europe in arms, with the firmness which becomes us: let us tell the former that we are not satisfied with their conduct; that they must make their election between public gratitude and the vengeance of the laws; and that by vengeance we mean death. Let us tell the king that his interest is to defend the constitution; that he reigns by the people and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is the subject of the law. Let us tell Europe, that if the French nation draws the sword, it will throw away the scabbard; that it will not again seek it till crowned by the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will rouse the people to mortal strife with sovereigns. Let us tell them, that the combats in which the people engage by order of despots, resemble the strife of two friends under cloud of night, at the instigation of a perfidious emissary: when the dawn appears, and they recognise each other, they throw away their arms, embrace with transport, and turn their vengeance against the author of their discord. Such will be the fate of our enemies, if, at the moment when their armies engage with ours, the light of philosophy strikes their eyes."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

Hist. Parl  
xii. 389,  
390. Th.  
ii. 38.

Transported by these ideas, the Assembly *unanimously* adopted the proposed measure of addressing the throne. Vaublanc was the organ of their deputa-  
tion. "No sooner," said he, "did the Assembly cast their eyes on the state of the kingdom, than they perceived that the troubles which agitate it have

Dec. 1,  
1791.

CHAP. their source in the criminal preparations of the  
IX.

1791.

French emigrants. Their audacity is supported by the German princes, who forgetting the faith of treaties, openly encourage their armaments, and compel counter-preparations on our part, which absorb the sums destined to the liquidation of the debt. It is your province to put a stop to these evils, and hold to foreign powers the language befitting a king of the French. Tell them, that wherever preparations of war are carried on, there France beholds nothing but enemies; that we will religiously observe peace on our side; that we will respect their laws, their usages, their constitutions; but that if they continue to favour the armaments destined against the French, France will bring into their bosoms not fire and sword, but freedom. It is for them to calculate the consequences of such a weakening of their people." The king promised to take the message of the Assembly into the most serious consideration, and a few days after came in person to the Chamber, and announced that he had notified to the Elector of Treves and the other Electors, that if they did not, before the 15th January, put an end to the military preparations in their states, he would regard them as enemies; and that he had written to the Emperor, to call upon him, as the head of the empire, to prevent the disastrous consequences of a war. "If these remonstrances," he concluded, "are not attended to, nothing will remain but to declare war—a step which a people who have renounced the idea of conquest will never take without absolute necessity, but from which a generous and free nation will not shrink when called by the voice of honour and public safety."<sup>1</sup> Loud applauses followed these words; and it was already

Dec. 14,  
1791.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xii. 395,  
396. Mig. i.  
162. Th.  
ii. 38.

manifest that the revolutionary energy was turning into its natural channel, warlike achievement.

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

These declarations were followed by serious preparations. Narbonne, a young and enterprising man of the party of the Feuillants, was appointed minister at war, and immediately set out for the frontiers. One hundred and fifty thousand men were put in immediate requisition, and twenty millions of francs (L.800,000) voted for that purpose. Three armies were organized, one under the command of Rochambeau, one of Luckner, one of La Fayette. The Count d'Artois and the Prince of Condé, were accused of conspiring against the security of the state and of the constitution, and their estates put under sequestration. Finally, the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., not having obeyed the requisition to return to the kingdom within the appointed time, was deprived of his right to the regency. The Elector of Treves obeyed the requisition; but the Emperor of Austria, though naturally pacific, and totally unprepared for war, gave orders to his general, the Marshal of Bender, to defend the elector if he was attacked, and insisted that the rights of the feudal lords should be re-established in Alsace. Meanwhile the imperial troops were put in motion; fifty thousand men were stationed in the Low Countries; six thousand in the Brisgaw; thirty thousand ordered for Bohemia. Nevertheless the Emperor Leopold was extremely averse to a contest, for which he was wholly unprepared, and which he was well aware was hostile to his interests. His object was to establish a congress, and adjust the disputed points with France in such a manner as might satisfy all parties. He was aware of the necessity of maintaining the constitutional system entire in its material parts,<sup>1</sup> but

Preparations for war, which the Emperor yet wished to avoid.

<sup>1</sup> Bouillé, 299, 309. Th. ii. 41. Lac. i. 163. Mig. 162.

CHAP. IX. wished to restore to the throne some of its lost prerogatives, and divide the legislature into two Chambers—alterations which experience has proved it would have been well for France if she could have imposed on her turbulent and impassioned people.

1791. Opposed  
by Robe-  
spierre. Brissot was the decided advocate for war in the Club of the Jacobins; his influence on that subject was long counterbalanced by that of Robespierre, who dreaded above all things the accession of strength which his political opponents might receive from the command of the armies. Isnard there strongly supported the war party, and used every effort to carry that fervent body along with him. Drawing a sword which he brandished in his hand, he exclaimed, "Here, gentlemen, is our sword, it will never cease to be victorious. The French people will raise a mighty shout, and all other people will re-echo its sound; the earth will be covered with combatants, and the whole enemies of liberty will be effaced from the list of men."—"Beware," said Robespierre, in reply, "you who have so long guarded against the perfidy of the court, of now becoming the unconscious instruments of its designs. Brissot is clear for war; I ask you where are your armies, your fortresses, your magazines? What! shall we believe that the court, which, in periods of tranquillity, is incessantly engaged in intrigues, will abstain from them when it obtains the lead of our armies? I see clearly the signs of perfidy, not only in those who are to proclaim war, but in those who advise it. Every one must perceive, that the efforts of the emigrants to rouse foreign powers are utterly nugatory. Are you to be the party, by a hasty measure, to compel them to adopt vigorous steps? I affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that the blood of our



soldiers is sold by traitors. The more I meditate on the chances of war, the more my mind is filled with the most gloomy presages. Already I see the men, who basely shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on the Champ de Mars, at the head of the armies. What guarantee am I offered against such appalling dangers? The patriotism of Brissot and Condorcet! I know not if it is true; I know not if it is sincere; but I know well that it is tardy. I have seen them worship M. La Fayette; they made a show of resistance at the time of his odious success; but they have since upheld his fortunes, and evinced but too plainly that they were participant in his designs against the public weal.”<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1791.

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jaco-  
bins, 18th  
and 29th  
Dec. 1791.  
Lac. i. 216,  
217. Hist.  
Parl. xii.  
363.

Soon after, repeated philippics, in still more violent language, were pronounced in the Assembly by Brissot and Vergniaud against the European powers, which, even according to the admission of the French themselves, “were so many declarations of war, and imprudent provocations, which were calculated to put the French in hostility with all Europe.” “The information of Brissot, the profound political views which he developes, are so entirely at variance with the sophisms with which his speech abounds,” says Jomini, “that one would be inclined to suppose he had been the secret agent of the English government, if we did not know that his errors at that period were shared by all the most enlightened men of France. An orator, enthusiastic even to madness, was alone capable of bringing on his country by such harangues, when torn within and supported without, the hatred of all the European chiefs. No paraphrase can convey an adequate idea of the violence of the leaders of the Assembly at that period: <sup>2</sup> their speeches must be bequeathed entire to

Violent declamations  
of Brissot  
and Vergniaud in  
favour of  
war.

<sup>2</sup> Jom. i.  
198.

Pièces  
Just. i. 7,  
8, and 9.

CHAP. posterity, as frightful proofs of what can be effected  
IX. by an ill-directed enthusiasm and spirit of party."

1791. "You are about," said Brissot, on 29th December

Violent  
speech of  
Brissot in  
favour of  
war.  
Dec. 29,  
1791.

1791, "to judge the cause of kings: show yourselves worthy of so august a function: place yourselves above them, or you will be unworthy of freedom. The French Revolution has overturned all former diplomacy; though the people are not yet everywhere free, governments are no longer able to stifle their voice. The sentiments of the English on our Revolution are not doubtful: they behold in it the best guarantee of their own freedom. It is highly improbable that the British Government will ever venture, even if it had the means to attack the French Revolution; that improbability is converted into a certainty, when we consider the divisions of their Parliament, the weight of their public debt, the declining condition of their Indian affairs. England would never hesitate between its king and its liberty: between the repose of which it has so much need, and a contest which would probably occasion its ruin. Austria is as little to be feared: her soldiers, whom her princes in vain seek to estrange from the people, remember that it is among them that they find their friends, their relations; and they will not separate their cause from that of freedom. The successor of Frederick, if he has any prudence, will hesitate to ruin for ever, in combating our forces, an army which, once destroyed, will never be restored. In vain would the ambition of Russia interfere with our Revolution; a new revolution in Poland would arrest her arms, and render Warsaw the centre of freedom to the East of Europe. Search the map of the world, you will in vain look for a power whom France has any reason

to dread. If any foreign states exist inclined for war, we must get the start of them. He who is anticipated is already half vanquished. If they are only making a pretence of hostile preparations, we must unmask them, and in so doing proclaim to the world their impotence. That act of a great people is what will put the seal to our Revolution. War is now become necessary: France is bound to undertake it to maintain her honour: she would be for ever disgraced if a few thousand rebels or emigrants could overawe the organs of the law. War is to be regarded as a public blessing. The only evil you have to apprehend is, that it should not arise, and that you should lose the opportunity of finally crushing the insolence of the emigrants. Till you take that decisive step, they will never cease to deceive you by diplomatic falsehood. It is no longer with governments we must treat, it is with their subjects."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xii. 415.  
Dec. 19,  
1791.  
Jom. i.  
Pièces  
Just. No.  
7, 299.

"The mask is at length fallen," said the same orator on the 17th January 1792. "Your real enemy is declared. General Bender has revealed his name; it is the Emperor. The Electors were mere names, put forward to conceal the real mover—you may now despise the emigrants; the Electors are no longer worthy of your resentment: fear has prostrated them at your feet. You must anticipate his hostility: Now is the time to show the sincerity of your declaration, a hundred times repeated, that you are resolved to have freedom or death.—Death! you have no reason to fear it—consider your own situation and that of the Emperor—your constitution is an eternal anathema against absolute thrones: all kings must hate it; it incessantly acts as their accuser: it daily pronounces their sentence; it seems

And again  
on Jan. 17,  
1792.

CHAP. to say to each, 'To-morrow you will not exist, or  
IX. exist only by the tolerance of the people.' I will

1792. not say to the Emperor with your committee, 'Will you engage not to attack France or its independence?' but I will say, 'You have formed a league against France, and therefore I will attack you?' and that immediate attack is just, is necessary, is commanded alike by imperious circumstances and your oaths." "The French," said Fauchet, on the same day, "after having conquered their own freedom, are the natural allies of all free people. All treaties with despots are null in law, and cannot be maintained in fact, without involving the destruction of our Revolution. We have no longer occasion for ambassadors or consuls; they are only titled spies. When others wish our alliance, let them conquer their freedom; till then, we will treat them as pacific savages. Let us have no war of aggres-

sion; but war with the princes who conspire on our frontier—with Leopold, who seeks to undermine our liberties; cannon are our negotiators, bayonets and millions of freemen our ambassadors."<sup>1</sup>

Brissot was resolved, at all hazards, to have a war with Austria: he was literally haunted day and night by the idea of a secret Austrian cabinet which governed the court, and was incessantly thwarting the designs of the revolutionists. Every thing depended on him and the Girondists, for the European powers were totally unprepared for a contest, and too much occupied with their separate projects to desire a conflict with a revolutionary state in the first burst of its enthusiasm. If the Girondists would have reconciled themselves to the king, they would have disarmed Europe, turned the emigrants into ridicule, and maintained peace. But Brissot and Dumourier

Extraordi-  
nary ef-  
forts of  
Brissot  
and the  
Girondists  
to force on  
a war.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xii. 9, 14.  
Jom. i.  
323, 324,  
319. Pièces  
Just. No. 7.

were resolved by one means or other to break it. The former went so far as to propose, that some French soldiers should be disguised as Austrian hussars, and make a nocturnal attack on the French villages: upon receipt of the intelligence, a motion was to have been made in the Assembly, and war, it was expected, would have been instantly decreed in the enthusiasm of the moment. His anxiety for its commencement was indescribable; De Graves, Clavière, and Roland hesitated, on account of the immense responsibility of such an undertaking, but Dumourier and he uniformly declared that nothing but a war could consolidate the freedom of France, disclose the enemies of the constitution, and unmask the perfidy of the court. Their whole leisure time was employed in studying maps of the Low Countries, and meditating schemes of aggrandizement in that favourite object of French ambition.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Dumont,  
Souv. de  
Mirabeau,  
410, 411.

When such was the language of the leading men in the French government and National Assembly, it is of little moment to detail the negotiations and mutual recriminations which led to the commencement of hostilities by the French government. The French complained, and apparently with justice, that numerous bodies of emigrants were assembled, and organized into military bodies at Coblenz, and on other points on the frontier; that the Elector of Treves and the other lesser powers had evaded all demands for their dispersion; that Austrian troops were rapidly defiling towards the Brisgau and the Rhine, and that no satisfactory explanation of these movements had been given. The Imperialists retorted with not less reason, that the French affiliated societies were striving to spread sedition through all the conterminous states; that Piedmont, Switzer-

Mutual  
recrimi-  
nations,  
which lead  
to war.

CHAP. land, and Belgium, were agitated by their exertions;  
 IX. that the Parisian orators and journals daily publish-  
 1792. ed invitations to all other people to revolt, and  
 April 20, offered them the hand of fraternity if they did so;  
 1792. Avignon and the Venaisin subjects of Germany had,  
 without the colour of legal right, been annexed to  
 France; and the Catholics and nobles in Alsace,  
 deprived of their possessions, honours, and privileges,  
 in violation of the treaty of Westphalia. The ultimatum of Austria was, that the monarchy should be re-established on the footing on which it was placed by the royal ordinance of June 23, 1789; that the property of the church in Alsace should be restored; the fiefs of that province, with the seignorial rights, given back to the German princes, and Avignon, with the Venaisin, to the Pope. These propositions were rejected; and Dumourier, who had now succeeded to the portfolio of foreign affairs, earnestly pressed the French King to commence hostilities, in the hope of being able to overrun Flanders before any considerable Austrian forces could be brought up to its support.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xiv. 30, 36.  
Jom. i.  
205. Pièces  
Just. No.  
13. Mig.  
i. 167.

Universal  
desire for  
war in  
France.

In urging the king to this step, Dumourier acted in conformity with nearly the unanimous wish of the nation. All classes were equally anxious for war. The Royalists hoped everything from the invasion of the German Powers: the superiority of their discipline, the strength of their armies, made them anticipate an immediate march to Paris, and the final extinction of the Revolution from which they had suffered so much. The Constitutionals, worn out with the painful struggle they had so long maintained with their domestic enemies, expected to regain their ascendancy by the influence of the army, the augmented expenditure of government during war,

and the experienced necessity of military discipline. CHAP. IX.  
 The democrats eagerly desired the excitation and tumult of campaigns, from all the chances of which 1792.  
 they hoped to derive advantage: victorious, they looked to the establishment of their principles in foreign states; vanquished, they anticipated the down-<sup>1 Lac. i. 228. Th.</sup>fall of the constitutionalists, and their own installation in their stead.<sup>1</sup>

Pressed alike by his friends, his ministers, and his enemies, Louis was at length compelled to take the fatal step. On the 20th April, he repaired to the The King yields against his own judgment. Assembly, and after a long exposition by Dumourier, of the grounds of complaint against Austria; the secret tenor of the conferences of Mantua, Reichenbach, and Pilnitz; the coalition of kings, formed to arrest the progress of the Revolution; the open protection given to the troops of the emigrants; and the intolerable conditions of the ultimatum: pronounced April 20, 1792. with a tremulous voice these irrevocable words:—

“ You have heard, gentlemen, the result of my negotiations with the court of Vienna: they are conformable to the sentiments more than once expressed to me by the National Assembly, and confirmed by the great majority of the kingdom, All prefer a war to the continuance of outrages to the national honour, or menaces to the national safety. I have exhausted all the means of pacification in my power; I now come, in terms of the constitution, to propose to the Assembly, that we should declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia.” This declaration was received in silence, interrupted only by partial applause. How unanimous soever the members were in approving the declaration of the King, they were too deeply impressed with the solemnity and grandeur of the occasion, to give vent to any noisy ebullition of

CHAP. feeling. In the evening, on a meeting specially convened for the occasion, war was almost unanimously  
IX.  
1792. agreed to. A large proportion of the most enlightened

men in the Assembly, including Condorcet, Clavière, Roland, and De Graves, disapproved of this step, and yet voted for it—a striking proof of the manner in which, in troubled times, the more moderate and rational party are swept along by the daring measures of more vehement and reckless men.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xiv. 34, 36.  
Dumont,  
iv. 18. Mig.  
i. 168. Lac.  
ii. 228. Th.  
ii. 75, 76.

The King was well aware that the interests of his family could not be benefited, but necessarily must be injured by the events of the war, whatever they might be; if victorious, the people would be more imperious in their demands, and more difficult for the crown to govern; vanquished, he would be accused of treachery, and made to bear the load of public indignation. So strongly was he impressed by these considerations, and so thoroughly convinced that his conduct, in agreeing to this war, might hereafter be made the subject of accusation at the trial which he was well aware was approaching, that he drew up a record of the proceedings of the council, where he delivered his opinions against the war; and after getting it signed by all the ministers, deposited it in the iron closet, which about this time he had secretly made in the wall of his apartments in the Tuileries, to contain the most important papers in his possession, both those calculated to found a charge against him, and support his defence when brought to trial. The closet, with its contents, was afterwards betrayed by the treachery of the blacksmith who was employed to make it. Thus commenced the greatest, the most bloody, and the most interesting war, which has agitated mankind since the fall of the Roman empire. Rising from

He acted  
contrary to  
his conviction  
in  
doing so.



feeble beginnings, it at length involved the world in its conflagration; involving the interests, and rousing the passions of every class of the people, it brought unheard-of armies into the field, and was carried on with a degree of exasperation unknown in civilized times.<sup>1</sup>

The intelligence of the declaration of war was received with joy by all France, and by none more so than by those districts which were destined to suffer most from its ultimate effects. The Jacobins beheld in it the termination of their apprehensions occasioned by the emigrants, and the uncertain conduct of the King. The Constitutionals hoped that the common danger would unite all the factions which now distracted the commonwealth, while the field of battle would mow down the turbulent characters whom the Revolution had brought forth. A few of the Feuillants only reproached the Assembly with having violated the constitution, and begun a war of aggression, which could not fail in the end to terminate fatally for France. It communicated a new impulse to the public mind, already so strongly excited. The districts, the municipalities, and the clubs, wrote addresses to the Assembly, congratulating them on having vindicated the national honour; arms were prepared, pikes forged, gifts provided, and the nation seemed impatient only to receive its invaders. But the effects of patriotism, strong as an auxiliary to a military force, are seldom able to supply its place. The first combats were all unsuccessful to the French arms; and, it will more than once appear in the sequel, that had the Allies acted with more decision, and pressed on to Paris before military experience had been superadded to the enthusiasm of their adversaries, there can be no doubt that the war might have been terminated in a single campaign.<sup>2</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> M. Campan, ii. 223.  
Th. ii. 73.

Universal  
joy which  
it diffused  
in France.

Mig. i.  
109. Toul.  
ii. 121. Th.  
ii. 77, 79.

CHAP. IX. The real intentions of the Allies at this juncture, and the moderation of the views with which they were inspired in regard to the war, are well illustrated by a note communicated by the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna to the Danish government—in which, renouncing all idea of interfering in the internal affairs of France, they limit their views, even after war had been commenced by France, to the formation of a bulwark against the revolutionary principles of the French republic, and the obtaining of indemnities for the German princes.\* This note is the more remarkable, that it embraces precisely the principles which, announced two-and-twenty years afterwards, in the plains of Champagne, by the Allied Sovereigns, brought the war to a triumphant conclusion. In contemplation of the approaching struggle, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been, on 7th February 1792, concluded between Sweden and Austria. But one of the contracting parties did not long survive this measure. On March 1st, Leopold died, leaving his son, Francis II., to succeed to his extensive dominions; and a fortnight after, Gustavus, King of Sweden, was assassinated at a masked ball at Stockholm.

Real views of the Allies at this period. May 12, 1792.

Feb. 7. 1792.

March 16, 1792.

\* “ The object of the alliance is twofold. The first object concerns the rights of the dispossessed princes, and the dangers of the propagation of revolutionary principles; the second, the maintenance of the fundamental principles of the French monarchy. The first object is sufficiently explained by its very announcement; the second is not as yet susceptible of any proper determination.

“ The Allied Powers have unquestionably no right to insist, from a great and independent power such as France, that every thing should be re-established as it was formerly; or that it shall adopt such and such modifications in its government. It results from this, that they will recognise as legal any modification of the monarchical government which the King, when enjoying unrestrained liberty, shall agree to with the legal representatives of the nation. The forces to be employed in this enterprise must be proportioned to its magnitude, and to the resistance which may probably be experienced. With a view to the arrange-

It seemed as if Providence was preparing a new race of actors for the mighty scenes which were to be performed.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

Leopold expired of a mortification in the stomach, induced by amorous excesses, to which he was peculiarly addicted. He was succeeded by his son FRANCIS, then hardly twenty-four years of age, whose reign was the most eventful, for long the most disastrous, and ultimately the most glorious in the Austrian annals. He had been brought up at Florence, at the court where his father exerted the philosophic beneficence of his disposition; and had married four years before the Princess Elizabeth of Wirtemberg, who died in childbed on the 8th Feb., 1790; after which, the future Emperor married, in the same year, the Princess Theresa of Naples. The first measures of his reign were popular and judicious: Kaunitz was continued prime minister, and with him were joined Marshal Lascy, long the friend of Leopold and Count Francis Colloredo, his former preceptor. He suppressed those articles in the journals in which he was loaded with praise, observing, "It is by my future conduct that I am alone to be

Accession  
of the  
Emperor  
Francis to  
the throne  
of Austria.

ment of these objects, the city of Vienna is proposed as a convenient station; but when the armies are assembled, a congress must be established nearer France than that city, followed by a formal declaration of the objects which the Allies have in view in their intervention."—HARD. i. 391, 392.

The same principles were announced by Frederick William to Prince Hardenberg, in a secret and confidential conversation which that statesman had with his sovereign on July 12, 1792. He declared "that France should not be dismembered in any of its parts; that the Allies had no intention of interfering in its internal government; but that, as an indispensable preliminary to the settlement of the public disturbances, the King should be set at liberty, and reinvested with his full authority; that the ministers of religion should be restored to their altars, and the dispossessed proprietors to their estates, and that France should pay the expenses of the war."—HARD. i. 400.

CHAP. IX. judged worthy of praise or blame." Leopold, at his accession, had ordered all the anonymous and secret

1792. communications with which a young prince is usually assailed, to be burned : Francis went a step further ; he issued a positive order against any of them being received. When the list of pensioners was submitted to his inspection, he with his own hand erased the name of his mother, observing that it was unbecoming that she should be dependent on the bounty of the state. With such bright colours did the dawn of this eventful and glorious reign arise.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i. 255, 267.  
Cap. sur pend la Rev. i. 157.

Still Great Britain preserved a strict neutrality.

Great Britain still strictly neutral till the 10th August made her prepare for war. During the whole of 1792, pregnant, as we shall immediately see, with great events, and which brought France to within a hairbreadth of destruction, no attempt was made to take advantage of her weakness, to wreak on that unhappy country the vengeance of national rivalry. England did not, in the hour of France's distress, retaliate upon her the injuries inflicted in the American war. This fact was so notorious, that it was constantly admitted by the French themselves.<sup>2</sup> "There is but one nation," said M.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Reg. xxxiv. 181.

Kersaint in the National Assembly, on Sept. 18, 1792, "whose neutrality on the affairs of France is decidedly pronounced, and that is England." But with the progress of events the policy of Great Britain necessarily underwent a change. The 10th of August came ; the throne was overturned, and the royal family put in captivity ; the massacres of September stained Paris with blood ; and the victories of Dumourier rolled back to the Rhine the tide of foreign invasion. These great events inspired the revolutionary party with such extravagant expectations, that the continuance of peace on the part of England became impossible. In the frenzy of their

democratic fury, they used language, and adopted measures, plainly incompatible with the peace or tranquillity of other states. A Jacobin club of twelve hundred members was established at Chamberry, in Savoy, and a hundred of its most active members were selected as travelling missionaries, "armed with the torch of reason and liberty, for the purpose of enlightening the Savoyards on their regeneration and imprescriptible rights."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Oct. 1792.  
Cap. Eur.  
pend. la  
Rév. i.  
191, 211.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiv. 181,  
185.

War was declared by the National Assembly against the King of Sardinia on September 15, 1792. An address was voted by this club to the French Convention," as "the legislators of the world," and received by them on 20th October 1792. They ordered it to be translated into the English, Spanish, and German languages. The rebellious Savoyards next constituted a Convention, in imitation of that of France, and offered to incorporate themselves with the great Republic. On November 21st, this deputation from Savoy was received by the National Assembly, and welcomed with the most rapturous applause; and the president addressed the deputies in a speech, in which he predicted the speedy destruction of all thrones, and regeneration of the human race; and assured the deputies, that "regenerated France would make common cause with all those who are resolved to shake off the yoke, and obey only themselves." The French Convention were not slow in accepting the proffered dominion of Savoy: the committee, to whom it was remitted to consider the subject, reported, that all considerations, physical, moral, and political, call for the incorporation of that country: all attempts to connect it with Piedmont are fruitless; the Alps eternally force it back into the domains of France; the order

French  
system of  
propagan-  
dism.

Nov. 21.

CHAP. of nature would be violated if they were to live  
IX. under different laws;" and the Assembly unani-  
1792. mously united Savoy with the French Republic,  
Oct. 27, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc.  
1792.

The seizure of Savoy was immediately followed by that of Nice with its territory, and Monaco, which were formed into the department of the Maritime Alps. "Let us not fear," said the reporter who spoke the opinion of the Convention with only one dissentient voice, "that this new incorporation will become a source of discord. It adds nothing to the hate of oppressors against the French Revolution; it adds only to the means of the power by which we shall break their league. The die is thrown; *we have rushed into the career: all governments are our*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. vol. xx. p. 384, 395. Ann. Reg. xxxiv. 139. Bot. i. 88. *enemies*—all people are our friends: we must be destroyed, or they shall be free: and the axe of liberty, after having prostrated thrones, shall fall on the head of whoever wishes to collect their ruins."<sup>1</sup>

Italy was the next object of attack. "Pied-  
French at- mont," said Brissot in his report on Genoa, "must  
tack on be free. Your sword must not be returned to its  
Italy. scabbard before all the subjects of your enemy are free; before you are encircled by a girdle of republics." To facilitate such a work, a French fleet cast anchor in the bay of Genoa; a Jacobin club was established in that city, where the French commanders assisted, and from which adulatory addresses were voted to the French Convention; while Kellerman, on assuming the command of the army of the Alps, informed his soldiers, that "he had received orders to conquer Rome, and that these orders should be obeyed." The French ambassador in the Eternal City was so active in endeavouring to stimulate the people to insurrection, that at length, on

the 14th January 1793, when proceeding in his carriage to one of his assemblies, he was seized by the mob, at whom he had discharged a pistol, and murdered in the streets. This atrocious action naturally excited the most violent indignation in the Convention, and a decree passed, authorizing the executive to take the most summary measures of vengeance. Nor <sup>Jan. 14, 1793.</sup> was Switzerland more fortunate in avoiding the revolutionary tempest. Geneva did not long escape. A French army, under General Montesquieu, approached its walls, and the senate of Berne made great preparations for resistance, but the strength of the democratic party in Geneva rendered it impossible to provide for its defence in an effectual manner; and the ferment in the whole Pays de Vaud rendered it doubtful whether the first cannon-shot would not excite an insurrection along the whole Leman lake. Still General Montesquieu hesitated in commencing hostilities, as the mountaineers of Berne were unanimous in their determination to resist, and they could bring twenty thousand admirable soldiers into the field. Brissot, however, in a laboured report on the subject, declared, "That the revolution must take place there, or our own will retrograde;"

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

and insisted on the Swiss troops being withdrawn



CHAP. Hesse Darmstadt, Weid Runchel, and Nassau Sar-  
IX. brook, annexed to the neighbouring departments of  
1792. France.

At length, on November 19th, a decree was un-  
French de- unanimously passed by the Assembly, which openly  
claration placed the French Republic at war with all esta-  
of war blished governments. It was in these terms: "The  
against all National Convention declares, in the name of the  
nations. French nation, that it will grant *fraternity and as-*  
Nov. 19. *sistance to all people who wish to recover their liber-*  
*ty*; and it charges the executive power to send the  
necessary orders to the generals, to give succour to  
such people, and to defend those citizens who have  
suffered, or may suffer, in the cause of liberty."  
Brissot himself, at a subsequent period, styled this  
decree "absurd, impolitic, and justly exciting the  
disquietude of foreign cabinets." And this was  
1 Ann.Reg. followed up, on December 15th, by a resolution so  
xxxiv. 153. extraordinary and unprecedented, that no abstract  
Hist. Parl. of its contents can convey an idea of the spirit of the  
xx. 384. original.<sup>1</sup>  
Brissot à  
ses Com-  
mettans,  
88. London  
edition.

"The National Convention, faithful to the  
Decree of principles of the sovereignty of the people, which  
the Con- will not permit them to acknowledge any of the in-  
vention. stitutions militating against it, decrees as follows:—  
Dec. 15. 1. In all those countries which *are or shall be occu-*  
pied by the armies of the French Republic, the  
generals shall immediately proclaim, in the name of  
the French people, the abolition of *all existing im-*  
*posts and contributions*, of tithes, feudal and manorial  
rights, all real and personal servitude, and generally  
of all privileges. 2. They shall proclaim the *sove-*  
*reignty of the people*, and the suppression of all  
existing authorities; they shall convoke the people  
to nominate a provisional government, and shall



cause this decree to be translated into the language of that country. 3. All agents, or officers of the former government, military or civil, and all individuals reputed noble, shall be ineligible to any place in such provisional government on the first election. 4. The generals shall forthwith place under the safeguard of the French Republic all property, movable or immovable, belonging to the treasury, the prince, his adherents and attendants, and to all public bodies and communities, both civil and religious, &c. 9. The provisional government shall cease as soon as the inhabitants, after having declared the sovereignty of the people, shall have organized a free and popular form of government. 10. In case the common interest should require the further continuance of the troops of the Republic on the foreign territory, the Republic shall make the necessary arrangements for their subsistence. 11. The French nation declares that it will *treat as enemies the people, who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, are desirous of preserving their prince and privileged castes, or of entering into an accommodation with them.* The nation promises and engages not to lay down its arms, until the sovereignty and liberty of the people on whose territory the French army shall have entered, shall be established, and not to consent to any arrangement or treaty with the princes and privileged persons so dispossessed, with whom the Republic is at war.”<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
xxxiv. 155.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxi. 350,  
352.

This decree was immediately transmitted to the generals on the frontier, with a commentary and explanatory notes, more violent, if possible, than the original. To assist them in their labours, commissaries were appointed with all the armies, whose peculiar duty it was to superintend the revolution-

CHAP. IX. 1792. izing of the conquered districts. They were enjoined "not to allow even a shadow of the ancient authorities to remain;" and "not only to encourage the writings destined to popular instruction, the patriotic societies, and all the establishments consecrated to the propagation of liberty, but themselves to have immediate communication with the people, and counteract, by frequent explanations all the falsehoods by which evil-minded persons could lead them astray."\* The decree of 19th November was accompanied by an exposition, addressed to the general of every army in France, containing a schedule as regularly digested as any by which the ordinary routine of business in any department of the state could be digested. Each commander was furnished with a general blank formula of a letter for all the nations of the world, beginning with these words, "The people of France to the people of ———, greeting. We are come to expel your tyrants."— And when it was proposed in the National Conven-

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist. xxxiv. 1310, 1311. Hist. Parl. xxi. 352, 353. tion, on the motion of M. Baraillon, to declare expressly that the decree of 19th November was confined to the nations with whom they were at war, the motion was negatived by a large majority.<sup>1†</sup>

\* The ablest writers of France fully admit the insane desire for foreign warfare, which at that period had seized on its government. "Every one," says Marshal St Cyr, "of the least foresight, at the close of 1792, was aware of the dangers which menaced the Republic, and were lost in astonishment, I will not say at the imprudence, but the folly of the Convention, which, instead of seeking to diminish the number of its enemies, seemed resolved to augment them by successive insults, not merely against all kings, but every existing government. A blind and groundless confidence had taken possession of their minds; they thought only of dethroning kings by their decrees, leaving the armies on which the Republic depended in a state of entire destitution."—ST CYR, *Mémoires*, i. 19, 20.

† LE PEUPLE FRANÇAIS AU PEUPLE——.

Frères et amis! Nous avons conquis la liberté, et nous la mainten-

These unprecedented and alarming proceedings, joined to the rapid increase and treasonable language of the Jacobin societies in this country, excited a very general feeling of disquietude in Great Britain. The army and navy had both been reduced in the early part of the year 1792, in pursuance of a recommendation from the throne, and the English government had resisted the most earnest solicitations to join the confederacy against France. Even after the throne was overturned on the 10th August, the British Ministry enjoined their ambassador, before leaving a capital where there was no longer a stable government, to renew their assurances of neutrality; and the French minister, M. le Brun, declared, that the French government

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

Alarm excited in Great Britain by these proceedings.

drons; notre union et notre force en sont les garans. Nous vous offrons de vous faire jouir de ce bien inestimable qui vous a toujours appartenu: et que vos oppresseurs n'ont pu vous ravir sans crime. Nous sommes venus pour chasser vos tyrans: ils ont fui: montrez-vous hommes libres, et nous vous garantirons de leur vengeance, de leurs projets, et de leur retour.

“ Dès ce moment la République Française proclame la suppression de tous vos magistrats civils et militaires, de toutes les autorités qui vous ont gouvernés; elle proclame en ce pays l'abolition de tous les impôts que vous supportez sous quelque forme qu'ils existent—des droits féodaux, de la gabelle, des péages, des octrois, des droits d'entrée et de sortie, de la dime des droits de chasse et de pêche exclusifs; des corvées de la noblesse, et généralement de toute espèce de contributions et de servitude dont vous avez été chargés par vos oppresseurs. Elle abolit aussi parmi vous toute, corporation nobiliaire, sacerdotale, et autres toutes prérogatives, tous privilèges contraires à l'égalité. Vous êtes dès ce moment frères et amis, tous citoyens, tous égaux en droit, et tous appelés également à défendre, à gouverner, et à servir votre patrie.

Formez-vous sur le champ en assemblées de communes; hâtez-vous d'établir vos administrations provisoires: les agens de la République Française se concerteront avec elles, pour assurer votre bonheur et la fraternité que doit exister désormais entre nous.”—*Proclamation—Le Peuple Français aux tous peuples—adoptée par la Convention, 15 Décembre 1792.*—*Histoire Parlementaire de France*, xxi. 352, 353.

CHAP. IX. were confident that "the British cabinet would not at this decisive moment depart from the justice, moderation, and impartiality which it had hitherto manifested." But when the National Convention began openly to aim at revolutionizing all other countries, their proceedings were looked upon with distrust: and this was heightened into aversion when they showed a disposition to include England among the states, to whose rebellious subjects they extended the hand of fraternity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. xxxiv. 163, 165; and State Papers, 327.

The London Corresponding, and four other societies, on 7th November, presented an address, filled with the most revolutionary sentiments, to the National Assembly, which was received with the warmest expressions of approbation; and so strongly did the belief prevail in France that England was on the verge of a convulsion, that, on the 21st November, the President Gregoire declared, that these "respectable islanders, once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow which shall resound to the extremity of Asia." At the same period the French committed an act of aggression on the Dutch, then in alliance with Great Britain, which necessarily brought them in collision with the latter power. By the treaty of Munster, it had been provided that the Scheldt was to remain forever closed; but the career of conquest having brought the French armies to Antwerp, a decree of the Convention was passed on November 16th, ordering the French commander-in-chief to open the Scheldt: and by another decree, passed on the same day, the French troops were ordered to pursue the fugitive Austrians into the Dutch territory. These directions were immediately carried

Threatened opening of the Scheldt.

Nov. 16.

into effect by a French squadron, in defiance of the Dutch authorities, sailing up the Scheldt to assist in the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. The French did not attempt to justify these violations of subsisting treaties on any grounds recognised by the law of nations, but contended, "that treaties extorted by cupidity, and yielded by despotism, could not bind the free and enfranchised Belgians." What rendered this aggression altogether inexcusable was, that the French had, only eight years before, viz., in 1784, interfered to prevent a similar opening of the Scheldt, when attempted by Austria, then mistress of the Low Countries, and had succeeded in resisting that aggression upon the ground of its violating the rights of the United Provinces, as established by the treaty in 1731.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Le Brun's Memorial to the Convention. Ann. Reg. xxxiii. 137, 165; and State Papers, 344, 346; and xxxiv. 178. Ségur, ii. 78, 79.

In these alarming circumstances the English militia were called out, the Tower was put in a state of defence, and Parliament summoned for the 13th December. In the speech from the throne, the perilous nature of the new principles of interference with other states, proclaimed and acted upon by the French rulers, were strongly pointed out. "I have carefully observed," said the King, "a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have there appeared, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States-General, who have observed the same neutrality with myself, measures

Preparations for war in England.

CHAP. IX. 1792. which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the stipulations of existing treaties." An angry correspondence, in consequence, ensued between the British cabinet and the French ambassador, which having led to no satisfactory result, the armaments of England continued without intermission, and corresponding preparations were made in the French harbours. "England," said Lord Grenville, in a note to M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, "never will consent that France should arrogate to herself the power of annulling at pleasure, and under cover of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the sole judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government will also never see with indifference, that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, let her renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann Reg. xxxiv. 168, 178; and State Papers, No. 1.

To this it was replied by M. Le Brun, the French Answer of the French envoy.—"The design of the Convention has never been to engage itself to make the cause of some foreign individuals the cause of the whole French nation; but when a people, enslaved by a despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this people, restored to liberty, shall be constituted in a manner to make clearly heard the expression of the general will;<sup>2</sup> when that general will shall call for the

<sup>2</sup> Memorial by Le Brun, Ann Reg. xxxiv. 174.

assistance and fraternity of the French nation, it is then that the decree of the 19th will find its natural application ; and this cannot appear strange to any one."

CHAP.  
IX.  
1792.

The intentions of Great Britain, at this period, in regard to France, and the line of conduct which, in conjunction with her allies, she had chalked out for herself before the war was precipitated by the execution of the King, cannot be better illustrated than by reference to an official despatch from Lord Grenville to the British ambassador at St Petersburg, on the subject of the proposed confederation against the French Republic. From this important document it appears, that England laid it down as the basis of the alliance, that the French should be left entirely at liberty to arrange their government and internal concerns for themselves ; and that the efforts of the Allies should be limited to preventing their interference with other states, or extending their conquests or propagandism beyond their own frontier.<sup>1</sup>\*

Real views  
of Great  
Britain at  
this period.

Dec. 29,  
1792.

<sup>1</sup>Parl.Hist.  
xxxiv.  
1313,1314.

But though these were the views of the English cabinet, very different ideas prevailed with the rulers

\* In this important state paper, Lord Grenville observes—" The two leading points on which such explanation will naturally turn are, the line of conduct to be pursued previous to the commencement of hostilities, with a view, if possible, to avert them ; and the nature and amount of the forces which the powers engaged in this concert might be enabled to use, supposing such extremities unavoidable. With respect to the first, it appears, on the whole—subject, however, to future consideration and discussion with the other powers—that the most advisable step to be taken would be, that sufficient explanation should be had with the powers at war with France, in order to enable those not hitherto engaged in the war to propose to that country terms of peace. That these terms should be the withdrawing their arms within the limits of the French territory, the abandoning their conquests, the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nation, and the giving, in some unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or to excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different powers of Europe,

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

War de-  
clared by  
France.  
Feb. 3,  
1793.

of French affairs. The determination of the French government to spread their principles of revolution in England, was strongly manifested in a circular letter, addressed by Monge, the minister of marine, to the inhabitants of the French seaports, on December 31, 1792, more than a month before the declaration of war. "The King and English Parliament," said he, "wish to make war upon us; but will the English republicans suffer it? Already these freemen testify the repugnance which they feel at bearing arms against their brethren the French. We will fly to their assistance, we will make a descent in that island, we will hurl there fifty thousand caps of liberty, we will plant among them the sacred tree, and hold out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." When such was the language used by the French ministers towards a people with whom they were still at peace, the maintenance of any terms of accommodation was obviously out of the question, the more especially when such sentiments met with a responsive voice from a numerous party on this side

who should be parties to this measure, might engage to *abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in their internal affairs*, and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with the existing powers in that country *with whom such a treaty may be concluded*. If on the result of this proposal, so made by the powers acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or being accepted, should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view; and it may be considered whether in such case they might not reasonably look to some indemnity for the expenses and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed." Such were the principles on which England was willing to have effected a general pacification in Europe; and it will appear in the sequel that these principles, and no others, were constantly maintained by her through the whole contest, and in particular, that the restoration of the Bourbons was never made or proposed as a condition of its termination.—See *Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1313, 1314.



of the Channel. After some time spent in the correspondence, matters were brought to a crisis by the execution of Louis, which took place on January 21, 1793. As there was now no longer even the shadow of a government in the French capital, with whom to maintain a diplomatic intercourse, M. Chauvelin received notice to leave the British dominions within eight days; with a notification, however, that the English government would still listen to terms of accommodation. And on February 3, the French Convention, on the report of Brissot, unanimously declared war against Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
xxxiv. 179,  
199.

Such is a detailed account of the causes which led to this great and universal war, which speedily embraced all the quarters of the globe, continued, with short interruptions, for more than twenty years, led to the occupation of all the capitals in Europe by foreign armies, and finally brought the Cossacks and the Tartars to the French metropolis. We shall search in vain, in any former age of the world, for a contest conducted on so gigantic a scale, or with such general exasperation, in which such extraordinary exertions were made by governments, or such universal enthusiasm manifested by their subjects. Almost all European History fades into insignificance, when compared to the wars which sprung out of the French Revolution, and the conquests of Marlborough or Turenne are lifeless when placed beside the campaigns of Napoleon. On coolly reviewing the events which led to the rapture, it cannot be said that any of the European powers were to blame in provoking it. The French government, even if they had possessed the inclination, had not the power to control their subjects, or prevent that communication with the discontented in

Reflections  
on this  
event.

CHAP. IX. 1792. other states, which justly excited such alarm in their governments. The Austrians and Prussians had good cause to complain of the infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, by the violent dispossessing of the nobles and clergy in Alsace, and justly apprehended the utmost danger to themselves, from the doctrines which were disseminated in their dominions by the French emissaries. Though last to abandon their system of neutrality, the English were ultimately drawn into the contest, by the alarming principles of foreign interference, which the Jacobins avowed after the 10th August, and the imminent danger in which Holland was placed, by the victorious advance of the French armies to the banks of the Scheldt.

Limits of the principle of non-interference. The principle of non-interference with the domestic concerns of other states, perfectly just in the general case, is necessarily subject to some exceptions. No answer has ever been made to the observation of Mr Burke, "that if my neighbour's house is in flames, and the fire is likely to spread to my own, I am justified in interfering to avert a disaster which promises to be equally fatal to both." If foreign nations are warranted in interposing in extreme cases of tyranny by rulers to their subjects, they must be equally entitled to prevent excessive severity by a people towards their sovereign. The French, who so warmly and justly supported the treaty of July 6, 1827, intended to rescue Greece from Ottoman oppression, who took so active a part against Great Britain, in the contest with her American colonies, and invaded the Netherlands, and besieged Antwerp in 1832, professedly to preserve the peace of Europe, have no right to complain of the treaty of Pilnitz, which had for its object to rescue the

French King from the scaffold, and the French CHAP.  
 nation from a tyranny which proved worse to them— IX.  
 selves than that of Constantinople. 1792.

The grounds on which the war was rested by the  
 British government were afterwards fully developed <sup>Grounds</sup>  
 in an important declaration, issued to the comman- <sup>of the war</sup>  
 ders of their forces by sea and land on 29th October <sup>stated in</sup>  
 1793, shortly after the execution of the queen. <sup>British de-</sup> It <sup>claration.</sup>  
<sup>Oct. 29,</sup> was stated in that noble state paper :—" In place of 1793.  
 the old government has succeeded a system destruc-  
 tive of all public order—maintained by proscrip-  
 tions, exiles, and confiscations without number—by  
 arbitrary imprisonments, by massacres, which can-  
 not be remembered without horror, and at length  
 by the execrable murder of a just and beneficent  
 sovereign, and of the illustrious princess who, with  
 unshaken firmness, has shared all the misfortunes of  
 her royal consort—his protracted sufferings, his cruel  
 captivity, and ignominious death. The Allies have  
 had to encounter acts of aggression without pretext,  
 open violation of all treaties, unprovoked declara-  
 tions of war; in a word, whatever corruption, in-  
 trigue, or violence could effect, for the purpose,  
 openly avowed, of subverting all the institutions of  
 society, and extending over all the nations of Eu-

CHAP. and moderate conditions ; not such as the expense,  
 IX. the risk, and sacrifices of the war might justify, but  
 1792. such as his Majesty thinks himself under the indis-  
 pensable necessity of requiring, with a view to these  
 considerations, and still more to that of his own  
 security, and of the future tranquillity of Europe.  
 His Majesty desires nothing more sincerely than  
 thus to terminate a war which he in vain endea-  
 voured to avoid, and all the calamities of which, as  
 now experienced by France, are to be attributed  
 only to the ambition, the perfidy, and the violence  
 of those whose crimes have involved their own coun-  
 try in misery, and disgraced all civilized nations.  
 The king promises on his part the suspension of  
 hostilities, friendship, and as far as the course of  
 events will allow, of which the will of man cannot  
 dispose, security and protection to all those who, by  
 declaring for a monarchical form of government, shall  
 shake off the yoke of sanguinary anarchy—of that  
 anarchy which has broken all the most sacred bonds  
 of society, dissolved all the relations of civil life,  
 violated every right, confounded every duty ; which  
 uses the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel  
 tyranny, to annihilate all property, seize on all pos-  
 sessions ; which founds its power on the pretended  
 consent of the people, and itself carries fire and  
 sword through extensive provinces, for having de-  
 manded their laws, their religion, and their lawful  
 sovereign.” This is real eloquence—this is the true  
 statement of the grounds of the war, in language

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. worthy of the great cause of freedom to which the  
 1793. State nation was thenceforward committed, and which was  
 Papers, never abandoned till the British armies passed in  
 1799. Parl. triumph through the walls of Paris.  
 Hist. xxx.  
 1597.

## CHAPTER X.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

## ARGUMENT.

General Passion of Men for War—Its important Effects—State of the French Armies at the commencement of the War—Of the Allies—French Invasion of the Low Countries—Its Defeat—Reflections on the Wretched State of the French army at this period—Consequent Consternation at Paris—Allied Armies collect on the Rhine—Character of the Duke of Brunswick—His secret Views in entering on this War—Selfish Views of the Allied Powers at this Period—Views of Dumourier and the Government of Paris—Invasion of Champagne is resolved on—Impolitic Invasion of Poland at the same time by the Northern Powers—Wise Views of the King of France—Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick—Invasion of France by him—Disposition of the French Forces—His line of advance—Surrender of Longwy and Verdun—Movements of Dumourier—Description of the Argonne Forest—He seizes the Passes before the Prussians—Dilatory motion of the Allies—Clairfait forces one of the Passes—Dumourier falls back to St Ménéhould—Rout of part of the French Army during the Retreat—French take post at St Ménéhould—Union of their Armies there—Consternation at Paris and in their Rear—Cannonade of Valmy—Great Effects of that Affair—French retain their position—Secret Negotiations between the Duke of Brunswick and Dumourier—Which paralysed the Allies on the Field of Valmy—Effect of their Negotiations on the Allied movements—Progress of the Negotiations—Intrigues at the Prussian Headquarters—Motives which led the Allies to retreat—Distress of the Allies: they resolve to retreat—Various motives for this—Terror at Paris—Conferences opened for the Retreat of the Allies—Their unmolested Retreat—They commence their Retreat, and regain the Rhine—Operations in Flanders—Bombardment of Lille—Raising of the Siege—Movements on the Upper Rhine—Capture of Mayence by Custine—Plans for the Invasion of Flanders—Commenced by Dumourier—Battle of Jemappes—Tardy advance of Dumourier—Conquest of Flanders—Jealousy of the General at Paris—Advance of the Republicans to the Scheldt and Meuse—Fall of Antwerp—Of Liege and Namur—Dumourier puts his Army into Winter Quarters—Violent Decree of the Convention, and great Revolutionary Changes in Belgium—Cruel Oppression of the People of Flanders by the French—War commenced against Piedmont—Conquest of Savoy and Nice—Threatened Invasion of Switzerland—It is deferred—Measures to revolutionize Savoy and Nice—They are Incorporated with France—Conclusion of the Campaign

CHAP.  
X.  
1792.

CHAP. on the Upper Rhine—Unsuccessful Operations of the Republicans; they  
 X. Recross the Rhine—Immense Results of this Campaign—Precipitance of  
 1792. the Allies—Ruinous Consequences of the want of Vigour on their side at  
 first—Great Danger of France at that time—General Reflections on the  
 Campaign.

General  
 passion of  
 men for  
 war.

<sup>1</sup> Ségur's  
 Memoirs,  
 ii. 59.  
 Ferguson,  
 39, Civil  
 Society.

Great be-  
 nefit of  
 this war-  
 like pas-  
 sion.

“PEACE,” says Ségur, “is the dream of the wise: War is the history of man. Youth listens without attention to those who seek to lead it by the paths of reason to happiness; and rushes with irresistible violence into the arms of the phantom which lures it by the light of glory to destruction.” Reason, wisdom, experience, strive in vain to subdue this propensity. For reasons superior to the conclusions of philosophy, its lessons in this particular are unheeded by the generality of mankind; and whole generations, impelled by an irresistible impulse, fly to their own destruction, and seek, in contending with their fellow-creatures, a vent for the ungovernable passions of their nature. “To overawe or intimidate,” says Mr Ferguson, “and when we cannot persuade with reason, to resist with fortitude, are the occupations which give its most animating exercise, and its greatest triumphs to a vigorous mind; and he who has never struggled with his fellow-creatures is a stranger to half the sentiments of mankind.”<sup>1</sup>

But we should greatly err if we imagined that this universal and inextinguishable passion is productive only of suffering, and that from the work of mutual destruction no benefit accrues to the future generations of men. It is by these tempests that the seeds of improvement are scattered over the world: that the races of mankind are mingled together, and the energy of Northern character blended with the refinement of Southern civilization. It is amidst the extremities and dangers of war that antiquated prejudice is abandoned, and new ideas disseminated;

that invention springs from necessity, and improvement is stimulated by example; and that, by the intermixture of the different races of men, the vices and asperity of each are softened, and the benefits of mutual communication extended. Rome conquered the world by her arms, and humanized it by her example: the Northern conquerors spread amidst the corruption of ancient civilization the energy of barbarian valour; the Crusades diffused through the Western the knowledge and arts of the Eastern World. The wars which sprang out of the French Revolution, produced effects as great, and benefits as lasting upon the human species; and amidst their bloody annals may be discerned at once the just retribution inflicted on both sides upon enormous national crimes, and the rise of principles destined to change the frame of society, and purify the face of the moral world.

CHAP.

X.

1792.

France having decided upon war, directed the formation of three considerable armies. In the north the Marshal Rochambeau commanded forty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, cantoned from Dunkirk to Phillipville. In the centre, La Fayette was stationed with forty-five thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, from Phillipville to Lautre; while Marshal Luckner, with thirty-five thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, observed the course of the Rhine from Bâle to Lauterburg. In the south, General Montesquieu, with fifty thousand men, was charged with the defence of the line of the Pyrenees and the course of the Rhone. But these armies were formidable only on paper. The agitation and license of the Revolution had loosened the bands of discipline, and the habit of judging and discussing political subjects destroyed

State of  
the French  
armies.

CHAP. the confidence of the soldiers in their commanders.  
X.

1792. It might have been foreseen, too, that as soon as the war became defensive, one-half of this force would be required to garrison the triple line of fortresses, which secured the course of the Rhine from foreign aggression. The national enthusiasm, however, speedily produced numerous recruits, though of the most strange and motley description, for the armies. The villages, the hamlets, sent forth their little bands of armed men to swell the forces on the frontier; the roads were covered with battalions of the National Guard, hastening to the scene of action. But public spirit will not supply the want of military organization, nor courage make up the deficiency of discipline. All the early efforts of the French armies were unsuccessful, and had the Allies been better prepared for the contest, or even duly improved the advantages they obtained, the war might have been terminated with ease in the first campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. ii.  
119, 121.  
Jom. ii. 3.  
4. Th. ii.  
45, 46.

Allied  
forces.

To oppose these forces, the Allies had no sufficient armies ready; a sure proof that the military operations contemplated in the treaty of Pilnitz had been abandoned by the contracting powers. Austria and Prussia alone took the field; England was still maintaining a strict neutrality, and the forces of Russia, let loose from the Danube after the treaty of Jassy, were converging slowly towards Poland, the destined theatre of Muscovite ambition. Spain and Piedmont remained at peace. Fifty thousand Prussians were all that could be spared for so distant an operation as the invasion of France; and the Emperor, weakened by his bloody contests with the Turks, could with difficulty muster sixty-five thousand along the whole line of the Rhine, from the lake of Constance to the Dutch frontier. The emigrant corps, assem-



bled in the countries of Treves and Coblenz, and in the margravate of Baden, hardly amounted to twelve thousand men, brave, high-spirited, indeed, and enthusiastic in a cause in which their all was at stake, but ill-fitted, by their rank and habits, for the duties of private soldiers in a fatiguing campaign, and they were not expected on the Rhine till the end of July.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
1791, 206.  
Jom. ii. 4,  
5. Th. ii.

Encouraged by the inconsiderable amount of the Austrian forces in the Low Countries, an invasion of Flanders was attempted by the French. The troops were divided into four columns, destined to unite in the neighbourhood of Brussels, and on the 28th April put in motion; but in every direction they encountered discomfiture and disgrace. General Dillon, who advanced from Lille with four thousand men, was met by a detachment of the garrison of Tournay, and before the Austrians had made a single discharge, or even their cavalry had arrived in the field, the French took to flight, murdered their commander, and re-entered Lille in such confusion as to endanger that important fortress. The corps which advanced from Valenciennes, under the orders of Biron, had no better success; hardly had the cannonade begun on the 29th with the Imperial troops, when two regiments of dragoons fled, exclaiming, "Nous sommes trahis!" and speedily drew after them the whole infantry. On the following day they were attacked by the Austrians under Beau- lieu, and on the first onset fled to Valenciennes, exclaiming that they were betrayed, and were only rallied by Rochambeau with the utmost difficulty behind the Ruelle. The corps destined to advance from Dunkirk to Furnes, fell back upon hearing of these disasters,<sup>2</sup> and General La Fayette judged it prudent to suspend the movement

French in-  
vasion of  
the Low  
Countries  
which is  
defeated.

<sup>2</sup> Jom. ii.  
16, 17. Th.  
ii. 78, 79,  
80. St Cyr,  
i. 47, 48.  
Introduc-  
tion. Toul.  
ii. 121.

CHAP. of his whole army, and to retire to his camp at Ran-  
 X. cennes.

1792. Such were the fruits of the insubordination and  
 Reflections license which had prevailed in the French armies  
 on the ever since they revolted against their sovereign—a  
 wretched state of memorable example to succeeding ages of the ex-  
 of the French extreme peril of soldiers taking upon them the task of  
 army at politicians, and forgetting their military honour in  
 period. the fancied discharge of social duties. The revolt  
 of the French guards, the immediate cause of the  
 overthrow of Louis, brought France to the brink of  
 destruction; with a more enterprising or better pre-  
 pared enemy, the demoralization produced by the  
 first defeat on the frontier, would, on the admission  
 of their own military historians, have proved fatal  
 to the national independence.<sup>1</sup> Had Napoleon or  
 Wellington commanded the Austrians in Flanders,  
 the French never would have been permitted to  
 rejoin their colours; and, inefficient as their gene-  
 rals were at this period, if the Allies had been aware  
 of the wretched state of their opponents, they would  
 have advanced without hesitation to Paris. No re-  
 liance can be placed on troops, once the most effec-  
 tive, who have engaged in a revolution, till their  
 discipline has been restored by despotic authority.  
 The extreme facility with which this invasion of  
 Flanders was repelled, and the disgraceful rout of  
 the French forces, produced an extraordinary effect  
 in Europe. The Prussians conceived the utmost  
 contempt for their new opponents, and it is curious  
 to recur to the sentiments expressed by them at the  
 commencement of the war. The military men at  
 Magdeburg deemed the troops of France nothing  
 but an undisciplined rabble: "Do not buy too many  
 horses," said the Minister Bischoffswerder to several  
 officers of rank; the comedy will not last long;<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
17.

<sup>2</sup> Hard. i.  
357. St  
Cyr, i. 50.  
Introd.

army of lawyers will soon be annihilated in Belgium, and we shall be on our road home in autumn." CHAP. X.

The Jacobins and war party in Paris, though 1792.  
extremely disconcerted by the disgrace of their arms, had the address to conceal their apprehensions. They launched forth the thunders of their indignation against the authors of their disasters. Luckner was appointed to succeed Rochambeau, who was dismissed, and tribunals were created for the trial of offences against military discipline. The most energetic measures were taken to reinforce the armies, and revive the national spirit which the recent disasters had much depressed; and the new general received orders to resume offensive operations. Feeble and irresolute, this old commander was ill qualified to restore the confidence of the army. His first operations were as unsuccessful as those of his predecessor, and he was obliged, after receiving a severe check, to retire in haste to his own frontier. At the same time the advanced guard of La Fayette was surprised and defeated near Maubeuge, and his numerous army thrown into a state of complete discouragement. At that period, it seemed as if the operations of the French generals were dependent upon the absence of their enemies: the moment they appeared they were precipitately abandoned. Meanwhile, the Austrian and Prussian forces were slowly collecting on the frontier. The disgraceful tumult on the 20th June accelerated their movements, and M. Calonne incessantly urged the Allied Sovereigns to advance with rapidity, as the only means of extricating Louis from his perilous situation. The Prussians assembled in the neighbourhood of Coblenz in the middle of June: the disciplined skill of the troops, trained in the school

CHAP. of Potsdam, and the martial air of the Austrians,  
X. recently returned from the Turkish campaigns,  
1792. seemed to promise an easy victory over the tumultu-  
ary levies of France. The disorganization and dis-

couragement of the French armies had arrived at  
the highest pitch before the invasion commenced,  
and Frederick William reckoned at least as much  
on the feebleness of their defence as on the magni-  
tude of his own forces.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. ii.  
123, 211.  
Jom. ii. 19,  
28, 85. 86.  
Cyr, i. 62.  
Introd.  
Th. ii. 80.

The Duke of Brunswick, who was entrusted with  
the command of the army, and first took the lead  
among the generals who combated the French Revo-  
lution, was a man of no ordinary capacity. Born in  
1735, he was the son of Charles Duke of Brunswick,  
and his wife the sister of Frederick II. of Prussia.  
Early in life he evinced an extraordinary aptitude  
for the acquisition of knowledge: unhappily the  
habits of the dissolute court where he was brought up  
initiated him as rapidly into the vices and pleasures  
of corrupted life. During the Seven Years' War he  
was called to more animating duties, and became  
the companion in arms and friend of the Great  
Frederick; but the return of peace restored him to  
inactivity, mistresses, and pleasure. These volup-  
tuous habits, which his marriage, in 1764, to the  
Princess Augusta sister of George III. King of  
England, did not diminish, had no tendency, how-  
ever, to extinguish the native vigour of his mind.  
He was endowed with an ardent imagination, and  
possessed a graceful figure and animated countenance.

But he had no steadiness or resolution. His con-  
versation was brilliant, his knowledge immense, his  
ideas clear, and delivered with the utmost perspi-  
cuity;<sup>2</sup> but, although the vivacity of his imagination  
made him rapidly perceive the truth, and anticipate

<sup>2</sup> Mirabeau,  
Cour de  
Berlin, i.  
231. Hard.  
i. 347, 351.  
Cap. Eur.  
pend. la  
Rév. Franc.  
i, 248.

Character  
of the  
Duke of  
Brunswick.

all the objections which could be urged against his opinions, it had the effect of rendering him ir-  
 resolute in conduct, and perpetually the prey of apprehensions lest his reputation should be endangered—  
 a peculiarity frequently observable in first-rate men of the second order, but never seen in the master-spirits of mankind.

CHAP.

X.

1792.

Jealous of his military reputation, and of the character which he had acquired of being, after the death of Frederick the Great, the ablest Prince in Germany, he was unwilling to hazard both by engaging in the contest with revolutionary France, the perils of which he distinctly perceived. Nor were personal motives wanting to confirm him in this opinion. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, the Abbé Sièyes, and the party of philosophers in that country had cast their eyes on this prince as the chief most capable of directing the Revolution, and at the same time disarming the hostility of Prussia, and they had even entered into secret negotiations with him on that subject. It may easily be imagined with what reluctance the duke entered upon a course of hostilities which at once interrupted such an understanding, and possibly deprived him of the brilliant hope that he might one day be called to the throne of the Bourbons. Impressed with these ideas he addressed a secret memoir to the King of Prussia, full of just and equitable views, on the course to be pursued in the approaching invasion, which it would have been well for the Allies, if they had strictly adhered to during the campaign.<sup>1</sup> \*

His secret  
views in  
entering  
on this  
war.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Eur.  
pend. la  
Rév. i. 117,  
120.  
<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
349, 353.

\* " You will understand better than I what an important effect the disposition of the interior of France must have on the operations of the campaign. It would be well to address a proclamation to the National Guards, announcing that we do not make war on the nation, that we have no intention of abridging their liberties, that we do not desire to

## CHAP.

## X.

1792.

Selfish  
views of  
the allied  
powers at  
this period.

In the views entertained at this period by the Prussian cabinet and the Duke of Brunswick, is to be found the true secret of the disasters of the campaign, and one powerful cause of the subsequent calamities which befell every part of Europe. The former were intent on iniquitous gains in Poland, and took the lead in the coalition in France, chiefly in order to gratify the wishes of the Empress Catharine, who was the head of the league for effecting the partition of that ill-fated country, and at the same time vehemently desirous of extinguishing the principles of the Revolution. The latter was apprehensive lest his great reputation, which rested on no permanent or illustrious actions, should be endangered, and his secret views in France blasted by too intemperate an hostility against that country. Thus both the government and the generalissimo were prepared to play false before they entered upon the campaign—they intended only to make a show of hostility on the Rhine, sufficient to propitiate the Semiramis of the North, and incline her to allow them as large a share as possible of the contemplated booty on the Vistula. Frederick William, indeed, was sincere in his desire to deliver the King of France and re-establish monarchical authority in his dominions; but, surrounded by ministers who had different objects in view, he was unable to act with the energy requisite to ensure success, nor was he aware of the

overturn their constitution; but that we insist only for reparation to the German princes dispossessed in Alsace. That affair of the indemnities will occasion the greatest embarrassment, if we cannot prevail on the Emperor to give his consent to the changes which are commencing in Poland. For my own part, I give to acquisitions in Poland a decided preference to any that may be acquired in France; For by any attempt at territorial aggrandisement in that country, the whole spirit in which the war should be conducted will be changed."—*Mem. 19th Feb. 1792*—*HARD. i. 353.*

difficulties to be encountered in its prosecution. The Duke of Brunswick alone was adequately impressed with the serious dangers which attended the proposed invasion, and in his memoir, already mentioned, he had strongly urged the necessity of "immediate and decisive operations, the more so as, without them, consequences of incalculable importance may ensue; for the French are in such a state of effervescence, that, if not defeated in the outset, they may become capable of the most extraordinary resolutions."<sup>1</sup>

Dumourier, minister of foreign affairs at Paris, aware that Austria was totally unprepared for a war in the Low Countries, and strongly impressed with the idea that the real object of France should be to wrest these opulent provinces from the House of Hapsburg, counselled an immediate advance into Flanders; while at the same time, by means of secret agents, he prepared the minds of the discontented, both in that country and in Piedmont, to second the invasion of the Republicans. Aware of the intrigues which M. Semonville, the French envoy, was carrying forward, the King of Sardinia refused to permit him to advance beyond Alexandria. Dumourier affected the utmost indignation at this slight put

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Hard. i.  
353, 357.Views of  
Dumourier  
and the  
govern-  
ment of  
Paris.

CHAP. Prussia or Austria, had not yet attained any con-  
 X. sistent military organization; as, on the one hand,  
 1792. the Allies were apprehensive of exciting the nation  
 by the sight of an armed invasion of the emigrant  
 noblesse, while, on the other, the influence of those  
 illustrious exiles, especially with the northern courts,  
 rendered it an imprudent measure to give them  
 any serious ground of complaint. At length a  
 middle course was resolved on, to join the emi-  
 grant corps to the army, but keep it in reserve with  
 the second line—a resolution which, how unhappy  
 soever, was rendered unavoidable by the arrival of a  
 May 3, courier from St Petersburg, bringing despatches,  
 1792. containing not only the entire concurrence of the  
 Empress Catharine in the proposed hostile operation,  
 but her resolution not to permit any change in the  
 form of government in any European state—a decla-  
 ration which, under the veil of a general principle  
 not likely to be disputed in despotic courts, concealed  
 her secret design to make the recent changes in the  
 Polish constitution a pretext for completing the par-  
 tition of the Sarmatian plains.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
367, 369.

The partitioning powers at length spoke openly  
 out. On the 8th June, Frederick William, in con-  
 cert with the Empress Catharine, replied to the  
 King of Poland, that he entirely disapproved of the  
 revolution so lately effected in the Polish dominions,  
 and that nothing but an immediate invasion by the  
 Russian and Prussian forces could be anticipated  
 from such a step taken without their concurrence.  
 At the same time twenty-five thousand men, under  
 Marshal Moellendorf, received orders to advance  
 towards Warsaw. Thus, at the time when a cordial  
 alliance of all the European powers was imperatively  
 called for to stem the torrent of the French Revolu-

Impolitic  
 invasion of  
 Poland, and  
 wise views  
 of Louis  
 XVI.



tion, the seeds of weakness and disunion were already sown, from their unjustifiable projects of aggrandizement on the shores of the Vistula. Meanwhile the King of France, not venturing openly to communicate with the Allied Sovereigns, dispatched a secret envoy to Vienna with letters to Marshal Castries, whom he had selected to communicate between him and the exiled princes, containing the wisest and most salutary advice on the conduct to be pursued by the invading powers.\* These instructions were received, and deliberately considered by the Allied cabinets. They were strongly impressed at the time July 20. with the justice of his views, and gave the most solemn assurances to the envoy, Mallet du Pau, that their measures should be entirely regulated by them; but the advice was forgotten almost as soon as it was received, and the more intemperate wishes of the exiled princes subsequently gained too great an ascendancy over the measures of the coalition.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
369, 383,  
402, 421.  
Bert. de  
Moll. Mém.  
370, 374.

On the 25th July the King of Prussia joined the

\* "The safety of the monarchy," said Louis, "that of the king and all his family, the general security of persons and property, the stability of the order which may eventually succeed to the present confusion, the urgent necessity of abridging the duration of the crisis, and weaken-



CHAP. army, and on the same day the proclamation was  
 X. issued, which had so powerful an effect in ex-  
 1792. citing the patriotism and healing the divisions of  
 the French people.\* This proclamation, though  
 signed by the Duke of Brunswick, was drawn up

Proclama-  
 tion of the  
 Duke of  
 Bruns-  
 wick.  
 July 25.

\* "After having suppressed, in an arbitrary manner, the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, troubled and overthrown in the interior good order and legitimate government, committed on the sacred person of the king and her august family, crimes and acts of violence which are perpetrated from day to day, those who have usurped the reins of power in France have at length put the finishing stroke to their misdeeds by declaring war on his Majesty the Emperor, and attacking his possessions in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the German empire have been involved in that aggression; others have only escaped the danger by yielding to the imperious demands of the ruling party in France. His Majesty the King of Prussia, united in a close alliance to the Austrian monarch, and, like him, charged with the defence of the German confederacy, has deemed it indispensable to march to the succour of his Imperial Majesty and of Germany. To these motives is joined, also, the object equally important of causing the anarchy to cease in the interior of France itself, arresting the strokes levelled at the throne and the altar, of re-establishing legal power, and restoring to the king the security and liberty of which he has been deprived, and putting him in a condition to exercise his legitimate authority. Convinced that the sound and right thinking part of the French nation abhor the excesses of the faction which has subjugated it, and that the great majority of the inhabitants await only the arrival of external succour to declare themselves openly against the tyranny which oppresses them, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite them to return to the ways of reason, justice, order, and peace; and declare—

"I That being drawn into this war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts propose to themselves no other object but the happiness of France, without seeking to enrich themselves by conquests at its expense.

II. That they have as little intention of interfering in the internal government of France; but that their only object is to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to procure to his most Christian Majesty, the security to enable him, without danger, and without obstacle, to convoke the assemblies which he may deem necessary to secure the happiness of his subjects, in conformity with his promises, so far as depends on him.

III. That the combined armies will protect the towns, burghs, and villages; the persons and property of all those who shall submit them-

by M. Calonne and the Marquis Lemon, in more violent terms than was originally intended, or than was consistent with the objects of the war, as set forth in the previous official declaration of the Prussian cabinet,\* in consequence of the intelligence

CHAR.  
X.

1792.

selves to the king; and that they will immediately concur in the immediate establishment of order and police over all France.

IV. That the National Guards are called upon, in an especial manner, to watch over the tranquillity of the towns and country, and the preservation of the lives and property of all the French until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or till otherwise ordered, under pain of being personally responsible; while, on the other hand, such of the National Guards as shall have combated against the forces of the allied courts, and shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and disturbers of the public tranquillity.

V. That the generals, officers, and soldiers of the French army are, in like manner, summoned to return to their ancient fidelity, and to submit instantly to the king, their lawful sovereign.

VI. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be, in like manner, responsible, with their heads and properties, for all the crimes, conflagrations, pillages, and assassinations, which they have not done their utmost to prevent in their respective jurisdictions; and they are hereby required to continue in their functions till his most Christian Majesty is set at liberty.

VII. The inhabitants of towns, burghs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and fire on them, either in the open country, or from windows, doors, or roofs, shall be punished on the spot, according to the laws of war, and their houses burned or demolished. Those, on the other hand, who shall immediately submit, shall be taken under their Majesties' especial protection.

VIII. The town of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, are hereby warned to submit without delay to the King; to put that prince in entire liberty, and to show to them, as well as all the Royal Family, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and of nations binds on subjects towards their sovereigns. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will render all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard of Paris, responsible for all events, with their heads, under military tribunals. They further declare, on their faith and word as Emperor and King, that if the chateau of the Tuileries is forced or insulted, or the least violence or outrage committed to the King, Queen, or Royal Family; and if provision is not immediately made for their safety, pre-

CHAP. X. which the Allied Powers had received of the secret offers made to the Duke by the constitutional party in France, and the necessity which they thence conceived there was of committing him irrevocably against the Revolution.\* The objectionable passages were introduced against his will by the direct authority of the Emperor and King of Prussia; and so strongly impressed was the Duke of Brunswick with the unhappy consequences likely to arise from the publication of such a manifesto, that he tore to pieces the first copy brought to him for his signature, and ever after called it, "that deplorable manifesto." Certain it is, that if issued at all, it should only have been at the gates of Paris, and after decisive success in the field;<sup>1</sup> and that to publish it at the

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i. 427, 432. Cap. Eur. pend. la Rév. Franc. i. 316.

servation, and liberty, they will inflict a signal, rare, and memorable vengeance, by delivering up the city of Paris to military execution and total overthrow, and the rebels guilty of such attempts to the punishment they have merited. On the other hand, if they promptly submit, their Imperial and Royal Majesties engage to use their good offices with his most Christian Majesty to procure the pardon of their crimes and errors."—*Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, Coblenz, 25th July 1792. Moniteur, August 1, 1792. JOMINI, Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution, ii. 355. Pièces Justificatives, No. 5.*

\* "There is no power," said the Prussian manifesto, "interested in the balance of power in Europe, which can behold with unconcern that great kingdom become a prey to anarchical horrors, which have in a manner annihilated its political existence;" there is no true Frenchman who must not desire to see such disorders terminated. To put a period to the anarchy in France, to establish with that view legal power on the base of monarchical authority, to secure by this means the other powers from the incendiary efforts of a frantic Jacobin band,—such are the objects which the King, in conjunction with his ally, proposes to himself in this noble enterprise, not only with the general concurrence of the powers of Europe, who recognise its justice and necessity, but with the approbation and well-wishes of every friend to the human race."—HARD. i. 425, 426.

\* Mr Burke was of the same opinion "We may regard France," said he, "as now nearly blotted out from the political map of Europe."—*Speech in the House of Commons, 9th Feb. 1790. —WORKS, v. 5, 6.*

outset merely of feeble and languid military operations, was the height of imprudence, which if not followed by victory could lead to nothing but disaster.

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

On the 30th, the whole army broke up and entered the French territory. The Allied forces consisted of fifty thousand Prussians, in the finest condition, and supported by an unusually large train both of heavy and field artillery; forty-five thousand Austrians, the greater part of whom were veterans from the Turkish wars; six thousand Hessians, and upwards of ten thousand French emigrants, dispersed by a most injudicious arrangement into separate corps. In all, a hundred and thirteen thousand men: a formidable army, both from its numerical force and its warlike qualities, and fully adequate, if ably and energetically led, to breaking down any force which the French government at that period could array against them. The French armies destined to oppose this invasion, were by no means equal, either in discipline or equipment, to their antagonists; and they were soon paralysed by intestine divisions. The army of La Fayette, now not more than twenty-eight thousand strong, was

Invasion of  
France,  
and dispo-  
sition of  
the French  
forces.  
July 30,  
1792.

CHAP. But the revolution of the 10th August changed the  
 X. command of the armies, and ultimately proved fatal  
 1792. to the Allies, not less from the energy which it im-  
 parted to the government, than the ability which it  
 brought to the head of military affairs. La Fayette,  
 having in vain endeavoured to raise the standard of  
 revolt against the Jacobins, was compelled to fly for  
 safety to the Austrian lines; and Luckner, having  
 disobeyed the Convention, the command of both  
 their armies was entrusted to Dumourier; a man  
 whose ardent spirit, indefatigable activity, and  
 boundless resources, were peculiarly fitted to rescue  
 France from the perilous situation in which it was  
 placed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare  
 Jom. ii. 4;  
 and Toul.  
 ii. 266.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 xxxv. 45.  
 Jom. ii.  
 86, 87.  
 and Bert.  
 de Moll. i.  
 174, 179.  
 Th. iii. 37.  
 39. St Cyr,  
 i. 39.

Line of  
 advance  
 adopted by  
 the allies.

A triple barrier defends France from invasion on  
 its eastern frontier. The centre of this line, where  
 an attack was threatened from the Allied forces, is  
 covered by Thionville, Bitsch, Sarre Louis, Longwy,  
 and Montmedy, in front, and Metz, Verdun, Sedan,  
 and Mezieres, in the rear; while the woody heights  
 of the Ardennes forest, occupying a space of fifteen  
 leagues between Verdun and Sedan, offers the most  
 serious obstacles to the passage of an army. It was  
 by this line that the Allies resolved to invade the coun-  
 try; which was the most judicious that, considering  
 their force, they could have adopted, for experience  
 has since proved to be true, that a force of not less  
 than two hundred and fifty thousand men would be  
 requisite to make a successful irruption from the side  
 of Switzerland or Flanders. Every thing seemed to  
 announce success, and tended to recommend the  
 most vigorous measures in seizing it. The French  
 armies, scattered over an immense line, from the  
 Alps to the ocean, were incapable of uniting for any

common operation ; and their state of disorganiza-  
tion was such as to render it extremely doubtful  
whether they were either disposed or qualified to  
combine for effecting it. Three fortresses only lay  
on their road ; Sedan, Longwy, and Verdun—all in  
a wretched state of defence ; after which the army  
had nothing but a fertile plain to traverse on the  
road to Paris. In these circumstances, a powerful  
and rapid attack on the centre seemed the most pru-  
dent, as well as the most effectual, means of dispers-  
ing the forces of the Revolution, and reaching the  
heart of their power, before any effective array  
could be collected for its defence. There can be no  
question of the wisdom of the plan of operations ;  
but the Allies were grievously mistaken in the de-  
gree of vigour required for carrying it into execu-  
tion.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
90, 91 ;  
and ii. 86.  
Th. iii. 40.  
Toul. ii.  
295.

The invading army advanced with slowness, and  
apparent timidity, in a country which they professed  
to consider as the theatre of certain conquest. At  
length, after an inexplicable delay, the fortress of  
Longwy was invested on the 20th August ; and a  
bombardment having been immediately commenced,  
the garrison, who were partly composed of volun-

Tardy ad-  
vance of  
the allies.  
Longwy  
and Verdun  
surrender.  
Aug. 23.



CHAP. spread such consternation among the revolutionary  
 X. party, as would have led to the rapid termination of  
 1792. the war. Instead of doing so, however, the Allied  
 army, following the preconcerted plan of operations,  
 advanced on the great road, and, after an unaccount-  
 able delay of six days around Longwy, moved for-  
 ward on the 29th, and on the 30th invested Verdun.  
 On the 2d September this important fortress capit-  
 ulated after a feeble resistance; and there now re-  
 mained no fortified place in a state of defence on the  
 road to Paris.<sup>1</sup>\*

Sept. 2.  
 1 Th. iii.  
 42, 98.  
 Jom. i.  
 101, 102.

After such extraordinary and unhopd for good  
 The Allies fortune as the capitulation of the only fortresses  
 allow Du- which lay on their road, after an investment of a few  
 mourier to days each, it was difficult to account either for the  
 anticipate present inactivity or ultimate disasters of the Allied  
 them in the army. The army round Sedan, now under the  
 Argonne command of Dumourier, did not exceed twenty-five  
 forest. thousand men, little more than a fourth part of the  
 Duke of Brunswick's force; and yet the other armies  
 were so far distant, that on it almost exclusively de-  
 pended the salvation of France. But the dilatory  
 conduct of the Allies, joined to the enterprize and  
 genius of Dumourier, paralysed all these advantages.  
 Nothing could rouse the Duke of Brunswick from  
 his dilatory system, not even the urgent representa-  
 tions of the King of Prussia, who longed for decisive

\* In the course of the march the King of Prussia met a young sol-  
 dier with his knapsack on his back and an old musket in his hands.  
 "Where are you going?" said the king. "To fight," replied the sol-  
 dier. "By that answer," replied the monarch, "I recognise the  
 noblesse of France." He saluted him, and passed on. The soldier's  
 name has since become immortal; it was FRANCOIS CHATEAUBRIAND,  
 then returning from his travels in North America to share in the dan-  
 gers of the throne in his native country. See CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mé-  
 moires*, 83, *Fragments*.



operations.\* Every thing depended upon the immediate occupation of the defiles of the Ardennes forest, the only remaining barrier between a victorious army of eighty thousand men and the capital. These wooded heights were only six leagues in advance of the Allies, and it was of the last importance to reach them before the enemy; for if once the war was carried into the plains beyond, there was little hope that the ill-disciplined troops of France would be able to withstand the numerous and magnificent cavalry of the Prussians. The eagle eye of Dumourier speedily pitched on the sole defensible point, and, placing his hand on the Argonne forest in the map,—“There,” said he, “is the Thermopylæ of France: if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all is saved,” His determination was instantly taken; but it appears that the movement upon that decisive line had been previously recommended by the Executive Council of Paris,<sup>1</sup> and

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Dum. ii.  
387, 391.  
Th. iii. 43,  
88, 89.  
Toul. ii.  
297, 299.

\* The advantages which lay open to the invading army at this juncture, are thus set forth by the person of all others best qualified to appreciate them—General Dumourier. “How did it happen,” says he, “that, after the fall of Longwy on the 23d August, the enemy did not instantly resolve to march on Stenay and Monzow, and there annihilate the French army, or draw over the troops of the line to their side, in



CHAP. that he had only delayed executing it from an opin-  
 X. ion, that the Allies would be detained several weeks  
 1792. before Longwy and Verdun, and that the best way  
 of arresting their march was to threaten an invasion  
 of the Low Countries.

Descrip- The forest of Argonne is a wooded ridge, extending  
 tion of the from the neighbourhood of Sedan, in a south-westerly  
 Argonne direction, about thirteen leagues. Its breadth varies  
 forest from one to four leagues. Five roads traverse it,  
 which Du- leading into the rich and fertile districts of Eveches  
 mourier from the open and sandy plains of Champagne. The  
 seized. great road to Paris goes by the pass of Islettes : the  
 other passes were named Grandpré, Chene Populeux,  
 Croix au Bois, and Chalade. These roads required to  
 be occupied and guarded before they were reached by  
 the enemy ; a perilous operation, as it involved a flank  
 movement directly in front of a vastly superior hos-  
 tile army. The ruinous effect of the delay round  
 Longwy, after the fall of that fortress, was now ap-  
 parent ; had the Allied forces moved on, instead of  
 there waiting a week in inactivity, the war would  
 have been carried into the plains of Champagne,  
 and the broken ground passed before the French  
 army could possibly have arrived. Clairfait, with  
 the advanced guard of the Allies, was, on the 30th  
 August, only six leagues from Islettes, the principal  
 passage through the forest of Argonne ; while the  
 nearest posts of the French, commanded by Dillon,  
 were distant ten leagues ; and the nearest road to  
 reach it lay directly in front of the Austrian van-  
 guard. Determined, however, at all hazards, to gain  
 the passes, Dumourier, on the 31st, took the bold  
 resolution of pushing on directly across the Austrian  
 vanguard. This resolution was entirely successful :  
 the Austrians, ignorant of his designs, and intent

only on covering the siege of Verdun, which was CHAP. X.  
 going forward, withdrew their advanced posts, and 1792.  
 allowed the French to pass; and from the 1st to the  
 4th September, the whole army defiled within sight  
 almost of their videttes, and occupied the passes;  
 Dumourier himself taking his station at Grandpré,<sup>1</sup> Personal  
 near the centre, with thirteen thousand men. He observa-  
 immediately fortified the position, and awaited in tion.  
 tranquillity the reinforcements which he expected Jom. ii.  
 from the interior, the army of the centre, and that 109. Toul.  
 of the north.<sup>1</sup> ii. 800. Th.

They were very considerable, for Bournonville and  
 Duval were hastening from the army of Flanders Dumourier  
 with sixteen thousand men; while Kellerman, with seizes the  
 twenty-two thousand, was expected in a few days passes of  
 from the neighbourhood of Metz. Large bodies the forest.  
 were also advancing from Paris, where the Repub-  
 lican government was taking the most energetic  
 measures for the public defence. Camps for the  
 recruits were formed at Soissons, Meaux, Rheims,  
 and Chalons, where numerous volunteers were daily  
 arriving, animated with the greatest enthusiasm;  
 while the sanguinary despots of Paris marched off  
 thousands of citizens, reeking with the blood of the

messengers in the prisons, to more honourable con-

CHAP. Two bridges only were thrown over the river, each  
 X. of which was guarded by a strong advanced body.

1792. The enemy would thus be under the necessity of  
 crossing the Aisne without the aid of bridges, tra-  
 versing a wide extent of meadow, under the concentric  
 fire of numerous batteries, and finally scaling a rug-

<sup>1</sup> Personal  
 observa-  
 tion.  
 Dum. ii.  
 394, 396;  
 iii. 2. Toul.  
 ii. 301.  
 Jom. ii.  
 110, 111.  
 Th. ii. 93,  
 94. St  
 Cyr, i. 66.  
 Introd.  
 ged ridge broken by woods, strengthened by intrench-  
 ments, and almost inaccessible. Confident in the  
 strength of this position, Dumourier wrote to the  
 minister of war in these terms :—"Verdun is taken:  
 I am in hourly expectation of the Prussians: the  
 camps at Grandpré and Islettes are the Thermopylæ  
 of France; but I shall be more successful than Leo-  
 nidas." <sup>1</sup>

While these energetic measures were going forward  
 on the French side, the steps of the Allies, notwith-  
 standing their extraordinary good fortune, were mark-  
 ed by that indecision, which, in a war of invasion,  
 and above all in the invasion of a revolutionary  
 power is the sure forerunner of defeat. It was evident  
 from the position of the French army, and the nu-  
 merous reinforcements hastening to them from every  
 quarter, that every thing depended upon forcing the  
 passes, and throwing them into confusion before their  
 forces were augmented, or the moral energy acquired  
 which, in war, is even more important than numeri-  
 cal strength. Instead of this, their movements were  
 unaccountably tardy, as if they wished to give the  
 French time to collect their forces, and complete  
 their means of defence, before any decisive opera-  
 tions were commenced. Though Verdun capitulated  
 on the 2d September, the army did not advance till  
 the 5th, when it remained in position on the heights  
 of Fromerville till the 11th, wasting in inactivity the  
 most precious days of the campaign.<sup>2</sup> At length,

<sup>2</sup> Jom. ii.  
 115, 118.  
 St Cyr, i.  
 67. Introd.

Dilatory  
 motions of  
 the Allies.

being informed of the occupation of the passes by CHAP. X.  
 Dumourier, and having completed his preparations, 1792.  
 the Duke of Brunswick, on the 12th, moved a part  
 of his forces to Landres, and remained there in per-  
 fect inactivity till the 17th, threatening the left of  
 the French position.

To oppose this movement, Dumourier withdrew a  
 considerable part of the forces which occupied the Clairfait  
 pass of Croix au Bois, one of the five which tra- seizes the  
 versed the forest of Argonne, and was situated on pass of  
 the right of the line, to support the left, where an Croix au  
 attack was anticipated. The consequence was, that Bois.  
 on the 12th Clairfait established himself in that im-  
 portant post, and thus broke the French line, and  
 threatened to take it in rear. Sensible of his error,  
 the French general detached General Chazot to re-  
 take the position; but the Austrian general not  
 only maintained his ground, but threw back his  
 opponents from the central corps of the army, and  
 entirely turned the right of the French position.  
 The situation of Dumourier was now highly criti- Sept. 15.  
 cal; his force in the central camp at Grandpré did  
 not exceed sixteen thousand men, while the whole  
 Prussian army was in his front, and the Austrians  
 under Clairfait were rapidly defiling into his rear.  
 To complete his misfortunes, Kellerman, whose  
 march from Metz had been unaccountably slow, had  
 not yet arrived; and it was evident that he could  
 not effect a junction but in the rear of the position  
 in the Argonne forest; while the detachment in-  
 trusted with the defence of the pass of Chene Po- 1 Dum. iii.  
 puleux, unable to resist the attacks of the Austrians, 20, 21, 23.  
 abandoned their position, and fell back towards St Cyr, i.  
 Chalons. "Never," says Dumourier, "was the 67, 69.  
 situation of an army more desperate: France was Jom. ii.  
 within a hairbreadth of destruction." 120, 121.  
Th. iii.  
101, 102.

CHAP. X.  
 1792. In this extremity the French general resolved to evacuate entirely the line of the Argonne forest, and to fall back with all his forces to the position of St

Retreat of  
 Dumourier  
 to St  
 Méné-  
 hould, and  
 rout of  
 part of the  
 French  
 army.

Ménéhould, a few leagues in his rear. Every thing depended upon gaining time : the heavy rains were already commencing, which promised to render a further advance of the Allies extremely difficult, if not impracticable. The camp, in consequence, was raised at midnight on the 15th ; and on the 17th the whole army was collected in the rear, at St Ménéhould, where he resolved to remain firm till the expected reinforcements arrived. His forces did not exceed twenty-five thousand men ; but their position was defended by a numerous and excellent artillery : while the reinforcements, which were daily expected, promised to raise it to seventy thousand combatants. During the retreat, however, an incident occurred which had wellnigh brought destruction on the whole army. General Chazot, who commanded the rear-guard of ten thousand men, was attacked at Vaux by fifteen hundred Prussian hussars, and four pieces of horse artillery. The French troops instantly took to flight, disbanded themselves, rushed through the main body in the utmost confusion, and numbers fled as far as Rheims and Paris in the most dreadful alarm. But for the exertions of General Duval, who succeeded in reorganizing part of the rearguard, and of General Miranda, who restored order in the main body, the whole column would have been irretrievably routed. The Prussian cavalry, however, not being supported, were at length obliged to retire, astonished at their easy success, and lamenting that so favourable an opportunity had been lost of destroying the French army. If two thousand more allied horse had followed up this success, the French army would have been

Sept. 17.

trievably routed. Many of the French troops  
 d thirty leagues and upwards from the field of  
 ttle, spreading consternation wherever they went,  
 ad declaring that all was lost. At six in the  
 ening, after the troops had taken up their ground  
 ear Dammartin, a new panic seized the troops :  
 the artillerymen, in haste, harnessed their horses to  
 escape beyond the little river Bionne, and all the  
 camp was in confusion. At length some degree of  
 order was restored, by the dragoons in the general's  
 escort striking the fugitives with the flats of their  
 sabres ; great fires were lighted, and the army  
 rested in groups round them without any distinc-  
 tion or order.<sup>1</sup>

"I have been obliged," said Dumourier, in his  
 letter to the Convention, "to return from the camp  
 of Grandpré : during the retreat an unaccountable  
 panic seized the army ; ten thousand men fled from  
 fifteen hundred Prussian hussars ; the loss did not  
 amount to fifty men ; every thing is repaired, and I  
 answer for the safety of France." But he was far  
 from feeling, in reality, the confidence which these  
 words seemed to indicate. The rout of so large a  
 of his forces, demonstrated how little reliance  
 could be placed on the undisciplined levies, when

CHAP.

X.

1792.

St Cyr,

i. 69, 71.

Introd.

Th. iii.

104, 105.

Dum. iii.

30, 31, 38.

Jom. ii.

123.

Dumourier

takes post

at St Mé-

nébould,

and the

French

armies

unite.

Sept. 18.

CHAP. X. pagne, while the corps of Dillon was stationed on the road leading from Verdun, and still held the passes of

1792. Islettes and Chalade, through which the principal road to Paris was conducted. A numerous artillery defended all the avenues to the camp, and water was to be had in abundance from the river Aisne, which bounded its right side. In this position the French general anxiously awaited the arrival of the expected reinforcement.

Sept. 19. Terrified at the reports which they received of the rout at Vaux, Kellerman and Bournonville retired, when almost close to the camp of St Ménéhould, the former to Vitry, the latter to Chalons. They would have been irretrievably separated, if the Allies had showed the least vigour in improving their advantages. But their extraordinary delay gave Dumourier time to reiterate his orders for an immediate junction. Kellerman and Bournonville made a long circuit by the rear; and at length, on the 19th, the whole three armies were united in the neighbourhood of St Ménéhould. The orders to Bournonville were carried by an aide-de-camp of Dumourier,<sup>1</sup> named MACDONALD,\* after-

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iii. 24, 37.  
Jom. ii. 124. Th. iii. 106, 109.

\* Etienne Jacques Joseph Macdonald, one of the most spotless and distinguished marshals of France, was born at Sedan, the birthplace of Turenne, on 17th November 1765. He was descended, as his name indicates, from an old Scottish family, whose fidelity to their monarchs in misfortune had led them to follow the fortunes of the exiled Stuarts to St Germain. He entered early in life into the legion of Maillebois, raised for the purpose of aiding the French party in Holland. He was afterwards transferred as sub-lieutenant into the Irish regiment of Dillon, in which he was when the Revolution broke out. Upon that event, though strongly attached to the Royalist party, he did not quit France, being induced to remain there by an attachment to the daughter of M. Jacob, who had embraced the popular side. To that fortunate circumstance he with reason ascribed his subsequent elevation, for it retained him in the path where promotion was to be acquired and glory won. His abilities for military combination procured him a place, at the commencement of hostilities, first on the staff of General Bournonville, and afterwards of General Dumourier. Such was the



wards Duke of Tarentum, and victor of the field of Wagram. CHAP.  
X

Their arrival totally changed the state of affairs. 1792.

The spirit of the French soldiers was prodigiously elated by so great an accession of strength. It was no longer a corps of twenty-five thousand who maintained an unequal struggle with eighty thousand enemies, but a great army, seventy thousand strong, which sought to measure its strength with the invaders. Meanwhile, however, disorder and dismay prevailed in the rear of the French position. The fugitives from Vaux, who fled almost thirty leagues into the interior, declared every where that the army was destroyed, that Dumourier was a traitor, and that all was lost. The national guard and gendarmerie at Rheims, Soissons, and Chalons, were seized by the same spirit; pillage became universal; the valour he displayed at Jemappes, that he was made colonel of the old regiment of Picardy on the spot, and he commanded that body in the subsequent invasion of Flanders. He did not follow Dumourier in his abandonment of the Republican cause, but continued to serve under Picbegru in the Army of the North in the campaign of 1794, against the English, in the course of which he greatly distinguished himself. In 1798 he was employed under Massena and Berthier, in the invasion of the Roman States, and inflicted a notable defeat on Mack, at the head of the unwarlike troops of Naples, in the neighbourhood of Otri-  
glio (Hist. de l'Arm. III. 671). After this he took part in the invasion and



CHAP. corps disbanded, and wreaked their disappointment  
X. on their own officers, many of whom they put to  
1792. death. Such was the general consternation, that

the people of Paris began to despair of the republic, and hesitation became visible in the new levies who were daily forwarded from its gates to the frontier. Nothing could be clearer than that if the Allies had acted with the least vigour at this period, they could with ease have arrived at Paris, and crushed the Revolution before it had acquired either the energy or consistency of military strength.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. ii.  
322. Th.  
iii. 110.  
Dum. iii.  
39. St Cyr,  
i. 74, 75.  
Introd.

Positions  
taken up  
by the  
French  
troops.

The troops of Bournonville, which arrived first, were stationed at Sainte Cohiers. When those of Kellerman came up, Dumourier ordered them to encamp between Dampierre and Elise, behind the river Aube; and, as an attack from the enemy was anticipated, to advance in that event to the heights of VALMY. Kellerman conceived the order to mean, that he should take post there from the first, and accordingly occupied the heights with all his artillery and baggage, and began to erect his tents. The confusion occasioned by their arrival attracted the attention of the Prussians, who had arrived on the opposite heights of La Lune, and led to an action inconsiderable in itself, but most important in the consequences which it produced. The Duke of Brunswick, hearing of the departure of Dumourier from the camp at Grandpré, at length put his troops in motion, passed the now unguarded defiles of the forest, and on the 18th crossed the Aube, and advanced between the French army and Paris. By this bold movement he hoped to cut off the enemy from their resources, and compel them either to abandon the capital or surrender.<sup>2</sup> In this way the hostile armies were placed in the most

<sup>2</sup> Jom. ii.  
124. Th.  
ii. 115.  
Toul. ii.  
324. Dum.  
iii. 41.

singular position ; the Prussians faced towards the Rhine, and had their back to Champagne, while Dumourier, with his rear at the forest of Argonne, faced towards the French capital. CHAP.  
X.  
1792.

Arrived on the heights of La Lune, on the morning of the 20th, in a thick haze, the Prussians, when the vapours cleared away, perceived the French opposite to them on the heights of Valmy. A cannonade immediately commenced ; Dumourier, perceiving that it was too late to draw Kellerman back to the camp originally assigned to him, immediately detached nine battalions, and eight squadrons, under General Chazot, to his support, while General Steingel was placed, with sixteen battalions, on a height which commanded the position of Valmy on the right. The Duke of Brunswick formed his army in three columns, and seemed disposed to commence an attack by the oblique method, the favourite mode at that time in the Prussian forces. An accidental explosion of some ammunition waggons, near the mill of Valmy, occasioned a momentary disorder in the French army, and, if followed by a vigorous attack, would probably have led to a total defeat. But the powerful fire of the French artillery, the energetic conduct of Kellerman, and the steady front exhibited by his troops, disconcerted the Prussians, and induced the Duke to hesitate in engaging his troops in a general action. The affair terminated in a vigorous cannonade on both sides, and the superb columns of the Prussians were drawn off at night, without having fired a shot. Kellerman bivouacked after the action, on the heights of Valmy, and the Prussians on those of La Lune, barring the great road to Chalons, and still between Dumourier and Paris.<sup>1</sup>

Cannonade  
of Valmy,  
Sept. 28.

Dum. iii.  
41, 44, 45.  
Jom. ii.  
131. Toul.  
ii. 330, 331.  
Th. iii.

112, 113.

CHAP. X. It is with an invading army as with an insurrec-  
tion : an indecisive action is equivalent to a defeat.

1792. The affair of Valmy was merely a cannonade ; the  
Great effects of this affair. total loss on both sides did not exceed eight hundred  
men : the bulk of the forces on neither were drawn  
out. It was evident to both armies that political  
considerations had here overruled the military ope-  
rations of the Allies, and that no real trial of  
strength had taken place. Yet it produced upon  
the invaders consequences equivalent to the most  
terrible overthrow. The Duke of Brunswick no  
longer ventured to despise an enemy who had shown  
so much steadiness under a severe fire of artillery ;  
the elevation of victory, the self-confidence which  
ensures it, had passed over to the other side. Gifted  
with an uncommon degree of intelligence, and influ-  
enced by an ardent imagination, the French soldiers  
are easily depressed by defeat, but proportionally  
raised by success ; they rapidly make the transition  
from one state of feeling to the other. From the  
cannonade at Valmy may be dated the commence-  
ment of the career of victory which carried their  
armies to Vienna and the Kremlin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. ii.  
334. Jom.  
ii. 131.  
Th. iii.  
113. Dum.  
iii. 44.  
Hard. i.  
478, 479.

After the action, Kellerman was withdrawn from  
the heights of Valmy to the ground originally as-  
signed him in the intrenched camp, while the Prus-  
sians strengthened themselves in their position on  
the heights of La Lune, still covering the great road  
to Chalons and Paris. The Executive Council evin-  
ced great disquietude at the situation of the armies,  
as well they might, as it left Paris entirely un-  
covered, and the Prussian army interposed between  
their own troops and that capital. They repeatedly  
urged Dumourier to change his ground for such  
a position as might cover Chalons, Meaux, and

French re-  
tain their  
position.

Rheims, which were threatened by the enemy's light troops. He replied, with the firmness of a great general, that he would maintain his present position ; and, so far from detaching forces to cover Chalons, he gave orders for the troops which were collecting there to advance nearer to the scene of action. The position of Islettes was still preserved; and an attack, by a detachment of the Allies, on that important pass, was defeated by the obstinate resistance of the officer in command.

The conduct of the Duke of Brunswick, both in this action, and the movements for three weeks which had preceded it, would be altogether inexplicable, if the external aspect of the military events alone was considered. But the truth was, as has at length been revealed, that during all this period, a secret negotiation was in dependence between him and Dumourier, the object of which was to obtain, after a little delay, the recognition of the constitutional throne by the latter, and the junction of his army to the invading force. This negotiation was skilfully conducted by the French general, who constantly held out that he was in reality favourable to the King and the Constitution, and would show himself as such when the proper time arrived ; but that, in order to do so with effect, it was necessary to wait for the arrival of the other corps d'armée, as without an imposing force such a declaration would not be attended with the desired effect at Paris, and that any disaster in the mean time would put an end to all his designs. By these plausible but insidious communications, Dumourier gained time to retire from the Argonne forest to St Ménéhould without molestation, and completely paralysed his antagonist, till the arrival of the expected reinforcements put

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Jom. ii.  
134. Dum.  
iii. 44, 47.  
Th. iii.  
116, 117.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 30.Secret ne-  
gotiation  
between  
the Duke  
of Bruns-  
wick and  
Dumou-  
rier.Hard. i.  
471. Cap.  
Eur. i. 161,  
162.

CHAP. him in a situation to throw off the mask and openly  
X. resist the Allied arms.

1792.

Which  
also para-  
lysed the  
allies on  
the field of  
Valmy.

The same secret negotiation which had already arrested their movements restrained the Prussian arms on the field of Valmy ; the Duke of Brunswick was fearful, by a decided action and probable victory, of converting a promised ally into a decided opponent.\* No sooner was the cannonade concluded than the interchange of secret messengers became more active than ever. Lombard, private secretary to the duke, suffered himself to be made prisoner in disguise by the French patrols, and conducted the negotiation. The duke insisted on the immediate liberation of the king, and re-establishment of a constitutional monarchy ; while the French general avowed that these were the objects which he really cherished at the bottom of his heart, but that, in order to carry these intentions into effect with any prospect of success, it was indispensable, in the first place, that the Allies should retire and evacuate the French territory ; that their doing so would give him so much influence that he had no doubt of being able to achieve these desirable objects, and that he pledged his word of honour to do so ; but that, if these terms were resisted, he would exert all the means in his power to destroy the invaders, which his present situation, at the head of a hundred thousand men, enabled him to effect without difficulty, and that the necessary effect of such a continuance of the contest would be the destruction of the king and the royal family,<sup>1</sup> whose lives were

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.  
486, 487.  
Cap. Eur.  
i. 171, 172.

\* This was openly alluded to in the Prussian official despatch giving an account of the battle. "From the general to the lowest soldier the most enthusiastic spirit animated the army, and it would undoubtedly have gained a glorious victory, if considerations of a still higher kind had not prevented the king from giving battle."—HARD. i. 482.

already menaced by the anarchical faction who held the reins of power at Paris. CHAP.  
X.

These representations of Dumourier made a great impression at the Allied headquarters. The danger to the king's person was evident, from the violence of the Jacobins, and the frightful massacre in the prisons which had already taken place. The conduct of the Republicans, under the cannonade of Valmy, had demonstrated that their troops could at least stand fire, and were not disposed to join the invaders; circumstances which, in the most favourable view, presaged a severe and bloody contest before the war was brought to a successful issue. It seemed foreign to the interests of Prussia to risk its sovereign and the flower of its army by a further advance into France, in pursuance of objects in which it had no immediate or peculiar interest, and which, if too warmly pursued, would probably divert the national forces from the side of Poland, where real acquisitions for the monarchy were to be obtained. These considerations were strongly urged upon the king by his council and the Duke of Brunswick, who had not altogether lost hopes that brilliant prospects still awaited him from the triumph of the liberal party in France. But the king steadily resisted, and, inflamed by military ardour and a generous desire to save the august captives at Paris, strongly urged immediate advance to the capital.<sup>1</sup>

Effect of these negotiations on the allied movements.  
Hard. i. 486, 494.  
Cap. Eur. i. 181, 184.

The negotiation, however, still continued. The King of Prussia offered terms on which he was willing immediately to evacuate the French territory ; \* but, in answer, he received a bulletin, containing

\* They were —

1. The King disclaims all intention to restore the ancient *régime*, but wishes only the establishment of such a constitution as may be for the advantage of the kingdom.

CHAP. the decree of the Assembly abolishing royalty in  
 X. France, and converting the kingdom into a Republic.  
 1792. Filled with consternation at this intelligence, the  
 Progress of the ne- Prussian envoys returned mournfully to their camp;  
 gotiation. and Dumourier artfully took advantage of the general alarm, to represent that he was as much distressed as any one at the turn affairs had taken at Paris: that the Republican party was now triumphant, and could be overthrown only by the restoration of calmer ideas on the return of peace; but that nothing could be more certain, than that any further advance of the invaders would involve in instantaneous ruin the king, the royal family, and the whole nobility, and render utterly hopeless the restoration of legitimate authority. While skilfully making use of these painful and too probable considerations to paralyse the Allied armies, and cause them to waste the precious moments in fruitless negotiations, Dumourier apprized the government at Paris of all that was going forward, and informed them that he was satisfied that the distress was very great in their army, and that by a little further firmness on his part, they would be driven to a disastrous retreat.\* At the same time he wrote a long memorial to the King of Prussia, in which he adduced every argument calculated to shake his resolution to advance further, and insisted,<sup>1</sup> in an especial man-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. l. 499, 509.

2. He insists that all propagandism should cease in his own dominions, and those of his allies.

3. That the king should be set at liberty.

23d September 1792.

\* "The proposals of the King of Prussia," said he, "do not appear to offer a basis for a negotiation, but they demonstrate that their distress is very great, a fact sufficiently indicated by the wretchedness of their bread, the multitude of their sick, and the languor of their attacks. I am persuaded that the King of Prussia is now heartily sorry at being so far in advance, and would readily adopt any means of extricating



on the danger to which it would expose the CHAP. X.  
of France.

ederick William, however, remained firm; nei- 1792.  
the strong representations of his generals, as to Intrigues at the Prussian headquarters.  
danger of his army, nor the still more pressing  
of the King of France could shake his resolu-

At a council of war, held at headquarters on  
27th of September, at which the ministers of  
ria and Russia assisted, it was resolved to ad-  
e and give battle on the 29th. But before this  
ution could be carried into execution, intelli-  
e was received, which gave the numerous party  
ie Prussian cabinet, who longed for peace, the  
adant. A decree of the Committee of Public Sept. 25, 1792.  
ty was brought to headquarters, in which it had  
unanimously resolved to enter into no negotia-  
until the Prussian troops had entirely evacuated  
French territory. Advices at the same time ar-  
l from London and the Hague, containing the  
ial of the cabinet of St James's and the States-  
eral to join the coalition. The generals redoubled  
representations on the disastrous state of the  
y; and the Countess Lichtenau, the king's mis-  
s, yielding to a large bribe from the French go-  
ment employed her too powerful influence for the  
e object.<sup>2</sup> Assailed at once in so many different Hard. vii. 245.  
ters, and overcome by the representations of his  
erals as to the necessity of the measure, the King

If from his embarrassment. He keeps so near me, from the wish  
age us in a combat as the only means he has of escaping; for if  
within my intrenchments for eight days longer, his army will  
re itself from want of provisions. I will undertake no serious  
lation without your authority, and without receiving from you the  
on which it is to be conducted. All that I have hitherto done  
ut M. Manstein is to gain time, and commit no one."—*Secret  
utch, DUMOURIER to the French Government, 24th September.*—  
i. 500.

CHAP. at length yielded ; and on the 29th the orders given  
 X. for battle were revoked, and a retreat resolved on. It  
 1792. was agreed between the generals of the two armies,  
 Sept. 29. that the Prussians, on condition of evacuating the  
 fortresses of which they had made themselves masters,  
 should not be disquieted in their rear ; and Dumou-  
 rier, delighted at being relieved by his skill and  
 firmness from the overwhelming dangers with which  
 he had been surrounded, wrote to the Convention :—  
 “ The Republic owes its salvation to the retreat of  
 the Prussians. Had I not resolved to resist the uni-  
 versal opinion of all around me, the enemy was saved,  
 1 Secret Despatch, Oct. 1, 1792.  
 Hard. ii. 2. and France in danger.”<sup>1</sup>

In coming to this determination, the Prussian ca-  
 binet were governed, not less by the old-standing  
 Motives which led, on the part of the Allies, to a retreat. jealousy of Austria, which at that period so strongly  
 influenced both their councils and the feelings of the  
 people, than the prospect of dangers from a further  
 advance. The King, in entering upon the campaign,  
 had contemplated only a rapid march to Paris ; but  
 the protraction of the war, and increasing resistance  
 of the French, rendered it evident that that object  
 could not easily be accomplished, and that its prose-  
 cution would seriously endanger the long hoped for  
 Polish acquisitions, while the dethronement and cap-  
 tivity of Louis exposed him to imminent hazard, if  
 the army continued its advance towards the capital.  
 The event soon justified the confidence of the French  
 general. Dumourier was at the head of sixty thou-  
 sand men, even after all the losses of the campaign,  
 including twelve thousand horse ; his artillery was  
 numerous, and his position excellent, while large de-  
 tachments were rapidly forming at Chalons, Rheims,  
 Soissons, Epernay, and all the towns in the interior.<sup>2</sup>  
 His troops, though somewhat affected by the severity

<sup>1</sup> St Cyr, i. 80, 81.  
 Jom. ii. 133, 137.  
 Th. iii. 120. Dum.  
 iii. 20.

of the weather, were upon the whole in good health and condition; and sufficient supplies arrived for the camp from Sedan and Metz, which still remained in the power of the French.

CHAP.

X.

1792.

On the other hand, the condition of the allied army was daily becoming more critical. Their convoys, harassed by the garrisons of Sedan and Montmedy, and drawn from the remote provinces of Luxembourg and Treves, by the pass of Grandpré, arrived very irregularly; the soldiers had been already four days without rations, and subsisted on corn steeped in unwholesome water. The plains of Champagne were sterile, destitute alike of water, forage, and provisions. The rains had set in with more than usual severity, and the troops, bivouacked on the open plain, were severely affected with dysenteries, and other contagious maladies, which had already cut off one-third from the effective strength of the army. In these circumstances, to advance further into the enemy's territory, would have been an act of the highest temerity, and might have endangered the safety of the King of Prussia, as well as his whole forces. An attack on the French intrenched camp was of doubtful success; failure in such an enterprise certain ruin. The only rational plan was, to retire into the fertile district of the three bishoprics, form the siege of Montmedy, and take up their quarters in Lorraine for the winter, retaining as their advanced posts the defiles in the Argonne forest, which they had acquired. But this project was inconsistent with the secret convention which had been adopted, and therefore a retreat to the Rhine was resolved on.<sup>1</sup>

Distress of  
the Allies.

<sup>1</sup> St Cyr,  
i. 80, 82.  
Jom. ii.  
133. Dum.  
iii. 20.

But while these perplexities were accumulating on the Allied forces, it was with the utmost difficulty

CHAP. that Dumourier was able to maintain his position  
X. against the reiterated orders of the Convention, and

1792. the representations of the officers in his own camp.

Consternation at Paris from the retreat of St. Méné-  
ould.

The French government were in the greatest alarm at finding no regular force between them and the Allies: and the detached corps of the enemy, who spread as far as Rheims, diffused a general consternation over the whole country. Courier after courier was dispatched to the general, with orders to quit his position, and draw near to the capital; and in these representations Kellerman and the other officers of the army warmly joined. The great concentration of forces soon occasioned a want of provisions in the camp; the soldiers were at last two or three days without bread; and attempts at mutiny were already beginning, especially in the battalions of Fédérés, recently arrived from Paris. Even the superior officers began to be impressed with the necessity of retreating; and Kellerman urged such a movement with so much earnestness, that the general was obliged to promise, like Columbus, that if the object of his wishes was not attained in a given number of days, he would retire. But the firmness of Dumourier triumphed over every obstacle; and, by impressing upon his soldiers the truth, that whichever of the parties could fast longest would prove vic-

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iii. torious, he inspired them with resolution to surmount  
54, 60.  
Th. iii. 116. all their privations.<sup>1</sup>

Confer- An armistice of the limited sort above men-  
ences open- tioned, which stipulated only that the Allies should  
ed for the not be molested in their rear during their retreat,  
retreat of and left the French at perfect liberty to harass the  
the Prus- flanks of the invading army, was instantly taken ad-  
sians who vantage of by Dumourier. On the same day on  
retire which it was concluded, he detached several corps,

which forced back the most advanced parties of the enemy, which had spread such dismay through the interior, and, gradually pressing round their flanks, at length hemmed in their rear, cut off their detachments, and intercepted their convoys. Experience seldom teaches wisdom; an error of precisely the same nature was committed by Napoleon, with still more disastrous consequences, in the armistice between Murat and Kutusoff, near Moscow, in the Russian campaign. On the 30th September the Allies commenced their retreat, and repassed the defiles of the Argonne forest without molestation on the 2d and 3d October. Kellerman in vain urged the commander to adopt more vigorous measures to harass their march, and strongly recommended the immediate detachment of a large body upon Clermont. In consequence of the secret understanding with the enemy, and of a distrust of his own troops in field movements in presence of so disciplined a force as the Prussians, Dumourier allowed them to retreat in perfect tranquillity, and in the most leisurely manner. On the first day they retired only three miles, and without abandoning any of their equipage; and it was not till the defile of Grandpré was passed, and the Prussians were fifteen leagues in advance, that Kellerman was detached in pursuit. The Allies withdrew in the finest order, and in the most pacific manner, though dreadfully weakened by disease.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Sept. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
138, 139.  
Th. iii.  
122. Toul.  
ii. 345, 349.  
Dum. iii.  
63, 65.

Relieved by the retreat of the Prussians from the pressing danger which had obliged him to concentrate his forces, Dumourier conceived himself at liberty to resume his favourite project of an invasion of Flanders. Leaving, therefore, Kellerman with forty thousand men to follow the retiring columns, he sent thirty thousand to the army of the North,

Their unmolested retreat.

CHAP. under Bournonville, and he himself repaired to Paris.

X.

1792.

The force with which the Prussians retired was about fifty-six thousand men,\* the remainder of their force having remained behind or fallen sick. Their retreat was conducted throughout in the most imposing manner, taking position and facing about on occasion of every halt. It was impossible, consequently, for Kellerman, with his inconsiderable force, to make any impression on the retiring mass; and the French generals, satisfied with saving the Republic, appear to have been rather disposed to make a bridge of gold for a flying enemy. In virtue of an express or implied understanding, no molestation was offered to the invaders in their retreat. Verdun and Longwy were successively abandoned. In the end of October the Allies evacuated France, and the troops of Kellerman went into cantonments between the bastions of Longwy and the Moselle. On getting possession of the ceded fortresses, the commissaries of the Convention took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. Several young women, who had presented garlands of flowers to the King of Prussia during the advance of the army, were sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and condemned to death. The Prussians left behind them, on their route, the most melancholy proofs of the disasters of the campaign: all the villages were filled with the dead and dying. Without any considerable fighting, the Allies had lost, by dysentery and fevers, twenty-five thousand men, or more than a fourth of their numbers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bert. de  
Moll. Hist.  
de la Rév.  
x. 41.  
Toul. ii.  
351, 357.  
Jom. ii.  
141, 142.  
Th. iii.  
180.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
* Prussians, . . .	26,850	7,426
Austrians, . . .	10,000	...
French Emigrants,	8,400	3,600
	45,250	10,026—56,276

—State given in BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, x. 41.

While these decisive events were taking place in the central provinces, operations of minor importance, but yet material to the issue of the campaign, were going on on the two flanks in Alsace and in the Low Countries. The principal forces of both parties having been drawn from the Netherlands to strengthen the armies of the centre, the movements there were necessarily inconsiderable. The French camp at Maulde was broken up, and a retreat commenced to the intrenched position at Bruillé, a stronghold somewhat in the rear. But in executing this movement, the retreating force was, on September 14, attacked and completely routed by the Austrians with the loss of all their artillery, equipage, and ammunition. Encouraged by this easy success, the invaders, under the Archduke Albert, with a force of twenty-five thousand, undertook the siege of Lisle, one of the strongest towns in Europe, and which, in 1708, had made a glorious defence against the united armies of Eugene and Marlborough. The garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, and the commander, a man of courage and energy, were devoted to the cause of the Republic. In these circumstances, little success could be hoped for from a regular siege; but the Austrians endeavoured to intimidate the governor by the terror of a bombardment, which was continued night and day for a whole week. This terrible tempest produced little impression upon the soldiers, who, secure within bomb-proof casemates, beheld it fall with indifference upon the defenceless inhabitants; but upon the people in the vicinity it produced such extreme consternation, that it was afterwards ascertained that had Lisle been taken, almost all the other frontier towns would at once have capitulated, to avoid a similar fate. The Austrians, in fact, would have

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Operations  
in Flan-  
ders. Siege  
of Lisle.

Sept. 29.

CHAP. X.  
 1792. acquired, by the capture of this important city, a firm footing within the French frontier, attended by the most important effect upon the future issue of the campaign. But their operations were interrupted by the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the approach of considerable forces from various quarters to raise the siege. The inhabitants bore with heroic firmness the terrors of a bombardment, which was continued with unprecedented vigour on the part of the enemy, and consumed a considerable portion of the city; and during the siege General Lamartiliere effected his entry with above ten thousand men, so that the besieged became equal to the besieging force. This circumstance, joined to the exhaustion of their ammunition, and the approach of a body detached by Dumourier to threaten their operations, induced the Austrians to abandon their enterprise; and on the 7th October the siege was raised, and the troops withdrawn from the French territory. The terrors of the conflagration, and the glorious issue of the siege, were celebrated throughout all France, and contributed not a little to augment that energetic spirit which now animated the inhabitants even of the most distant departments, and soon became so formidable to the neighbouring states.<sup>1</sup>

Oct. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii. 170, 175, 176. Th. iii. 181. Ann. Reg. 1793; 55, 56.

Operations on the Upper Rhine, and capture of Mayence. Meanwhile, General Biron, who commanded in Alsace forty-five thousand men, consumed the most important period of the campaign in tardy preparations. But at length General Custine, who was at the head of a force of seventeen thousand men, posted near Landau, undertook an offensive movement against Spires, where immense magazines had been collected. By a rapid advance he surrounded a corps of three thousand men, who were stationed near the city and compelled them to surrender, an



event which led to the immediate capture of Spires, Worms, and Frankenthal. This important success, which took place at the very time that the main body of the Allies was engaged in the Argonne forest, might have had the most important effect upon the future fate of the campaign, had Custine immediately obeyed the orders of the Convention, and relinquishing his invasion of the Palatinate, turned with his victorious forces on the rear and communications of the Duke of Brunswick's army. But that general had other projects in view, which ultimately turned out not a little serviceable to the Republic. Disobeying the orders of government, he remained fourteen days in apparent inactivity in the Palatinate, but in reality carrying on a secret correspondence with the garrison and Jacobin Club in Mentz. In consequence, on the 18th October, he moved, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, towards that city, which was invested on the 19th; and on the 21st, before a single battery had been raised, that important fortress, the key to the western provinces of the empire, surrendered by capitulation, the garrison of four thousand men being allowed to retire, on the condition of not serving against the French for twelve months. Thus did the Allies lose the only fortified post which they possessed on the Rhine, a signal proof of the rashness and presumption with which they had penetrated into the heart of France, without securing in an adequate manner their base of operations or means of retreat.<sup>1</sup>

Stimulated by his desire of plunder, Custine made a useless incursion to Frankfort, which was of no real service to the campaign; while the Duke of Brunswick, terrified at the loss of Mentz, advanced by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Lux-

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Sept. 30.

Oct. 21.

Jom. ii.

148, 151,

157, 158.

Th. iii.

182. Ann.

Reg. 1793,

70, 71.

Hard. ii.

41, 61.

The Duke

of Bruns-

wick re-

crosses the

Rhine.

Oct. 25.

CHAP. embourg to Coblentz, where his forces defiled over  
 X. the Rhine by a flying bridge for twelve successive  
 1792. days. Immediate dissolution now threatened the  
 noble force which had so lately carried terror into  
 the heart of France, and so nearly crushed the whole  
 forces of the Revolution. The gallant corps of the  
 emigrant noblesse was immediately disbanded from  
 want of any resources to keep it together; the Aus-  
 trians, under Clairfait, were recalled to the defence  
 of the Low Countries; and the Prussians put into  
 cantonments on the right bank of the Rhine. Thus  
 was completed the dislocation of that splendid army,  
 which a few months before had entered France with  
 such brilliant prospects, and by which, if properly  
 directed, might have been achieved the deliverance  
 of Europe from the scourge of democratic ambition.  
 What oceans of blood required to be shed, how many  
 provinces laid waste, how many cities destroyed, be-  
 fore the vantage-ground could be regained, before the  
 plains of Champagne again beheld a victorious enemy,  
 or a righteous retribution was taken for the sins of  
 the conquering republic!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
 160, 161.  
 St Cyr, i.  
 8, 9. Th.  
 iii. 185,  
 186. Hard.  
 ii. 61, 73.

Plan for  
 the inva-  
 sion of  
 Flanders.

The final retreat of the Allies left Dumourier at liberty to carry into execution a project he had long meditated, that of invading the Low Countries, and rescuing those fine provinces from the Austrian dominion. The advantages of this design were evident; to advance the frontiers of the Republic to the Rhine, to draw from the conquered provinces the means of carrying on the war, to stir up the germ of revolution in Flanders, reinforce the armies by the discontented spirits in that populous country, and extinguish the English influence in Holland, were objects worthy of the conqueror of Brunswick. He received unlimited powers from the government, and the losses

sustained by the Allies during their invasion gave him a great superiority of force. The right wing, composed of a large portion of the troops detached from the Argonne forest, consisted of sixteen thousand men ; between that and the centre was placed General Harville with fourteen thousand. Dumourier himself commanded the main body, consisting of forty thousand men, while the left wing, under La bourdonaye, was about thirty thousand strong—in all a hundred thousand men, all animated by the highest spirits, and anticipating nothing but triumph and conquest, from their recent success over the Prussian invaders.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Compare  
Jom. ii.  
215. Toul.  
iii. 38, 39.  
Th. ii. 210,  
211. Ann.  
Reg. 1793,  
59. Dum.  
iii. 121.  
Oct. 28.

To oppose this immense army, the Austrians had no adequate force at command. Their whole troops in Flanders, including the corps which General Clairfait had brought from the Duke of Brunswick's army, did not exceed forty thousand men, and were scattered over too extended a line. The centre, under the command of the Archduke Albert, was stationed in front of the important city of Mons ; while the remainder of the army, scattered over a front of nearly thirty miles, could render little assistance, in case of need, to the main body. This main body, not above nineteen thousand men, was intrenched on a strong position near the village of JEMAPPES. The field of battle had been long before chosen by the Imperialists, and extended through the villages of Ausmes and Jemappes, to the heights of Berthaimont on the one hand, and the village of Sify on the other, over a succession of eminences which commanded all the adjacent plain. Fourteen redoubts, strengthened by all the resources of art, and armed by nearly a hundred pieces of artillery, seemed almost to compensate to the Austrians for their

French in-  
vasion of  
Flanders.

CHAP. great inferiority of number. The French artillery,  
 X. however, was nearly equal to that of their oppo-  
 1792. nents, and their forces greatly superior, amounting  
 to no less than forty thousand men; and though  
 many of these troops were inexperienced, recent  
 triumphs had in an extraordinary degree elevated  
 their courage. In this action, the new system of  
 tactics was tried with signal success, viz. that of ac-  
 cumulating masses upon one point, and in this man-  
 ner forcing some weak part of the position, and  
 compelling the whole to be abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
 217. Dum.  
 iii. 165,  
 169. Toul.  
 iii. 40, 51.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1793, 61,  
 62. Hard.  
 ii. 45, 47.  
 Bert. de  
 Moll. x.  
 197, 199.

On the 6th November, the battle commenced at  
 daybreak. The French troops, who had been un-  
 der arms, or in bivouac for three successive days,  
 received the order to advance with shouts of joy,  
 moved forward with rapidity, and lost few men in  
 traversing the plain which separated them from the  
 enemy. The attack was commenced by General  
 Bournonville on the village of Ausmes: a severe  
 fire of artillery for some hours arrested his efforts;  
 but at length the flank of the hamlet of Jemappes  
 was turned, and the redoubts on the left of the Aus-  
 trian position were carried by the impetuous attack  
 of the French columns. Dumourier seized this mo-  
 ment to make his centre advance against the front  
 of Jemappes; the column moved forward rapidly  
 and with little loss; but, on approaching the village,  
 they were attacked in flank by some squadrons of  
 horse, which pierced the mass, and drove back a  
 portion of the French cavalry which supported it.  
 The moment was in the last degree critical; for, at  
 the same instant, the leading battalions, checked by  
 a tremendous fire of grape-shot, were beginning to  
 waver at the foot of the redoubts. In this extre-  
 mity, the heroism of a brave valet of Dumourier's,

Battle of  
 Jemappes.  
 Nov. 6.

named Baptiste, who rallied the broken troops, arrested the victorious squadrons of the Austrians, while the intrepidity and conduct of a young general restored the front of the line. Quickly forming the broken regiments into one column, which he called the column of Jemappes, he placed himself at its head, and renewed the attack on the redoubts with so much vigour, that the village was carried, and the Austrians were at length driven from their intrenchments in the centre of the field. This young officer was the Duc de Chartres, afterwards LOUIS PHILIPPE, King of the French.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iii.  
169, 173.  
Toul. iii.  
49. Ann.  
Reg. 1793,  
62. Th. iii.  
241, 245.

While the battle was contested with so much obstinacy in the centre, Dumourier had an equal cause for anxiety on the right. Bournonville, though at first successful on that side, had paused when he beheld the confusion of the central division; and his movements vacillated between a desire to maintain the ground he had won, and anxiety to draw back his forces to support the column which seemed in such confusion in the plain. This vacillation was soon perceived by the enemy; the fire of the French artillery could hardly equal that of five redoubts which played upon their ranks, and a large body of Imperial cavalry was in front, ready to charge on the first appearance of disorder. Dumourier hastened to the spot, rode along the front of two brigades of his old soldiers from the camp at Maulde, who rent the air with cries of *Vive Dumourier*, and succeeded in rallying the squadrons of horse, who were beginning to fall into confusion. The Imperial cavalry charged immediately after, but, being received by a volley within pistol-shot by the infantry, turned about in confusion; and the French dragoons being immediately detached in pursuit, the Imperialist horse were irretrievably

Victory of  
the French.

CHAP. routed, and fled in confusion to Mons. Animated  
 X. by this success, Dumourier made the victorious  
 1792. brigades chant the Marseillais Hymn, and, taking  
 advantage of their enthusiasm, rushed forward at  
 their head, and entered the redoubts by the gorge.  
 Being still uneasy about his centre, however, he set  
 off, at the head of six squadrons of cavalry, to re-  
 inforce the Duc de Chartres; but he had not pro-  
 ceeded above a few hundred paces, when he met his  
 aide-de-camp, the young Duc de Montpensier, with  
 the joyful intelligence that the battle was there al-  
 ready won, and that the Austrians were retiring at  
 all points to Mons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iii.  
 173, 175.  
 Toul. iii.  
 49. Th. iii.  
 242, 246.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1793, 62,  
 63. Hard.  
 ii. 45, 47.

Results of  
 the battle.  
 Tardy ad-  
 vance of  
 Dumou-  
 rier. Con-  
 quest of  
 Flanders.  
 Nov. 8 to  
 12.

Such was the famous battle of Jemappes; the first  
 pitched battle which had been gained by the Re-  
 publican armies, and on that account both celebrat-  
 ed at the time, and important in its consequences,  
 beyond the real merits of the contest. The Aus-  
 trian loss amounted to five thousand men; they  
 withdrew all their artillery, except fourteen pieces,  
 and retired in good order to Mons. The French  
 lost above six thousand men; but the consequences  
 of the victory on the spirits and moral strength of  
 the two parties were incalculable, and in fact led to  
 the immediate conquest of the whole Netherlands.  
 These great results, however, were rather owing to  
 the terrors of the Imperialists, than the vigorous  
 measures of the French general. On the 7th, he  
 entered Mons, which opened its gates without resist-  
 ance, and there remained in perfect inactivity for  
 five days. Meanwhile, the Austrian authorities  
 took to flight in the rear, and abandoning Brussels,  
 sought refuge in Ruremonde. The French, in the  
 course of their advance, were every where received  
 with enthusiasm; Ath, Tournay, Neuport, Ostend,

and Bruges, opened their gates; and, after a slight skirmish with the rearguard, Brussels itself was occupied by their victorious troops. On the right, General Valence captured Charleroi, and advanced to Namur; while on the left, Labourdonaye, after much hesitation, moved forward to Ghent and Antwerp. Before the end of November, the Imperialists retained nothing of their possessions in the Low Countries but the citadels of that important city and Namur.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Nov. 14.

Toul. iii.

50, 52.

Jom. ii.

236, 239.

243. Ann.

Reg. 1793,

63. Th.

iii. 246.

The magnitude of these successes excited the jealousy of the Republican party at Paris. On the very day of the cannonade at Valmy, the Republic had been proclaimed, and royalty abolished, over France. The rapid conquests of the young general awakened the alarms of the Republican despots; another Cæsar, a second Cromwell was denounced; Marat, in his sanguinary journal, and Robespierre, from the tribune, proclaimed him as threatening the liberty of the people. If the event in some degree justified their predictions, it must be conceded that they occasioned it, by showing him what fate he had to expect, if the chance of war, by exposing him to any considerable reverse, should place his head in

Jealousy  
of Dumou-  
rier at  
Paris.Marat,  
Amis du  
Peuple.

Nov. 4, and

Dec. 16,

1792.

Toul. iii.

52, 53.

Jom. ii.

255. Th.

iii. 263.

CHAP. Labourdonaye, after having made himself master of  
 X. Malines, and a large depot of military stores which  
 1792. were placed in that city, advanced towards Antwerp.

He was there superseded by Dumourier, in consequence of suspicions of his fidelity to the Republican government, and the command given to Miranda, an officer of zeal and talent, who afterwards became celebrated for his attempts to restore the independence of South America. On November 30, the citadel of that important city capitulated to the new commander, and the French became undisputed masters of the Scheldt. The Republican general lost no time in carrying into effect the favourite French project of opening that great artery of Flemish prosperity. He immediately wrote to Miranda :—" Lose not a moment in dispatching a flat-bottomed boat down the Scheldt, to ascertain whether the navigation is really impeded, or if it is merely a report spread by the Dutch. Do every thing in your power to open the stream to commercial enterprize, that the Flemings, contrasting the generosity of the Republic with the avarice of the Austrian government,

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. 1793, 64,  
 66. Jom. ii. 247, 248.  
 Th. ii. 296. who sold the navigation of the Scheldt to the Dutch for 7,000,000 florins, may be induced to adopt the genuine principles of freedom."<sup>1</sup>

Miranda lost no time in taking measures for carrying this design into execution ; and in a few days, the flotilla, moored at the mouth of the river, ascended to Antwerp amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who beheld in this auspicious event the dawn of a brighter era of commercial enterprise than had ever opened upon their city since the rise of the Dutch republic. While the left wing of the army was prosecuting these successes, the centre, under Dumourier himself, was also following the career of

The  
 Scheldt is  
 opened,  
 and Liege  
 and Namur  
 taken.

Dec. 7.



conquest. A strong rearguard of the main body of the Austrians, posted near Roucoux, was attacked on the 26th, and, after an obstinate engagement, the Imperialists retired, and the next morning Liege opened its gates to the victors. The revolutionary party immediately proceeded to measures of extreme violence in that city; a Jacobin club was formed; which speedily rivalled in energy and atrocity the parent institution in Paris; while the democratic party divided into opposite factions, on the formation of an independent republic, or a junction with France. Danton and Lacroix, the commissioners of the Convention, strongly supported the latter party, who speedily broke out into every species of violence. At the same time, the right wing, under Valence, pressed the siege of the citadel of Namur. The Austrians, who had established themselves in the vicinity to annoy the besiegers, were first dislodged, and the trenches being shortly after opened, the fort of Vilette, a strong work which impeded the operations of the besiegers, was carried by assault on the 30th November. The citadel, in consequence, surrendered a few days after, and the garrison, consisting of above two thousand men, were made prisoners of war. About the same time, Miranda dispossessed the Austrian government from Ruremonde, and took possession of that city; while, on the other side, Dumourier, after dislodging them from their position, covering Aix-la-Chapelle, made himself master of it also.<sup>1</sup>

Dumourier now projected an irruption into the Dutch territory, and the siege of Maestricht, one of the principal frontier fortresses belonging to that republic. But the Executive Council, justly apprehensive of engaging at once in a war with the United

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Dec. 27.

Dec. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Ann.Reg.

1793, 66,

67. Th. iii.

266. Jom.

ii. 249.

Toul. iii.

252, 253.

Dec. 6.

Dumourier  
puts his  
army into  
winter  
quarters.

CHAP. Provinces and Great Britain, which was bound by  
 X. treaty to support them, commanded him to desist  
 1792. from the enterprise ; and his force being now much  
 weakened by sickness, want, fatigue, and the deser-  
 tion of above ten thousand men, who had left their  
 colours during the military license which followed  
 the conquest of Belgium, and the loss of six thou-  
 sand horses by the severity of the weather, he re-  
 solved to put his troops into winter quarters. His  
 army, accordingly, was put into cantonments, in a  
 line from Namur, by Aix-la-Chapelle, to Rure-  
 monde. The government urged him to continue his  
 offensive operations, and to drive the Imperialists  
 beyond the Rhine ; but the exhausted state of his  
 soldiers rendered any further movements impracti-  
 cable ; and, yielding to his urgent representations,  
 they at length consented to their enjoying some  
 weeks of repose.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
 250, 258,  
 259, 260.  
 Th. iii. 267.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1793, 69.  
 Dum. iii.  
 230, 233.  
 Dec. 12.

Decree of  
 the Con-  
 vention  
 against all  
 govern-  
 ments.  
 Nov. 19.

Dec. 15.

Flanders was not long of reaping the bitter fruits  
 of republican conquest. On the 19th November the  
 Convention, inflamed by the victory of Jemappes,  
 published the famous Resolution, in which they de-  
 clared, "that they would grant fraternity and suc-  
 cour to every people who were disposed to recover  
 their liberty ; and that they charged their generals to  
 give aid to all such people, and to defend all citizens  
 who had been, or might be, disquieted in the cause  
 of freedom." This decree, which was equivalent to  
 a declaration of war against every established go-  
 vernment, was ordered to be translated, and pub-  
 lished in all languages. And it was followed up,  
 on December 15, by another decree, calculated in  
 an especial manner to injure the subjects of the  
 conquered provinces. By this celebrated manifesto,  
 the Republic proclaimed, in all the countries which

it conquered, "the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all the constituted authorities, of all subsisting taxes and imposts, of all feudal and territorial rights, of all the privileges of nobility, and exclusive privileges of every description. It announced to all their subjects liberty, fraternity, and equality; invited them to form themselves forthwith into primary assemblies, to elect an administration, and provisional government, and declared that it would treat as enemies all persons who, refusing these benefits, or renouncing them, should show any disposition to preserve, recall, or treat with their prince, or any of the privileged castes."<sup>1</sup>\*

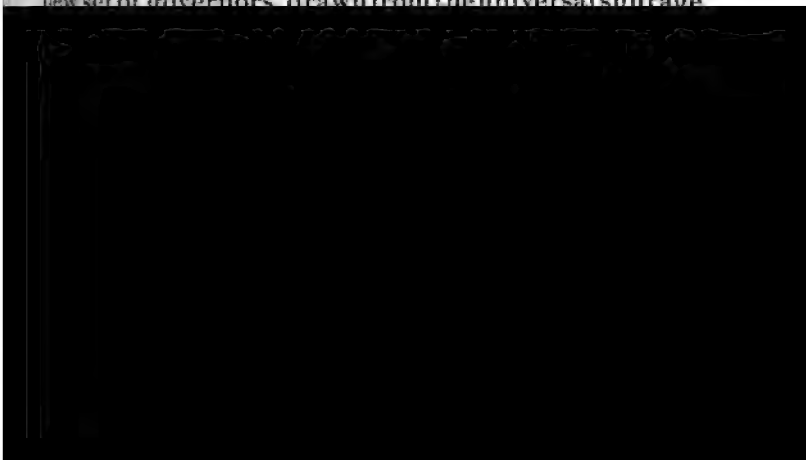
CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxi. 351,  
352. Jom.  
ii. 264, 265.  
Pièces  
Just. No.  
8, 9.

This last decree excited as violent indignation in Belgium as the first had awakened alarm through all Europe. The Flemings were by no means disposed to abandon their ancient chiefs; and the feudal feelings, and religious impressions, which existed in great force in that country, were revolted at the sudden severing of all the ties which had hitherto been held most sacred. The dearest interests, the strongest attachments of nature were violated, when the whole ancient aristocracy of the land was uprooted, and a foundation laid for the formation of a new set of governors drawn from the universal suffrage

Violent  
changes in-  
troduced  
into Bel-  
gium.



CHAP. French Convention : nor was the exasperation diminished by the speeches of the orators who introduced  
 X.  
 1792. the measure ; Cambon, who moved the resolution, having spoken of the Low Countries as a conquered province ; and Brissot, who seconded it, warned the Belgians to adopt it, under pain of being " put to the ban of French philosophy."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
 265. Th.  
 iii. 268.  
 Bert. de  
 Moll. x.  
 201, 206.

Dreadful  
 oppression  
 of the  
 French  
 Revolutionists in  
 Flanders.  
 Immediately after issuing the decree, Flanders was inundated by a host of revolutionary agents, who, with liberty, patriotism, and protection in their mouths, had nothing but violence, confiscation, and bloodshed in their measures. Forced requisitions of men, horses, and provisions, enormous contributions levied by military execution, compulsory payment in the depreciated assignats of France, general spoliation of the churches, were among the first effects of the democratic government. They gave Europe a specimen of the blessings of Republican government. The legions of fiscal agents and tax-gatherers who overspread the land, appeared actuated by no other motive but to wring the uttermost farthing out of the wretched inhabitants, and make their own fortunes out of a transient possession of the conquered districts. At their head were Danton, Lacroix, and Carrier, republicans of the sternest cast and the most rapacious disposition, who infused their own infernal energy into all inferior agents, and gave to the inhabitants of Flanders a foretaste of the Reign of Terror. Five-and-thirty commissioners, really chosen by the Jacobin Club in Paris, though nominally by the Convention, supported these three master-spirits in the work of destruction. They were sent to Flanders nominally to organize the march of freedom—really to plunder the whole aristocratic party. Immediately on their arrival they divided that unhappy country

into districts, and each in his little domain proceeded to the work of spoliation. The peasants were driven by strokes of the sabre, and at the point of the bayonet to the primary assemblies which had been designated by the Convention ; while the churches, monasteries, and chateaux were plundered, moveables of every description sold, and the proceeds paid over to the French commissioners. The estates of the clergy were every where put under sequestration, while valuable property of every description, belonging to lay proprietors, was seized and sold ; and the unhappy owners, under the odious title of Aristocrats, too often sent off, with their wives and children, to the fortresses of France, there to remain as hostages for further requisitions.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Dam. iii.  
278. Jom.  
ii. 265.

The inhabitants of Flanders, awakened by these terrible calamities from the dream of liberty, speedily became as ardent for the restoration of their former government, as they had ever been for its overthrow. The provinces of Brabant and Flanders, which had made such efforts to throw off the yoke of Joseph II., having tasted the consequences of Republican conquest, made the utmost efforts to rescue themselves from their liberators. The most violent indignation every where broke forth against the French govern-

Strong re-  
action in  
conse-  
quence in  
Flanders.

CHAP. which Flanders groaned, before the ruinous illusion  
X. which had led to its subjugation was dispelled.

1792. While these great changes were passing in the  
War de- North, events of minor importance, but still produc-  
clared tive of important consequences, occurred on the  
against Piedmont, Southern and Eastern frontier. The mountains of  
Sept. 15. Savoy were the theatre of less sanguinary struggles,  
between the Republican troops and the Italian sol-  
diers. The evident peril of the Piedmontese domi-  
nions, from their close proximity to the great centre  
of revolutionary action, had led, early in 1792, to  
measures of precaution by the Sardinian government;  
and all the states of Italy, alarmed at the rapid pro-  
gress of democratical principles, had made advances  
towards a league for their mutual support. The  
ferment in Piedmont was so strong, and the conta-  
gion of liberal principles so violent, that nothing but  
war, it soon became evident, could save the kingdom  
from revolt. Matters were brought to a crisis in  
September 1792, by the rapid advance of the Impe-  
rialists through the Tyrol, into the Milanese states.  
The French dispatched an embassy to propose an  
alliance with the Piedmontese government, promis-  
ing in that case to guarantee their dominions, repress  
the turbulence of their subjects, and cede to that  
power all the conquests made by their joint forces  
to the south of the Alps. But the peril of any  
conjunction with the Republican troops to any estab-  
lished government, was so evident, that the King of  
Sardinia rejected the proposals. The French envoy,  
in consequence, was not permitted to proceed fur-  
ther than Alexandria; and the Convention, imme-  
diately on receiving intelligence of that decisive step,  
declared war against the Piedmontese monarch,<sup>1</sup> and  
orders were dispatched to General Montesquieu

Sept. 15,  
1792.  
<sup>1</sup> Botta, i.  
75, 88.  
Jom. ii.  
180.

to assail Savoy, where the Jacobin emissaries had already sown the seeds of disaffection to the Italian dynasty.

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

On the 21st of September, the Republicans unexpectedly entered Savoy, and after a feeble resistance, took possession of Chambery and Montmelian, and shortly after overran the whole valleys of the Alps, as far as the foot of Mont Cenis. The Sardinian forces, though nearly ten thousand strong, were so dispersed that it was impossible to unite them in sufficient numbers to oppose any resistance to the sudden attack of the Republicans; another proof, in addition to the many on record, of the extreme difficulty of defending a range of mountains against a superior and enterprising enemy. Shortly after, operations on a still more extensive scale were undertaken against the country of Nice. On the 1st of October, General Anselme crossed the Var at the head of nine thousand men, and on the same day, the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and frigates, cast anchor within half cannon-shot of the walls of Nice. Terrified at such superior forces, General Courten, who had not two thousand men at his command, and was menaced by an insurgent population within the town, precipitately retreated towards Saorgio and the Col di Tende, leaving the whole coast and valleys, to the foot of the great chain of the Maritime Alps, in the possession of the French. Montalban and Villa Franca, the first of which had so gloriously resisted the Prince of Conti in 1744, surrendered at the first summons, and Saorgio became the frontier post of the Piedmontese possessions.<sup>1</sup>

Sept. 21.  
French  
enter  
Savoy.

Oct. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
190, 198.  
Ann. Reg.  
1793, 74.  
Bot. i. 65.

The Republicans made a cruel use of their victory. The inhabitants of Nice and the neighbouring coun-

- CHAP. try were rewarded for the friendly reception they had  
 X. given them, by plunder, massacre, and outrages of  
 1792. every description. The mountaineers in the remotest  
 valleys were hunted out, their cattle seized, their  
 Their rapid con- houses burned, and their women violated, by those  
 quests and cruel de- whom they had hailed as deliverers. A proclamation,  
 vastation. issued by General Anselme against these excesses,  
 met with no sort of attention; and the commissioners  
 appointed by the Convention to enquire into the dis-  
 orders, were unable to make any effectual reparation.
- Oct. 10. Shortly after, an expedition was undertaken against  
 the little fortress of Oneglia by the combined forces  
 of land and sea; and the inhabitants having fired on  
 a boat which approached the batteries with a flag of  
 truce, and killed the officer who bore it, a sanguinary  
 retribution for this violation of the usages of war was  
 taken by the total destruction of the town. Thus,  
 in the space of a few weeks, were the countries of  
 Nice and Savoy torn from the Sardinian crown,  
 though defended by considerable armies, intersected  
 with rugged and impassable mountains, and studded  
 with fortresses once deemed impregnable. The sud-  
 den prostration of all these means of defence before  
 the first attack of the Republicans, gave rise to the  
 most painful reflections. It demonstrated the ineffi-  
 cient state of the Piedmontese troops, once so cele-  
 brated, and gave a sad presage of the probable  
 result of an attack on Italy, when its best defenders  
 had given such disgraceful proofs of pusillanimity.  
 Nor was the general consternation diminished by  
 the appearance of the exiles from France, who soon  
 after arrived in the most lamentable condition at  
 Geneva and Turin; a melancholy example of a  
 sudden transition from the highest rank and pros-  
 perity, to the most abject state of misery.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Botta, i.  
 92, 97, 98.  
 Jom. ii.  
 200, 205.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1793, 74.



Having thus carried the Republican arms to the CHAP. X.  
 foot of the great central ridge which separates France 1792.  
 from Italy, the Convention proceeded to extend their  
 conquests to the republics of Switzerland. The French in-  
 cantons of that confederacy were much divided in vade  
 opinion, some having resented with vehemence the Switzer-  
 massacre of the Swiss Guard on 10th August, and land, and  
 others being tinged by democratical principles, and attack  
 ready to receive the republican soldiers as deliverers Geneva.,  
 from the prevailing power of the aristocracy. The  
 Pays de Vaud, in particular, was in such a state of  
 fermentation, that some severe examples had been  
 found necessary by the government of Berne, to  
 which it was subject, to maintain their authority.  
 Paralysed by these intestine divisions, the Helvetic  
 Confederacy had resolved to maintain an armed  
 neutrality; but the grasping views of the Republican  
 conquerors deprived them of such an advantage,  
 and brought them at last into the general field of  
 European warfare. Clavieres, minister of foreign  
 affairs in France, and a Genevese by birth, espoused  
 warmly the part of the malecontents in his native  
 city. He was eager to turn his newly acquired  
 power to the ruin of the faction, with which he had  
 long contended in that diminutive republic. He  
 directed Servan, the minister at war, to write to  
 General Montesquieu, "that it would be well to  
 break the fetters which despotism had forged to bind  
 the Genevese, if they were inclined to publish the  
 Rights of Man." That general was extremely un-  
 willing to commence this new aggression, not only  
 because the Diet had given him the strongest assur-  
 ances of their resolution to maintain a strict neu-  
 trality, but because the Canton of Berne had assembled  
 a force of nearly ten thousand men to enforce its

CHAP. observation; and it was foreseen that an attack on  
 X. Geneva would be held as a declaration of war against  
 1792. the whole confederacy. Undeterred by these pru-  
 ' Ann. Reg. dential considerations, the French Government com-  
 1793, 74, manded Montesquieu immediately to advance, while  
 75. Jom. ii. on their side, the Swiss sent eighteen hundred men  
 306, 310. to aid in the defence of the city.<sup>1</sup>  
 Th. iii.  
 190, 191.

When the Republicans arrived in the neighbour-  
 hood of Geneva, they found the gates closed, the suc-  
 cours arrived; and received a notification from the  
 senate of Berne that they would defend it to the last  
 extremity. The defenceless state of the frontier towns  
 in the Jura, between France and Switzerland, ren-  
 dered it highly imprudent to engage in an immediate  
 contest with these warlike mountaineers. In these  
 circumstances negotiation seemed preferable to open  
 violence, and after a short time the French retired  
 from the neighbourhood of Geneva, and General  
 Montesquieu ventured openly to disobey the rash  
 commands of the Convention, who had ordered him to  
 undertake the siege of that city. Two successive con-  
 ventions were agreed to, in virtue of which the Swiss  
 withdrew their forces from the town, and the French  
 their troops from its vicinity. Geneva was rescued  
 for the moment from the peril of Republican invasion,  
 and Montesquieu had the glory of saving his country  
 from the consequences of the rash and unjustifi-  
 able aggression which they had commenced. But in  
 other quarters the French revolutionary power  
 was finally established in Savoy. A Jacobin club  
 of twelve hundred members was formed at Cham-  
 berry, with affiliated societies through all Savoy,  
 which soon spread the fever of democracy through  
 the whole Maritime Alps, and threatened the insti-  
 tutions of Piedmont with total overthrow. A Na-

They fail  
 in reducing  
 Geneva,  
 but revolu-  
 tionize all  
 Savoy.  
 Oct. 22.

Nov. 2.

tional Convention, established at Chambéry, on 21st October, proclaimed the abolition of royalty, tithes, and the privileged orders; and deputations from all the clubs in Savoy were sent to Paris, and received in the most enthusiastic manner by the French legislature. At length, on 27th November, the whole of Savoy was incorporated with France, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc; and shortly after, the district of Nice was swallowed up in the encroaching Republic, under the title of the Department of the Maritime Alps, and the state of Monaco added to its extensive dominions.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

Nov. 27.  
Dec. 7.<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
1793, 75,  
134, 135,  
140. Jom.  
ii. 311, 313.  
Th. iii. 191.

Amidst these general triumphs of the Republican cause, fortune deserted their standards on the Upper Rhine. The French forces in that quarter, which amounted, including the armies of Kellerman, Custine, and Biron, to sixty thousand men, might have struck an important blow against the Duke of Brunswick's army, now severely weakened by the departure of the Austrians under Clairfait, for the defence of the Low Countries. But the movements of these generals, not sufficiently combined with each other, led to nothing but disaster. The plan adopted was for Bournonville, who had succeeded Kellerman, to take

Operations  
on the  
Upper  
Rhine.

CHAP. men, destined to attack the city of Treves, was  
 X. recalled when his journey was half-completed, by  
 1792. the apprehensions of his commander-in-chief; while  
 Custine, whose force by the deduction of the  
 garrison of Mayence, was reduced to fifteen thou-  
 sand men, seemed more intent upon pillaging the  
 palaces which fell in his way, and establishing Jaco-  
 bin clubs in Frankfort and Mayence, than on pro-  
 secuting the military movements of the campaign.  
 Meanwhile, the Prussians, observing the inactivity  
 of the army of Kellerman, secretly drew their forces  
 round Custine's corps, in the hope that, unsupported  
 as it was, and far in advance, it might be made pri-  
 soner before any effectual succour should be detach-  
 ed to its support. The design, owing to the supine-  
 ness of the commander of the French forces, had  
 very nearly succeeded. For long, Custine disregard-  
 ed the Prussian corps which were gradually drawn  
 round him, and was only awakened from his dream  
 of security upon finding his sole remaining line of  
 retreat threatened by the enemy. He then detached  
 General Houchard with three thousand men, who  
 had an unsuccessful action with the Prussians near  
 Limburg; but shortly after, the arrival of twelve  
 thousand men from the army of the Upper Rhine put  
 him in a condition to resume offensive operations.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 9.

Nov. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.

269, 275,

278, 280.

St Cyr, i.

9, 12. Toul.

iii. 105,

108.

French re-

cross the

Rhine.

Dec. 2.

Meanwhile the King of Prussia, finding himself at  
 the head of a noble force of fifty thousand men, now  
 in some measure recovered from their disasters, re-  
 solved to anticipate the enemy, and drive them from  
 the right bank of the Rhine, in order to give his  
 troops secure cantonments for the winter. With  
 this view he put his army in motion, and directing  
 the bulk of his forces against Custine's right flank,  
 obliged him to retire to an intrenched camp behind

the Nidda, leaving a garrison of two thousand men in Frankfort in a most precarious situation. The king immediately attempted a *coup-de-main* against that city, which completely succeeded; the whole garrison, with the exception of two hundred men, being either killed or made prisoners. Custine, upon this disaster, after making a feeble attempt to defend the course of the Nidda, repassed the Rhine, and cantoned his troops between Bingen and Frankenthal, leaving a garrison of ten thousand men to defend the important fortress of Mayence. On their side, the Allies also put their troops into winter quarters, of which they stood much in need, the line of their cantonments extending through Frankfort and Darmstadt, with an advanced guard to observe that frontier city.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
X.

1792.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
282, 292.  
Toul. iii.  
116, 117.  
St Cyr, 11  
12, 16.  
Hard. ii.  
77, 98.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1792, a period fraught with the most valuable instruction to the statesman and the soldier. Already the desperate and energetic character of the war was made manifest; the contagion of republican principles had gained for France many conquests; but the severity of republican rule had rendered the delusion, in the countries which they had overrun, as short-lived as it was fallacious. In many places their armies had been welcomed, upon their arrival, as deliverers; in none had they been regretted, on their departure, as friends. The campaign, which opened under such untoward auspices, had been marked by the most splendid successes on the part of the Republicans; but it was evident that their conquests had exceeded their strength, and it was remarked that at its close their affairs were declining in every quarter.<sup>2</sup> In the north, the army of Dumourier, which had just completed the conquest of Flanders, had fallen into the

Reflections  
on these  
events.

Jom. ii.

192.

CHAP. most disorderly state ; whole battalions had left their  
X. colours, and returned home, or spread themselves in

1792. bands of robbers over the conquered territory ; the horses and equipments were in wretched condition, and the whole army, weakened by license and insubordination, fast tending to decay. The armies of Bournonville and Custine, paralysed by the division and inactivity of their chiefs, were in little better circumstances, and their recent failures had gone far to weaken the energetic spirit which their early successes had produced ; while the troops who had overrun Savoy and Nice, a prey to their own disorders, were suffering under the consequences of the plunder and devastation which had inflicted such misery on the conquered districts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. ii.  
292, 317.  
Dum. iii.  
230.

Great re- But it was evident, from the events which had  
sults to occurred, that the war was to exceed, in magnitude  
which the and importance, any which had preceded it, and that  
war was consequences, beyond all example momentous, were  
evidently to follow its continuance. The campaign had only  
to lead, and commenced in the beginning of August, and before  
causes of the Repub. the close of the year, an invasion, the most formi-  
lican suc- dable which had ever threatened the existence of  
cess. France, had been baffled, and conquests greater than  
any achieved by its preceding monarchs obtained. Flanders, the theatre of such obstinate contests in the reign of Louis XIV., had been overrun in little more than a fortnight ; the Transalpine dominions of the house of Savoy severed from the Sardinian crown, and the great frontier city of Germany wrested from the empire, almost under the eyes of the Imperial and royal armies. All this had been accomplished, too, under the greatest possible apparent disadvantages ; the French armies had taken the field in a state of complete insubordination ; disgrace

and discomfiture had attended their first efforts ; the kingdom was torn by intestine faction ; a large portion of its nobility in the ranks of the invaders ; and few of its generals had seen any service, or were in a condition to oppose the experienced tactics of the enemy. But to these apparently overwhelming disadvantages, the French had to oppose elements hitherto unknown in modern warfare, the energy of republican valour, and the vigour of democratic ambition.

CHAP.

X.

1792.

Experience soon demonstrated that these principles were more powerful than any which had yet been brought into action in human affairs, and that the strength they conferred would be equalled only by the development of passions as strong, and feelings as universal. The French triumphed as long as they contended with kings and armies ; they fell, when their tyranny had excited the indignation, and their invasions roused the patriotism of the people. But it was not *immediately* that this formidable power arose ; and political lessons of the utmost moment, for the future guidance of mankind, may be gathered from the commencement of this memorable war.

1. The first conclusion which presents itself is, the absolute necessity in attacking a country in a state of necessity.

CHAP. worse state than those of France at the commence  
X. ment of the campaign of 1792, and the reason wa

1792. that the license of a Revolution had dissolved th  
bands of discipline ; none could be more formidab  
than they were at Arcola, because success had the  
turned political fervour into the career of conquest  
In attacking a revolutionary state, the only wise an  
really economical course is to put forth a powerf  
force at the outset, and never permit a transient su  
cess to elevate the spirits of the people. Bitter  
did the Austrian and Prussian Governments regn  
the niggardly display of their strength at the con  
mencement of the war. They could easily have the  
put forward a hundred thousand men for the inv  
sion of Champagne, while sixty thousand advance  
through Alsace, and as many from the Low Cou  
tries. Two military monarchies, wielding a unite  
force of above four hundred thousand men, coul  
assuredly have made such an effort for a single can  
paign. What a multitude of evils would such a  
early exertion have saved; the French conscription  
the campaign of Moscow, the rout of Leipsic, th  
blood of millions, the treasures of ages!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. i.  
375, 386.

2. Even with the forces which they possessed, ha  
the allies duly improved their advantages at the ou  
set, the Revolution might unquestionably have bee  
vanquished in the first campaign. A little less delu  
in the advance to the Argonne forest, would hav  
prevented the French from occupying, with the  
inexperienced force, its broken defiles, and compelle  
them to yield up the capital, or fight in the plain  
of Champagne, where the numerous cavalry of th  
Prussians would have proved irresistible; a littl  
more vigour in pressing on the retreating colum

Ease with  
which  
early suc-  
cess might  
have been  
gained.



from Grandpré to St Ménéhould, would have dispersed the whole defending army, and converted the passion for freedom into that of terror. Fifteen hundred Prussian hussars there routed ten thousand of the best troops of France; the fate of Europe then hung on a thread; had the Duke of Brunswick fallen on the retiring army with a considerable force, it would have all dissolved, and the reign of the Revolution been at an end. The French military historians all admit this, and ascribe the salvation of France, at this crisis, entirely to the feeble counsels, or secret negotiations of the allied army. If a Blücher, a Diebitz, or an Archduke Charles had been then at the head of the allied armies, with unfettered hands, where would have been the boasted strength of the Revolution?

CHAP.  
X.  
1792.

3. The occupation of the defiles of the Argonne forest by Dumourier, has been the subject of the highest panegyric from military writers; but it brought France to the brink of ruin, by the peril to which his army was exposed in the subsequent retreat to St Ménéhould. A very competent authority, Marshal St Cyr, has censured it as a perilous and useless measure, which, by dividing the French force in front of a superior enemy, exposed them to

Faults of  
Dumou-  
rier.

CHAP. ment of the whole line. This is just what Napoleon

X.

1792.

did in the Maritime Alps, Soult in the Pyrenees, and Diebitch in the Balkan. The only example of the successful maintenance of such a position is that of Wellington at Torres Vedras, but that was not the defence of a range of mountains, so much as a great intrenched camp, adequately defended by field-works at all points. Unquestionably, by keeping his forces together, Dumourier would never have exposed them to the imminent hazard which occurred in the retreat of his detached columns from Grand-pré to the camp in the rear, a movement which, if executed in presence of an enterprising enemy, would have proved fatal to France. Had Napoleon been in the Duke of Brunswick's place with so superior a force, he would speedily have penetrated through the other defiles of the Argonne forest, and compelled Dumourier to lay down his arms in his impregnable camp.

Extreme  
danger of  
France at  
the outset  
of the Re-  
volution,  
from the  
revolt of  
the army.

4. The wretched condition and inglorious exploits of the French armies at the commencement of the war, is a striking proof of the extreme peril to national independence, which arises from soldiers taking any part in civil dissensions; and forgetting, for the transient applause of the multitude, the obedience and fidelity, which are the first of military virtues. The revolt of the French Guards, the treachery of the army under Louis XVI., placed the national independence on the brink of ruin. The insubordination, the tumults, the indiscipline, consequent on such a revolt, dry up the sources of military prowess: till they are removed the nation has no protection against its enemies. Let not future ages calculate upon again meeting with the genius of Dumourier, the timidity of the Duke of Brunswick,

or the blind selfishness of the allied counsels. Had matters been reversed—had the French commander headed the invaders, and the Prussian been entrusted with the defence—where would now have been the name or the independence of France? Internal despotism, and foreign subjugation, are the inevitable consequences of such breaches of military discipline. France tasted the bitterness of both, in consequence of the applauded revolt of her defenders; the Reign of Terror, the despotism of Napoleon, the capture of Paris, were its legitimate consequences. The French army preserved its honour unsullied, and maintained the virgin purity of the capital through all the perils of the monarchy; it lost both amidst the anarchy which followed the desertion of its duty on the rise of the Republic.

Lastly, from the glorious result of the generous efforts which the French people made to maintain their independence, after revolt had paralysed their regular defenders, the patriots of succeeding times may derive materials for encouragement even in the severest extremities of adverse fortune. No situation could well appear more desperate than that of France after the fall of Longwy; with an insurgent capital and a disunited people; pierced to the heart by an invading army, and destitute alike of experienced commanders and disciplined soldiers. Yet from all these dangers was France delivered by the energy of its government, and the heroism of its inhabitants. From the extremity of peril at Grand-pré, how rapid was the transition to security and triumph—to glories greater than those of Francis I.—to conquests more rapid than those of Louis XIV.;—a striking example to succeeding ages of

CHAP.

X.

1792.

Glorious  
efforts of  
France at  
this period.

CHAP. what can be effected by energy and patriotism;  
X. of the rewards which await those who, disregard  
1792. the frowns of fortune, steadily adhere through all  
vicissitudes to the discharge of duty!

## CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE DEATH OF THE KING  
TO THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

JAN. 21—JUNE 2, 1793.

## ARGUMENT.

Wonderful influence of Audacity in Revolutions—Principle in human nature on which it is founded—General grief and consternation at the Death of Louis—Aspect of Paris after this event—It irrecoverably ruins the Girondists—Retirement of Roland from the Ministry of the Interior, who is succeeded by Garat—King's Death disappoints all Parties—Murder of Le-pelletier by Paris—War with England, and Spain, and Holland—Prodigious effect of this event—Its prejudicial effect on the Royalist and Constitutional cause—Plan for resisting the Allies adopted by the Jacobins—Great distress in Paris, and over France—Popular demands for a law of the Maximum—Tumults in Paris, from the high prices—Universal consternation in consequence there—Debates in the Jacobins on this subject—Remarkable Speech of Robespierre—Indecision of all Parties in Paris—Designs of Dumourier—His Irruption into Holland in pursuance of it—He resolves to re-establish the Monarchy—He arrests the Commissioners of the Convention—His failure and flight—Contests between the Girondists and Jacobins—Abortive Conspiracy of the Jacobins—Proposal to establish the Revolutionary Tribunal—Vehement Debate on it in the Convention—It is finally established—War breaks out in La Vendée—Vigorous measures of the Convention—Dumourier denounced, and Committee of Public Salvation appointed—Girondists and Centre send Marat to the Revolutionary Tribunal—Vehement agitation to counteract it—He is acquitted—Numerous Condemnations of the Revolutionary Tribunal—Increasing demands for a Maximum—Enormous fresh issue of Assignats—General Insurrection against the Girondists and the Convention—Commission of Twelve propose an Armed Guard for the Convention—Desperate Contest in the Assembly—Report of Garat declaring Paris in a state of Tranquillity—Insurrection renewed on May 31st—Vast Forces organized in the Faubourgs—They surround and assail the Convention—Last Dinner of the Girondists—Attack on the Convention on June 2d—Vehement Debate within its Walls—They move out of the Hall; but are driven back by the Armed Bands—The Thirty Leaders of the Gironde are given up, and put under Arrest—Many escape into the Provinces—Their Trial and Condemnation—The Grounds of the Accusation against them—Heroic Death—Trial and Death of Dufosse and Rabaud St Etienne—Trial and Death of Madame Roland—Her generous conduct—Death of M. Roland—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Her Trial—And Heroic Death—Arrest of Seventy-Three Girondists in the Convention—Base Character of the Men by whom they were overthrown—Reflections on the Fall of the Girondists.

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

Wonderful  
influence  
of audacity  
in revolu-  
tions.

THE death of Louis completed the destruction of the French monarchy. The Revolution had now run the first stage of such convulsions. Springing from philanthropic principles, cherished by patriotic feeling, supported by aristocratic liberality, indulged with royal favour, it had successively ruined all the classes who supported its fortunes. The clergy were the first to join its standard, and they were the first to be destroyed; the nobles then yielded to its fortunes, and they were the next to suffer; the King had proved himself the liberal benefactor of his subjects, and conceded all the demands of the revolutionists; and in return he was led out to the scaffold. It remained to be seen what was the fate of the victors in the strife; whether such crimes were to go unpunished; and whether the laws of nature promised the same impunity to wickedness which they had obtained from human tribunals. What was the causes of this extraordinary and downward progress? It has been told us alike by the sage and demagogue. "Quid in rebus civilibus," says Bacon, "maxime prodest? Audacia. Quid secundum? Audacia. Quid tertium? Audacia. In promptu ratio est; inest enim naturæ humanæ, plerumque plus stulti quam sapientis, unde et facultates eæ, quibus capitur pars illa in animis mortalium stulta, sunt omnium potentissimæ. Attamen utcunque ignorantia et sordidi ingenii proles est Audacia, nihilominus fascinat et captivos ducit eos qui vel judicio infirmiores sunt vel animo timidiore; tales autem sunt hominum pars maxima." "Le canon que vous entendez," said Danton at the bar of the Assembly, on September 2, 1792, when the massacres in the prisons were commencing, "n'est pas le canon d'alarm; c'est le pas de charge sur nos ennemis. Pour les vaincre, pour les atterrer,

que faut-il? De l'audace ! encore de l'audace ! toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée !” It is not a little remarkable, that philosophical sagacity should have inspired to the sage of the sixteenth, not only the idea but the very words, which a practical acquaintance with the storms of the Revolution suggested to the terrible demagogue of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, x.  
32. Moni-  
teur, Sept.  
4, 1792, p.  
1057.

Never was the truth of these memorable words more strongly demonstrated than in France during the progress of the Revolution. Rank, influence, talent, patriotism, abandoned the field of combat, or sank in the struggle; daring ambition, reckless audacity, vanquished every opponent. The Girondists maintained that the force of reason, and of the people, was the same thing; and flattered themselves that, by their eloquence, they could curb the Revolution when its excesses became dangerous: they lived to experience their utter inability to contend with popular violence, and sank under the fury of the tempest they had created. The maxim, “Vox populi vox Dei,” is true only of the calm result of human reflection, when the period of agitation is past, and reason has resumed its sway: so predominant is passion in moments of excitation, that it too often then

Principle  
in human  
nature on  
which this  
is founded.

CHAP. vides their slow but certain punishment. To scourge  
 XI. each successive faction which attains the head of  
 1793. affairs, another more hardy than itself arises, until  
 the punishment has reached all the guilty classes,  
 and the nation, in sackcloth and ashes, has expiated  
 its offences.

General  
 consterna-  
 tion at the  
 death of  
 Louis.

The death of the King roused numbers, when too late, to the dangers of popular rule. Scarcely had his head fallen upon the scaffold, when the public grief became visible: the brigands, who were hired to raise cries of triumph, failed in rousing a voice among the spectators. The executioner, after the savage custom of the time, held the bloody head aloft; but no shouts or cries announced the enthusiasm of the people. The magnitude of the deed appalled every heart. The name of Santerre was universally execrated—"The King was about to appeal to us," said the people, "and we would have delivered him." Many dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victim; his coat was severed, and delivered to many to preserve; his hair was religiously gathered, and placed with the relics of saints, by the few who retained religious sentiments. The ferocious pikemen of the suburbs, seeing this, came forward and plunged their spears in the blood of the sovereign: some of the National Guard did the same with their bayonets and swords; and one ferocious brigand, ascending the scaffold, took up the blood, which, in large quantities, had flowed from the body, in handfuls, and sprinkled it over the people, saying—"Here is the blood of Louis Capet; let it fall on our heads."\*

\* "Quantité de volontaires s'empressèrent aussi de tremper dans le sang du despote le fer de leurs piques, la baïonnette de leurs fusils, ou la lame de leurs sabres. Les gendarmes ne furent pas les derniers. Beaucoup d'officiers du bataillon de Marseille imbibèrent de ce sang impur des envelopes des lettres qu'ils portèrent à la pointe de leur épée



But these desperate sallies produced little impression : the majority of the people were in consternation ; many in the deepest affliction. The furies of the guillotine danced for some hours round the scaffold ; but the bulk of the citizens took no part in these horrid orgies. The National Guard, silent and depressed, returned to their homes ; throwing aside their arms, they gave vent, in the bosom of their families, to feelings which they did not venture to display in public. " Alas ! if I had been sure of my comrades ! " was the general expression :—fatal effect of civil dissension, to paralyse the good from mutual distrust, and elevate the wicked from conscious audacity.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Duval, Souv. de la Terreur, iii. 77, 78. Lac. x. 256. Th. iv. 2. Rév. de Paris, No. 185. Hist. Parl. xxij. 324, 325. Deux Amis, ix. 371, 372.

The execution was over at half-past ten ; but the shops continued shut, and the streets deserted, during the whole day. Paris resembled a city desolated by an earthquake. Groups of assassins alone were to be seen, singing revolutionary songs, the same as those which preceded the massacre of September. Their voices, with the discharge of artillery, re-echoed by the silent walls, reached the prison of the Temple, and first informed the royal family of the fate of the Sovereign. The Queen, with her orphan son, fell on their knees, and prayed that they might soon

Aspect of Paris after that event.



CHAP. XI. 1793. **avenge his death. She then calmly asked for mourning for herself, her sister, and her children, which were furnished them by the municipality. The shops**

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, *Rév. de Paris*, No. 183. *Hist. Parl.* xxiii. 322, 325. *Lao.* x. 257.

**were closed during the whole day: the women, generally speaking, exhibited a great degree of sensibility, and, in many instances, the most profound grief. An old officer of the order of St Louis died of grief on hearing of the execution; a bookseller, named Venté, went mad—and a hairdresser in the Rue Saint Catharine, committed suicide.<sup>1</sup>\***

**The death of the King not only rendered the parties irreconcilable, but weakened the influence of the Girondists with the people. The Jacobins incessantly taunted them with having endeavoured to save the tyrant; the generous design could not be denied, and constituted an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the democratical party. They accused them of being ene-**

It irreconcilably ruined the Girondists.

\* Some idea may be formed of the Revolutionary writings with which Paris was then deluged from the following passage, on this occasion, in the *Père Duchesne*, edited by Hebert, a leading person in the municipality of Paris:—"Capet est enfin mort, Foutre! Je ne dirai pas comme certains badauds n'en parlons plus. Parlons-en, au contraire, pour nous rappeler tous ses crimes, et inspirer à tous les hommes l'horreur qu'ils doivent avoir pour les rois. Voilà, Foutre, ce qui m'engage à entreprendre son oraison funèbre, non pour faire son éloge, ou adoucir ses défauts, mais pour le peindre tel qu'il fut, et apprendre à l'univers si un tel monstre ne méritait pas d'être étouffé dans son berceau. Lisez et frémissiez, Foutre. . . . Il étoit d'un mauvais naturel. Avant qu'il put se baigner dans le sang des hommes, il immolait de ses mains les animaux: il tourmentait les vieillards, les infirmes, les boiteux, les aveugles. Jamais il n'a fait de son propre mouvement une bonne action. Pour mettre la France à deux doigts de sa perte il ne lui fallait qu'une femme aussi atroce que lui même: une nouvelle Médicis le seconda pour achever de nous détruire. C'est lorsque ce monstre fut roi que son caractère sanguinaire éclata. Pour mieux égorger le peuple, il fit semblant de le soulager. Le hasard lui avait donné un bon ministre: il le chassa aussitôt. Il laissa en suite ses frères et sa femme déchirer les entrailles du pauvre peuple."—*Lettres b—t Patriotiques du Véritable Père Duchesne*, No. 212. 24th Jan. 1793.

mies of the people, because they deprecated their excesses; accomplices of the tyrant, because they strove to save his life; traitors to the Republic, because they recommended moderation towards his opponents. Lest the absurdity of these reproaches should become manifest by the return of reason to the public mind, they adopted every means of continuing the popular agitation. To strike terror into the enemies of the Revolution; to keep awake the revolutionary fervour, by the exhibition of danger, and the fury of insurrections; to represent the safety of the Republic as solely dependent on their exertions; to electrify the departments by the aid of affiliated societies; such was the system which they incessantly pursued, till all their enemies were destroyed. The Jacobins, to the last moment, were doubtful of the success of their attack upon the King. The magnitude of the attempt, the enormity of the crime, startled even their sanguinary minds; and their exultation was proportionally great at their unlooked-for success.

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Buzot,  
10, 12.  
Deux.  
Amis, x. 8,  
10. Th. iv.  
<sup>2, 3.</sup>

The Girondists, on the other hand, grieved for the illustrious victim; and, alarmed at the appalling success of their adversaries, perceived in the

Retire-  
ment of  
Roland

CHAP. XI.  
1793. alists, because they had been the original authors of the revolt which dethroned the King; of the Jacobins, because they had recoiled from his execution Roland, completely discouraged, not by personal danger, but the impossibility of stemming the progress of disaster, which he had done so much to induce was too happy at the prospect of escaping from his perilous eminence into the tranquillity of private life: he accordingly resigned his office of minister of the interior. The Girondists exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent Roland from retiring from the ministry of the interior, but all their efforts were in vain. Even the influence of his beautiful and gifted wife was unable to retain him at his post. He declared that death would be preferable to the mortification and vexations he was daily obliged to endure. His party were in despair at his retirement, because they saw clearly the impossibility of supplying his place: they had become sensible of the ruinous tendency of their measures to their country and themselves, when it was no longer possible to remeasure their steps.<sup>1</sup>

Jan. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Buzot, 10—14. Deux Amis, x. 8, 9. Hist. de la Conv. ii. 153. Th. iv. 2, 3.

All parties were disappointed in the effect which they had anticipated from the death of the King. The Girondists, whose culpable declamations had roused the spirit which brought him to the block, had imagined that their ascendancy over the populace would be regained by their concurrence in this great sacrifice, and that they would prefer their conservative and moderate counsels to the fierce designs of their dreaded rivals, the Jacobins; but they were soon undeceived, and found to their cost that this act of iniquity, like all other misdeeds, rendered their situation worse than it had formerly been. The Orleanists lost by this terrible event the little consideration which they still possessed; and Philippe Egalité, who

It disappoints all parties.

had flattered himself that, by agreeing to it, he would secure the crown to himself and his descendants, was speedily overwhelmed in the shock of the more energetic and extreme factions who disputed the lead in public affairs. The Jacobins, with more reason, expected that the destruction of the throne would secure to them a long lease of power: and they did not enjoy it for eighteen months. France, overwhelmed by their tyranny, sought refuge from its horror, not in the vacillating hands of a benevolent monarch, but the stern grasp of a relentless warrior. Such is the march of revolutions: they never recede when their leaders obtain unresisted ascendancy, but are precipitated on, like the career of guilt in an individual, from one excess to another, till the extremity of suffering restores the lead to the classes qualified to take it, and expels the deadly poison of democracy from the social system.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

Hist. de  
la Conv. ii.  
112, 116,

116.

A temporary union of the contending parties took place, in consequence of the consternation produced by the death of one of the deputies, Lepelletier St Fargeau, who was murdered for voting against the life of the King, by an old member of the Garde du Corps, named Panis. This event made a prodigious sensation in Paris, and was taken advantage of by the Jacobins, to give a colour to the alarms they had been continually sounding as to the counter-Revolutionary projects which were in agitation. The Republican journals, which had viewed with complacency or indifference the massacre of thousands of unresisting victims in the prisons in the beginning of September, were in the utmost consternation when one of the democratic party had fallen beneath the vengeance of a Royalist. Lepelletier's funeral obsequies were celebrated with extraordinary pomp;

Murder of  
Lepelletier  
by Panis.

CHAP. and such was the sensation excited by the assassina-  
 XI. tion of a single man of their party, that it pro-  
 1793. duced, for a few days, a cessation of party strife,  
 and even an apparent reconciliation of its leaders.  
 Garat was appointed by the Assembly minister of  
 the interior, in room of Roland, whom no entreaties  
 could induce to resume his office. His successor  
 was a man naturally of a benevolent disposition and  
 considerable power of mind, which caused him to be  
 selected for that onerous situation by the party of  
 the Gironde to which he belonged, and who still  
 had a majority in the Assembly. But he was alike  
 ignorant of business and of the human heart; and  
 being destitute of moral courage and political firm-  
 ness, he was wholly unfit to struggle with the dread-  
 ful dangers which soon overwhelmed his party and  
 his country.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Buzot,  
 15, 16.  
 Lac. Pr.  
 Hist. ii. 50.  
 Toul. iii.  
 233. Th.  
 iv. 3. Deux  
 Amis, ix.  
 6, 9.

External events of no ordinary importance occur-  
 red at this time, which precipitated the fall of this  
 celebrated party, and accelerated the approach of  
 the Reign of Terror. The first of these was the  
 accession of England to the league of the Allied  
 Sovereigns against the Republic. The execution  
 of the King, as Vergniaud had predicted, at once  
 dissolved the species of neutrality which subsisted  
 between the rival states; Chauvelin, the French  
 ambassador, received orders immediately to leave  
 London, and this was succeeded, in a few days, by  
 a declaration of war by the Convention against Eng-  
 land, Spain, and Holland;—against England, as  
 having already virtually declared war by the dis-  
 missal of the French ambassador; against Holland,  
 as in reality influenced by England; against Spain,  
 as already a secret enemy. These declarations were  
 followed by an order for the immediate levy of three

War with  
 England,  
 Spain, and  
 Holland.

Feb. 1,  
 1793.

Feb. 19.

hundred thousand men. At the same time the National Guard was declared to be a permanent force, and all those were declared *hors la loi*, in other words, liable to instant death, who should oppose the slightest resistance to the conscription, or harbour or conceal any person drawn for the public service, who attempted to desert.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of these measures throughout France was prodigious. "We thank you for having reduced us to the necessity of conquering," was the answer of one of the armies to the Convention in reply to the announcement of the death of the King, and the declaration of war. And, in truth, these sentiments were universal in the armies, and general among the people. The feeling of national honour, in all ages so powerful among the French, was awakened; the dominant party of the Jacobins at Paris, no longer appeared in the light of a relentless faction contending for power, but as a band of patriots bravely struggling for national independence: resistance to their mandates seemed nothing short of treason to the commonwealth in its hour of danger. Every species of requisition was cheerfully furnished under the pressure of impending calamity; in the dread of foreign subjugation, the loss of fortune or employment was forgotten; one only path, that of honour, was open to the brave; one only duty, that of submission, remained to the good; and even the blood which streamed from the scaffold, seemed a sacrifice justly due to the offended genius of patriotism, indignant at the defection of some of its votaries.<sup>2</sup>

The Royalist, Constitutional, and Moderate, parties, were never again able to separate the cause of France from that of the Jacobins, who then ruled its destinies. The people, ever led by their feelings,

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

Decrees,  
19 and 20.  
Feb. 1793,  
Moniteur.

Prodigious  
effect of  
these mea-  
sures.

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
Parl. xxiv.  
181, 182.  
Toul. iii.  
236, 237.  
Th. iv. 4,  
5. Lac. ii.  
51. Deux  
Amis, ix.  
71, 72.

CHAP. and often incapable of just discrimination, though  
XI. when not actuated by wicked leaders, in the end

1793.

Its preju-  
dicial effect  
on the  
Royalist  
and Con-  
stitutional  
cause.

generally true to the cause of virtue, and more powerfully influenced by generous than selfish sentiments, constantly associated the adherents of these parties with the enemies of the Republic; the Royalists, because they fought in the ranks of the Allies, and combated the Republic in La Vendée; the Constitutionals, because they entered into negotiations with the enemies of the state, and sought the aid of foreign armies to restore the balance of domestic faction; the Moderate, because they raised their voices against internal tyranny and sought to arrest the arm of power in the effusion of human blood. The party which becomes associated in the mind of the people with indifference to the fate of the country in periods of danger, can never, during the subsistence of that generation regain its influence; and the opposition to the ruling power, during such a crisis, can hardly avoid such an imputation. By a singular coincidence, but from the influence of the same principle, the Opposition both in France and England, at this period, lost their hold of the influential part of the nation, from the same cause; the French Royalists, because they were accused of coalescing with foreign powers against the integrity of France; the English Whigs, because they were suspected of indifference to national glory in the contest with continental ambition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> T.ao. iii.  
237. Mig.  
i. 248.

Plan of the  
Jacobins  
for resist-  
ing the  
Allies.

The French leaders were not insensible to the danger arising from the attack of so formidable a coalition; but retreat was become impossible. By the execution of Louis, they had come to a final rupture with all established governments. The revolt of the 10th August, the massacres in the



prisons, the death of the King, had excited the most profound indignation among all the aristocratic portion of society throughout Europe, and singularly cooled the ardour of the middle ranks in favour of the Revolution. The Jacobins were no longer despised by the European powers, but feared; and terror prompts more vigorous efforts than contempt. But the republican leaders at Paris did not despair of saving the cause of democracy. The extraordinary movement which agitated France gave them good grounds for hoping that they might succeed in raising the whole male population for its defence, and that thus a much greater body might be brought into the field than the Allies could possibly assemble for their subjugation. The magnitude of the expense was to them a matter of no consequence. The estates of the emigrants afforded a vast and increasing fund, which greatly exceeded the amount of the public debt; while the boundless issue of assignats, at whatever rate of discount they might pass, amply provided for all the present or probable wants of the treasury. Nor did these hopes prove fallacious; for such was the misery produced in France by the stoppage of all pacific employment consequent on the Revolution, and such the terror produced by the Jacobin clubs and democratic municipalities in the interior, that the armies were filled without difficulty, and the Republic derived additional external strength from the very intensity of its internal suffering.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XL

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv.  
16, 18.  
Deux  
Amis, x.  
72, 73.

But although the armies of the Republic might be filled by the misery which prevailed in its interior, and the terrors of its government increased by the merciless severity with which the measures taken for filling up its ranks were enforced, yet the great

Great distress in  
Paris and  
over  
France.

CHAP. mass of the citizens necessarily remained at home,  
 XI. and it was daily becoming a more difficult matter to

1793. provide them with bread, in the midst of bankrupt  
 fortunes, ruined credit, confiscated estates, depre-  
 ciated assignats, and an insolvent government. The  
 care of this, especially in the capital, where the  
 armed force of the multitude was so great, had long  
 constituted one of the most arduous duties of the  
 Assembly; a committee, with Roland the minister,  
 of the interior at its head, had sat daily in Paris  
 during the whole winter; but though they had tried  
 every thing that zeal or experience could suggest,  
 nothing had been found capable of arresting the  
 public distress. It did not arise from scarcity or  
 natural causes: the weather had been fine, the har-  
 vest good: it was entirely the result of the destruc-  
 tion of fortunes and ruin of credit which had arisen  
 from the Revolution, and the prodigious issue of  
 assignats, bearing a forced circulation, which had  
 taken place to sustain its fortunes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
 Parl. xxii.  
 163, 187.  
 Deux  
 Amis, ix.  
 81, 82.  
 Th. iv. 39,  
 41.

Popular  
 demands  
 for the  
 maximum.

Dread of pillage, repugnance on the part of the  
 cultivators to sell their produce for payment in the  
 depreciated currency, which necessarily resulted from  
 the unlimited issues of assignats, rendered abortive  
 all the efforts of government to supply the public  
 necessities. At the same time, the price of every  
 article of consumption increased so immensely, as  
 excited the most vehement clamours among the  
 people. The price, not only of bread, but of sugar,  
 coffee, candles, and soap, had more than doubled since  
 the Revolution commenced. Innumerable petitions  
 on this subject succeeded each other at the bar of the  
 Assembly. The most violent of the Jacobins had a  
 remedy ready; it was to proclaim a maximum for the  
 price of every article, lay a forced tax on the rich,

and hang all persons who sold at a higher price than that fixed by law. In vain Thuriot, and a few of the more educated of the party, raised their voices against these extreme measures; they were assailed with cries against the "*shopkeeper aristocracy*," their voices drowned by hisses from the galleries; and the Mountain itself found that resisting such proceedings would speedily render them as unpopular as the Girondists had already become. The people now declared that the leaders they had selected were as bad as the old nobles. Perhaps the greatest and most ruinous delusion in such convulsions, is the common opinion, that, by selecting their rulers from their own body, the labouring classes will find them more inclined to sympathize with their distresses, than if taken from a more elevated class—a natural but pernicious opinion, which all history proves to be fallacious, and which the common proverb, as to the effect of setting a beggar on horseback, shows to be adverse to the experience, in ordinary times, of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

At length the extreme difficulty of procuring subsistence, roused the people to a perfect fury. A tumultuous mob surrounded the hall of the Jacobins, and treated that body as they had so often treated the Assembly. The object was to procure a petition from them to the Convention, to affix a maximum on the price of provisions. The demand was refused;—instantly, cries of "Down with the forestallers! down with the rich!" resounded on all sides; and the Jacobins were threatened as they had threatened the Convention. Marat, the following morning, published a number of his journal, in which, raising his powerful voice against what he called "the monopolists, the merchants of luxury, the supporters of fraud, the ex-nobles;" he added—"In every country where the

CHAP.

XI.

1793

Deux

Amis, x.

18, 21.

Th. iv. 39,

41. Hist.

de la Conv.

ii. 164.

A Tumult in

Paris from

the high

prices.

24th Feb.

CHAP. rights of the people are not a vain title, the pillage  
 XI. of a few shops, at the door of which they hang their

1793. forestalling owners, would put an end to an evil which  
 reduces five millions of men to despair, and daily  
 causes thousands to die of famine. When will the  
 deputies of the people learn to act, without eternally  
 haranguing on evils they know not how to remedy!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
 de la Re-  
 publique,  
 25th Feb.  
 1793.

Encouraged by these exhortations, the populace were  
 not slow in taking the redress of their wrongs into  
 their own hands. A mob assembled, and pillaged  
 a number of shops in the streets of La Veille Monnaie,  
 Cinq Diamans, and Lombards. They next insisted  
 that every article of commerce should be sold at half  
 its present price, and large quantities were seized  
 in that manner at a ruinous loss to the owners.

<sup>2</sup> Th. iv. 43,  
 46. Deux  
 Amis, x.  
 20, 21.

Speedily, however, they became tired of paying at  
 all, and the shops were openly pillaged, without any  
 equivalent.<sup>2</sup>

Universal  
 consterna-  
 tion in  
 Paris.

26th Feb.

All the public bodies were filled with consternation  
 at these disorders. The shopkeepers, in particular,  
 whose efforts in favour of the Revolution had been  
 so decided at its commencement, were in despair at  
 the approach of anarchy to their own doors. The  
 Girondists, who were for the most part the repre-  
 sentatives of the commercial cities of France, were

\* En attendant que la nation, fatiguée de ces désordres revoltans, prenne elle-même la partie de purger la terre de la liberté de cette race criminelle que ses lâches mandataires encouragent au crime par l'impunité, on ne doit pas trouver étrange que le peuple dans chaque ville, poussé au désespoir, se fasse lui-même justice. Dans tout pays où les droits du peuple ne sont pas des vains titres consignés fastueusement dans un simple, le pillage de quelques magasins à la porte desquelles on pendrait les accapareurs mettrait bientôt fin à ses malversations, qui réduisent cinq millions d'hommes au désespoir, et qui font périr des milliers de misère. Les députés du peuple ne sauront-ils donc jamais que bavarder sur des maux, sans en présenter jamais le remède?"—MARAT, *Journal de la République*, No. 133.

fully alive to the disastrous effects of a maximum in prices; but when they attempted to enforce their principles, they were universally assailed by the populace, and their efforts in this particular destroyed all the little consideration which still remained to them. The pillage began at seven in the morning, and continued without intermission for twelve hours, before the municipality, who, in secret, favoured the agitation, made even a show of attempting to put it down. The consternation, in consequence, was universal; for on the one hand the populace loudly clamoured for a maximum of prices, and the shopkeepers, as loudly, vociferated against the pillage, which was becoming universal. All attempts to calm the people were vain; even the Jacobins were wholly unsuccessful in their exertions in this respect. The suffering was real and universal; nothing could make the people see it was owing to the measures of the Revolution. The attempts of the municipality to restore order, or pass coercive regulations, were drowned in the cries of the multitude, and the hisses of the galleries; every new act of violence which was recounted, was received with shouts of applause. Neither at the Convention, nor the Hotel de Ville,

CHAP.

XI.

1793.

CHAP. trine, "that the people could do no wrong," and  
 XI. that the Royalists were the secret instigators of all  
 1793. the disorders.

The debates in the Jacobin club on this occasion  
 Debates at are highly interesting, as indicating clearly the exis-  
 the Jacobins on this tence of that division in the revolutionary party  
 subject. between the shopkeepers and the workmen—the holders of some property and the holders of none—which sooner or later must arise in all such convulsions, and which revealed the secret ultimate designs of Robespierre and his extreme followers. "The movements which have taken place," said Marat, "are owing to a perfectly natural cause: it is the excessive high price of provisions. These movements have been secretly instigated by the counter revolutionists, who wish to restore Roland, the god of their idolatry, to the ministry of the interior. The scarcity of bread is owing to an entirely different cause: it is owing to a combination among the bakers. This abuse has grown up from the malversations and inefficiency of the Committee of Subsistence, which has not yet rendered an account of its intromissions."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal des Jacobins, 27th Feb. 1793. No. 362.

Remarkable speech of Robespierre there.

Robespierre immediately rose. "As I have ever loved humanity, and never flattered a human being, I will dare to tell the truth. I have ever maintained, often when I stood alone and was the object of persecution for it—that *the people are never wrong*. I ventured to proclaim it at a time when it was not generally recognized: the course of the Revolution has now clearly demonstrated its truth. The people have so often heard the authority of the law invoked by those who wished to maintain it only to oppress them, that they are become suspicious of that language. The people suffer; they have not yet re-

ed the fruit of their labours; they are persecuted  
 the rich, and the rich are what they always were  
 hard and pitiless. The people see the insolence  
 those who have betrayed them; they see fortunes  
 amulating in their hands; they feel their own  
 ery, and thence the disorders. What do the  
 ators do who are at the head of the tumults?  
 ey declaim not against the rich—not against the  
 opolizers—not against the counter revolution-  
 ; but against the Jacobins—against the Moun-  
 —against the true patriots. I maintain, then,  
 people have never been wrong: the pillage has  
 n the work of the aristocracy; the sugar loaves  
 e been received by their valets. Our adversaries  
 e done this: they wish to persuade us that the  
 tem of liberty and equality leads to such disorders.  
 : myself I praise the insurrection: I only lament  
 as directed to an unworthy object. The people  
 ould rise; not to plunder sugar, but to destroy  
 ir oppressors—to exterminate the factions in  
 ver, who, after the 10th August, had agreed to  
 render Paris to the Prussians.”<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jaco-  
bins, 28th  
Feb. 1793,  
No. 363.

The alarm in Paris soon became extreme: all the  
 blic bodies declared their sittings permanent; the  
*générale* every where called the armed sections to  
 air posts, and the people openly talked of the neces-  
 y of a new insurrection to “lop off the gangrened  
 ts of the national representation.” The Giron-  
 ts, who were the first likely to suffer, assembled,  
 ned, at the house of Valazè, one of their number,  
 ere indecision and distraction of opinion paralysed  
 their counsels. The Jacobins were hardly less  
 arrassed than themselves. It was at first pro-  
 ed to march direct with the armed force of the  
 tions upon the National Assembly, and put to

Indecision  
of all par-  
ties in  
Paris.

CHAP. death an hundred of the most obnoxious deputies  
 XI. including the whole members of the Gironde. I

1793. was suggested, however, that this stroke might fail and the Revolutionary Tribunal was not yet sufficiently efficient to effect the great work of the rapid extermination of the counter revolutionists. These doubts prevailed. Though supported by the municipality, the majority of the sections, or National Guard, and the armed multitude, they did not convince the public mind yet ripe for a direct attack on the national representatives, where the Girondists still held the important offices. They resolved therefore, to limit their demands to minor points preparatory to the grand attack which was to overthrow their adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, x.  
 21, 22. Th.  
 iv. 50, 55.

Designs of Dumourier. An event occurred at this time, which consolidated the influence of the Jacobins in the metropolis, and tended powerfully to accelerate the march of the Revolution. This was the unsuccessful attempt of Dumourier to restore the constitutional throne. This celebrated general, who was warmly attached to the principles of the Girondists, had long been dissatisfied with the sanguinary proceedings, and still more sanguinary declarations of the democratical leaders, and saw no safety for France but in the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1791. He left the command of his army, and came to Paris, in order to endeavour to save the life of Louis; and when that project failed, returned to Flanders, and entered into negotiations with Holland and Great Britain. His design was to make an irruption into Holland, overturn the revolutionary authorities in that country; to form a new government in the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and raise an army of eighty thousand men;<sup>2</sup> to offer the alliance of this state to the French

<sup>2</sup> Dum. iii.  
 378, 400.  
 Toul. iii.  
 256, 260.  
 Mign. i.  
 249, 250.  
 Roland, i.  
 217.



government, on condition of their restoring the Constitution of 1791; and, in case of refusal, to march to Paris with his own forces, and those of the Belgians, and overturn the Convention and the rule of the Jacobins.

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

Full of this extraordinary project, Dumourier, at the head of fifteen thousand men, threw himself into Holland. He was at first successful, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Breda and Gertruydenberg; but while prosecuting his career, intelligence was received of the rout of the French army besieging Maestricht, and orders were given for the immediate return of the victorious army to cover the frontiers. So great was the consternation in the Republican troops, that whole battalions disbanded themselves, and some of the fugitives fled as far as Paris, spreading the most exaggerated reports wherever they went. In obedience to his order, Dumourier returned to Flanders, and fought a general action with Prince Cobourg; but the Allies were successful, and the victory of Nerwinde compelled the French to abandon all their conquests in Flanders. These events, the details of which will be given in the following chapter, occasioned an immediate rupture between this general and the Jacobins. Danton was immediately dispatched from Paris to Flanders to watch over and report on his proceedings. Shortly after the battle, Dumourier wrote a letter to the Convention, in which he drew too faithful a picture of their government, accusing them of all the anarchy and disorders which had prevailed, and declaring them responsible for the safety of their more moderate colleagues. This letter was suppressed by the government; but it was circulated in Paris, and produced the greatest sensation.<sup>1</sup> Danton returned to the capital from the army, and openly denounced the "Traitor, Dumourier," at the

<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, x. 230, 238. Toul. iii. 293. Lac. ii. 53, 56. Mig. i. 250, 251. Th. iv. 112, 113.

CHAP. club of the Jacobins : his head was loudly called for  
 XI. as a sacrifice to national justice ; and the agitation  
 1793. occasioned by the public disasters, was incessantly  
 kept alive by the circulation of the most gloomy  
 reports.

Dumou- Impelled by the imminent danger of his own situ-  
 rier's de- ation ; dissatisfied with the measures of the Conven-  
 signs tion, who had both thwarted his political wishes and  
 against the withered his military laurels ; chagrined at the con-  
 Republic. duct of the government to the Belgians, who had  
 capitulated on the faith of his assurances, and had  
 subsequently been cruelly treated by their conquer-  
 ors, Dumourier entered into a correspondence with  
 the allied generals. In the prosecution of this  
 design, he neither acted with the vigour nor the  
 caution requisite to ensure success ; to his officers,  
 he openly spoke of marching to Paris, as he had  
 recently before spoken of marching to Brussels ;  
 while the soldiers were left to the seductions of the  
 Jacobins, who found in them the willing instruments  
 of their ambitious designs. Dumourier, as he him-  
 self admits, had not the qualities requisite for the  
 leader of a party ; but, even if he had possessed the  
 energy of Danton, the firmness of Bouillé, or the  
 ambition of Napoleon, the current of the Revolu-  
 tion was then too strong to be arrested by any single  
 arm. Like La Fayette and Pichegru, he was des-  
 tined to experience the truth of the saying of Tac-  
 itus, " *Bellis civilibus plus militibus quam ducibus*  
*licere.*" His power, great while wielding the force  
 of the democracy, crumbled when applied to coerce  
 its fury ; and the leader of fifty thousand men,  
 speedily found himself deserted and proscribed in  
 the midst of the troops whom he had recently com-  
 manded with despotic authority.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus,  
 Hist. ii. 44.  
 Lac ii. 256  
 and 56.  
 Toul. ii.  
 294, 306.  
 Mig. i. 258.  
 Deux  
 Am's, x.  
 232, 234.

The first intimation which the Convention received

of his designs, was from the general himself. Three determined Jacobins, Proly, Pereira, and Dubuisson, had been sent to headquarters to obtain authentic accounts of his intentions: in a long and animated discussion with them, he openly avowed his views, and threatened the Convention with the vengeance of his army. "No peace," he exclaimed, "can be made for France, if we do not destroy the Convention; as long as I have a sword to wield, I shall strive to overturn its rule, and the sanguinary tribunal which it has recently created. The Republic is a mere chimaera; I was only deceived by it for three days; we must save our country, by re-establishing the throne, and the constitution of 1791. Ever since the battle of Jemappes, I have never ceased to regret the triumphs obtained in so bad a cause. What signifies it whether the King is named Louis, James, or Philip? If the lives of the prisoners in the Temple are endangered, France will still find a sovereign, and I will instantly march to Paris to avenge their death." To the imprudence of this premature declaration, Dumourier, with that mixture of warmth and facility which distinguished his character, added the still greater fault of letting the commissioners, thus possessed of his intentions, depart for Paris, where they lost no time in informing the Convention of the danger which threatened them.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

His extreme imprudence.

<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, x. 223, 224. Dum. Mém. iv. 125, 130. Mig. i. 256. Lac. ii. 57.

Instant measures were taken to counteract the designs of so formidable an opponent. Proceeding with the decision and rapidity which, in civil dissensions, is indispensable to success, they summoned him to appear at their bar, and, on his failure to obey, dispatched four commissioners, with instructions to bring him before them, or arrest him in the middle of his army. Dumourier received these representatives in the midst of his staff; they read

Dumourier arrests the commissioners of the Convention. April 2, 1793.

CHAP. to him the decree of the Assembly, commanding  
 XI. his instant attendance at their bar; he refused to

1793. comply, alleging, as an excuse, the important duties with which he was intrusted, and promising to render an account of his proceedings at some future time. The representatives urged, as a reason for his submission, the example of the Roman generals. "We deceive ourselves," replied he, "in alleging as an apology for our crimes the virtues of the ancients. The Romans did not murder Tarquin; they established a republic, governed by wise laws; they had neither a Jacobin club nor a Revolutionary tribunal. We live in the days of anarchy; tigers demand my head; I will not give it them." "Citizen-General," said Carnier, the leading representative, "will you obey the decree of the Convention, and repair to Paris?"—"Not at present," replied Dumourier.—  
 "I declare you then suspended from your functions, and order the soldiers to arrest your person."—  
 "This is too much," exclaimed the general; and calling in his hussars, he arrested the representatives of the Convention, and delivered them as hostages to the Austrian general.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dum.  
 Mém. iv.  
 156, 159.  
 Deux Amis,  
 x. 225, 226.  
 Lac. ii. 57.  
 Mig. i. 257,  
 258. Toul.  
 iii. 311,  
 312. Th.  
 118, 119.

He re-  
 solves to  
 re-estab-  
 lish the  
 monarchy.  
 His failure  
 and flight.

The die being now cast, Dumourier prepared to follow up his design of establishing a constitutional monarchy. Public opinion, in his army, was strongly divided; the corps attached to his person were ready to go all lengths in his support; those of an opposite tendency regarded him as a traitor; the majority, as in all civil convulsions, were indifferent, and ready to side with the victorious party. But the general wanted the firm hand requisite to guide a revolutionary movement, and the feelings of the most energetic of his soldiers were hostile to his designs. He set out for Condé, with the intention of delivering it to the Austrians, according to agreement, as a pledge

of his sincerity ; but having encountered a body of troops, headed by a young officer destined to future celebrity, *Davoust*, adverse to his designs, he was compelled to take to flight, and only escaped by abandoning his horse, which refused to leap a ditch. With heroic courage he endeavoured, the following day, with an escort of Austrian hussars, to regain his camp ; but the sight of the foreign uniforms roused the patriotic feelings of the French soldiers ; the artillery first abandoned his cause, and, soon after, their example was followed by the whole infantry. Dumourier, with difficulty, regained the Austrian lines, where fifteen hundred followers only joined his standard. The remainder of the army collected in an intrenched camp at Famars, where, shortly after, General Dampierre, by authority of the Convention, assumed the command.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iv.  
162, 170.  
Toul. iii.  
313, 316,  
320. Mig.  
i. 258. Lac.  
ii. 61, 62.  
Th. 120,  
126. Biog.  
Univ. (Da-  
voust.)

The failure of this, as of every other conspiracy, added to the strength of the ruling party in the French capital. Terror, often greatest when the danger is past, prepared the people to take the most desperate measures for the public safety ; the defection of Dumourier to the Austrians, gave the violent revolutionists the immense advantage of representing their adversaries as, in reality, enemies to the cause of France. During the first fervour of the alarm, the Jacobins denounced their old enemies, the Girondists, as the authors of all the public calamities, and actually fixed the 10th March for a general attack upon the leaders of that party in the bosom of the Convention. The Assembly had declared its sittings permanent, on account of the public dangers ; and on the evening of the 9th, it was determined, at the secret committees, club of the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, on the following day, to close the bar-

Contests  
between  
the Giron-  
dists and  
Jacobins.  
March 10.

CHAP. riers, to sound the tocsin, and march in two columns  
XI. with the forces of the faubourgs upon the Conven-

1793. tion. The agitation was unparalleled at that great  
centre of insurrection; night and day they sat de-  
bating in their vast and gloomy hall; but such was  
the vehemence of the members, and the burst of in-  
dignation against Dumourier, that scarce any orator  
could be heard at the tribune, and the debates ex-  
hibit only a series of passionate exclamations and  
vehement interruptions. At the appointed hour,  
the leaders of the insurrection repaired to their  
posts; but the Girondists, informed of their danger,  
abstained from joining the Assembly at the danger-  
ous period; the Sections and National Guard hesi-  
tated to join the insurgents; Bournonville, minister  
of war, marched against the faubourgs at the head  
of a faithful battalion of troops from Brest, and a  
heavy rain cooled the revolutionary ardour of the  
multitude. Pétion, looking at the watery sky, ex-  
claimed—"It will come to nothing; there will be no  
insurrection to-night." The plot failed, and its failure  
postponed, for a few weeks, the commencement of  
the Reign of Terror. By such slender means was it  
possible, at that period, to arrest the disorders of the  
Revolution; and on such casual incidents did the  
most momentous changes depend.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ.  
des Jaco-  
bins, 9th  
and 13th  
March  
1792. Mig.  
i. 251. Lac.  
ii. 62, 65.  
Th. iv. 76.  
Deux Amis,  
x. 23, 24.

The conspirators, astonished at the absence of the  
Girondists from the Convention during the critical  
period, broke out into the loudest invectives against  
them for their defection. "They were constantly at  
their posts," they exclaimed, "when the object was to  
save Louis Capet, but they hid themselves when the  
country was at stake." On the following day, all Paris  
resounded with the failure of the conspiracy; and  
Vergniaud, taking advantage of the general conster-

Abortive  
conspiracy  
of the Ja-  
cobins.  
March 13.

nation, denounced in the Convention the Committee of Insurrection which had protected the massacre, and moved that the papers of the club should be seized, and the members of the committee arrested. "We march," he exclaimed, "from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. The great body of citizens are so blinded by their frequent occurrence, that they confound these seditious disturbances with the grand national movement in favour of freedom, regard the violence of brigands as the efforts of energetic minds, and consider robbery itself as indispensable for public safety. You are free, say they; but unless you think like us, we will denounce you as victims to the vengeance of the people. You are free; but unless you bow before the idol which we worship, we will deliver you up to their violence. You are free; but unless you join with us in persecuting those whose probity or talents we dread, we will abandon you to their fury. Citizens, there is too much reason to dread, *that the Revolution, like Saturn, will successively devour all its progeny, and finally leave only despotism, with all the calamities which it produces.*" These prophetic words produced some impression; but, as usual, the Assembly <sup>1</sup>Moniteur, March 10, did nothing adequate to arrest the evils which they

CHAP.

XI.

1793.

CHAP. in its proceedings, after the massacres of September;  
 XI. but the vehement passions now abroad gave the Ja-

1793. cobins the entire command of the Assembly. This tribunal, as proposed to be re-established, differed in one important particular from the former, that the judges and public officers were to be nominated, not by the Sections of Paris, but the Executive Council, and the juries by the Convention. Thus the court was nothing but an engine of awful power put into the hands of the Executive Council of government, resting on the majority of the Assembly, to exterminate their opponents. It was empowered to take cognizance of every anti-revolutionary enterprise, every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity or indivisibility of the republic, the internal or external security of the state, and of all conspiracies tending to re-establish royalty, or any authority derogatory to freedom, equality, or the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are civil or military functionaries, or simple citizens. The judgments of the court were final, and to be instantly executed, and the whole estates, heritable and moveable, of those condemned to death, were to be confiscated to the public treasury.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Decree, March 9, 1793.

Moniteur, March 10, 1793.

Hist. Parl. xxv. 54, 60.

Agitation, as usual, was resorted to, to ensure the success of this sanguinary project; a repast was provided for the people at the Halle-au-Blé; and the galleries of the Convention were filled with the partisans of the Jacobins, heated with wine, and prepared to applaud every extravagance of their leaders. Lindet read the *projet* of the law for the regulation of the new tribunal. It bore that it should be "composed of nine members appointed by the Convention, liberated from all legal forms, authorized to convict on any evidence, divided into two permanent divisions, and entitled to

Vehement debate on this project in the Assembly. March 16.



prosecute either on the requisition of the Convention, or of their own authority, all those who either by their opinions misled the people, or, by the situations they occupied under the old *régime*, recalled the usurped privileges of despots." When this appalling *projet* was read, the most violent murmurs broke out on the right, which were speedily drowned in the loud applauses of the galleries and the left. "I would rather die," exclaimed Vergniaud, "than consent to the establishment of a tribunal worse than the Venetian Inquisition."—"Take your choice," answered Amar, "between such a measure and an insurrection."—"My inclination for revolutionary power," said Cambon, "is sufficiently known; but if the people may be deceived in their elections, are not we equally likely to be mistaken in the choice we make of the judges? and if so, what insupportable tyrants shall we then have created for ourselves!" The tumult became frightful; the evening approached; the Assembly, worn out with exertion, were yielding to violence: the members of the Plain were beginning to retire, and the Jacobins loudly calling for a decision by open vote, when Féraud exclaimed, "Yes, let us give our votes publicly, in order that we may make known to the world the men who would assassinate innocence under cover of the law." This bold apostrophe recalled the yielding centre to their post; and, contrary to all expectation, it was resolved "that the trials should take place by jury; that the jurors should be chosen from the departments; and that they should be named by the Convention."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxv. 51, 53.  
Moniteur,  
March 11,  
1793. Th.  
iv. 71, 72.

After this unexpected success, the Girondists proposed that the Assembly should adjourn for an hour; but Danton, who was fearful lest the influence of ter-

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

The Revolu-  
tionary  
Tribunal is  
establish-  
ed. March  
10.

ror and agitation should subside even in that short interval, raised his powerful voice. "I summon, said he, in a voice of thunder, "all good citizens to take their places. We must instantly terminate the formation of these laws, destined to strike terror into the internal enemies of the Revolution. They must be arbitrary, because they cannot be precise; because, how terrible soever they may be, they are preferable to those popular executions which now, as in September, would be the consequence of any delay in the execution of justice. After having organized this tribunal, we must organize an energetic executive power, which may be in immediate contact with you and put at your disposal all your resources in men and money. Let us profit by the errors of our predecessors, and do that which the Legislative Assembly has not ventured to do: there is no medium between ordinary forms and a revolutionary tribunal. Let us be terrible, to prevent the people from becoming so; let us organize a tribunal, not which shall do good—that is impossible; but which shall do the least evil that is possible, to the effect that the sword of the law may descend upon all its enemies. To-day, then, let us complete the revolutionary tribunal, to-morrow the executive power and the day after, the departure of our commissioners for the departments. Calumniate me if you will, but let my memory perish, provided the Republic is saved." "I demand the *appel nominal*," cried Vergniaud, "that we may know who are the men who continually make use of the name of liberty to destroy it." But it was all in vain. The Assembly, overwhelmed by terror, passed the decree as proposed by Lindet,<sup>1</sup> invested the new tribunal with the despotic powers which were afterwards exercised

<sup>1</sup> Lac. ii.  
202. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
ii. 209, 210.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxv. 54,  
59.

with such ruinous effect on most of its own members.\*

CHAP.  
XI.

Fouquier Tinville was the public accuser in the Revolutionary Tribunal; and his name soon became as terrible as that of Robespierre to all France. He was born in Picardy, and exhibited a combination of qualities so extraordinary, that, if it had not been established by undoubted testimony, it would have been deemed fabulous. Sombre, cruel, suspicious, the implacable enemy of merit or virtue of any kind, ever ready to aggravate the sufferings of innocence, he appeared insensible to every sentiment of compassion or equity. Justice in his eyes consisted in condemning; an acquittal was the source of profound vexation: he was never happy unless he had secured the conviction of all the accused. He exhibited in the pursuit of this object an extraordinary degree of ardour: he seemed to consider his personal credit as involved in the decision on their guilt: their firmness and calm demeanour in presence of their judges inspired him with transports of rage. But with all this hatred for all that is most esteemed among men,

1793.

Character  
of Fou-  
quier Tin-  
ville.

\* The Decree of the Convention was in these terms: "There shall be established at Paris an Extraordinary Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal. It shall take cognizance of every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity or indivisibility of the Republic, the internal or external security of the state, of all conspiracies tending to the re-establishment of royalty, or hostile to the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are public functionaries, civil or military, or private individuals. Then members of the jury shall be chosen by the Convention; the judges, the public accuser, the two substitutes, shall be named by it: the Tribunal shall decide on the opinion of the majority of the jury; the decision of the Court shall be without appeal, and the effects of the condemned shall be confiscated to the Republic."—The Girondists laboured hard to introduce the clause allowing the members of the Convention to be tried in that court, with a view to the trial of Marat before it: the same clause was afterwards made the means of conducting almost all of themselves to the scaffold.—See *Hist. de la Conv.* ii. 209, 210; and *Moniteur*, March 11, 1793.

VOL. II.

Q

CHAP. he showed himself equally insensible to the attrac-  
 XI. tions of fortune, or the sweetnesses of domestic life.

1793. He required no species of recreation : women, the pleasures of the table, of the theatre, were alike indifferent to him. Sober and sparing in diet, he never indulged in any bacchanalian excess, excepting when with the Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal he celebrated what they termed a *feu de file* : that was, a sitting at which all the accused were condemned : he then gave way to intemperance. His power of undergoing fatigue was unbounded : he was seldom to be seen at the clubs or any public meeting : the Revolutionary Tribunal was the theatre of all his exertions. The sole recreation which he allowed himself was to behold his victims perish on the scaffold : he confessed that that spectacle had great attractions. He might, during the period of his power, have amassed an immense fortune : he remained to the last poor ; and his wife is said to have died of famine. His lodgings were destitute of every comfort : their whole furniture after his death did not sell for twenty pounds. No seduction could influence him : he was literally a bar of iron against all the ordinary desires of men. Nothing roused his mind but the prospect of inflicting death, and then his animation was such that his countenance became radiant and expressive.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de  
la Conv. ii.  
215, 217.

The Jacobins were for a moment disconcerted by the failure of this conspiracy ; but the war in La Vendée, which broke out about this period, and rapidly made the most alarming progress, soon reinvested them with their former ascendancy over the populace. The peculiar circumstances of this district, its simple manners, patriarchal habits, remote situation, and resident proprietors, rendered it the natural centre of the Royalist spirit, which the exe-

War in La  
Vendée  
breaks out.  
March 10.

cution of Louis had roused to the highest degree throughout all France. The nobles and clergy not having emigrated from its provinces, were there in sufficient force to counterbalance the influence of the towns, and raise the standard of revolt. The two most powerful passions of the human mind, religious fervour and popular ambition, were rapidly brought into collision; a war of extermination was the result, and a million of Frenchmen perished in the strife of the factions contending for their dominion. But the details of this war, so glorious in its character, so interesting in its details, so heart-rending in its result, require a separate chapter; all that is necessary here is to notice it, as materially augmenting the general agitation, and adding to the strength which the Jacobin faction derived from its continuance.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl  
xxv. 190,  
191. Lac.  
ii. 63, 64.  
Mig. i. 252,  
253.

Assailed by so many foreign and domestic dangers, the Convention adopted the most energetic measures, and the Jacobins resorted to their usual means to agitate and sway the public mind. The powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal were augmented; instead of proceeding on a decree of the Convention, as the warrant for judging of an accused person, it was empowered to *accuse* and *judge* at the same time. All the Sans Culottes were ordered to be armed with a pike and a fusil, at the expense of the opulent classes; a forced loan of a milliard (L.40,000,000) was exacted from those persons possessed of any property, and revolutionary taxes were levied in every department, according to the pleasure of the revolutionary commissioners. The commune of Paris demanded the imposition of a maximum on the price of provisions, a demand certain of popularity with the lower orders, and the refusal of which in-

Vigorous  
measures  
of the  
Conven-  
tion.  
March 12  
and 15.

CHAP. creased their dissatisfaction with the measures  
 XI. the Convention. At the same time another dec  
 1793. was passed, which imposed upon all proprietors  
 extraordinary war-tax; a third, which organi  
 forty-one commissions, of two members each, to  
 down to the departments, armed with full powers  
 enforce the recruiting, disarm the refractory, se  
 all the horses destined for the purposes of luxury:  
 a word, exert the most despotic government. Th  
 commissioners generally exercised their powers w  
 the utmost rigour; and being armed with irresi  
 ble authority, and supported by the whole rev  
 tionary party, laid the foundations of that iron  
 in which France was enveloped during the Reign  
 Terror.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, x.  
 26, 29. Th.  
 iv. 66.  
 Mig. i. 248,  
 249. Hist.  
 Parl. xxv.  
 153, 155.  
 Lac. ii.  
 65, 66.

But all these measures, energetic and vigor  
 as they were, and materially as they affected  
 future progress of the Revolution, yielded in mom  
 to that which the Jacobins shortly after succee  
 in extorting from the fears and weakness of  
 Assembly. This consisted in two decrees, by  
 first of which, passed on the 21st of March, it  
 enacted, that in every commune of the Republic  
 France, and in every section of a commune wh  
 was divided into sections, there should be forme  
 the same hour, over the whole of France, by  
 election of all the inhabitants, a committee of tw  
 persons, of which committee no noble or ecclesiast  
 or agent or dependent of a noble or ecclesiast  
 could be a member, who were empowered instantl  
 arrest every person within its bounds who was susp  
 ed of being a foreigner or emigrant, or one of the  
 dividuals included in the list of emigrants, and  
 were ordered to be instantly enjoined to leave the  
 ritory of the commune in twenty-four hours, and t

Important  
 decree  
 conferring  
 the power  
 of domici-  
 liary visits.

of the Republic in eight days, under pain of being sentenced to ten years of the galleys in irons. Every such person taken in tumult or insurrection, was declared subject to the punishment of death. As the election of these commissioners in the communes, particularly in the towns, fell into the hands of the extreme Jacobin party, the effect of this decree was to invest that party, in all the 48,000 communes of France, with the right of making domiciliary visits in every house, under pretence of searching for foreigners or emigrants who had not returned within the time specified in former decrees, and throwing them into prison, or, in the event of any resistance or disturbance, sentencing them at once to death. As the proceedings of these committees in arresting, were subject to no review whatever, and the revolutionary tribunals, which were soon every<sup>1</sup> where established in imitation of the one in the capital supported all their proceedings, this decree, in effect, gave the Jacobins the entire command of the lives and liberties of every one in France.<sup>1</sup>

The other decree, which passed on the 25th of the same month, was attended with still more momentous consequences, as it established the famous Committee, for the general government of the kingdom, of GENERAL SAFETY and of PUBLIC SALVATION. Barere opened the subject with a gloomy representation of the state of the Republic, threatened as it was with invasion in Flanders, and insurrection in La Vendée and in Lyons. "I summon you," said he, "in the name of the public salvation, to unite to save yourselves in saving your country. It is in vain, in the present distracted state of the provinces, to talk of convoking the primary assemblies. We must concentrate power, and not divide it: no authority must exist which does not flow from

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Decree,  
March 21,  
1793.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxv. 134,  
137.Decree  
establish-  
ing the  
Committee  
of General  
Safety.

March 24.

CHAP. the representatives of the people." Barbaroux in-  
 XI. vain resisted this proposal: it was cheered near-  
 1793. unanimously. On the day following, it was agreed  
 March 25. on the motion of Isnard, to appoint a committee of  
 general defence and of public salvation. It was to  
 consist of twenty-five members, and to be charged  
 with "the preparation and proposing of all the laws  
 and measures necessary for the exterior and interior  
 defences of the Republic." The executive council  
 was ordered to give every assistance and information  
 to this committee. Its composition, however, show-  
 ed that the contest of the Girondists and Jacobins  
 was still undecided, for the leaders of the two parties  
 were appointed members in nearly equal proportions  
 of the committee.\* At the same time, Gohier was  
 named to succeed Danton in the office of minis-  
 1 Hist. ter of justice, as the transference of Danton to the  
 Parl. xxv. committee of public salvation was likely to absorb  
 139, 141. his whole time and attention.†  
 Moniteur, 27th March  
 1793.

Several measures, almost overlooked during the  
 dreadful crush of events which soon followed, passed  
 the Convention without attracting much notice  
 during this period of anxiety and alarm; but at-  
 tending, in a remarkable manner, to augment the  
 despotic power, now daily and more rapidly centra-  
 lized in the Jacobin leaders at Paris. On the 26th  
 March 26. of March it was decreed that the whole clergy

Laws for  
 disarming  
 the emi-  
 grants,  
 priests, and  
 suspected  
 persons.

\* The original members of this committee were Robespierre, Pétion, Dubois-Crance, Gensonné, Guyton-Morveau, Barbaroux, Ruhl, Vergniaud, Fabre d'Eglantine, Buzot, Delmas, Guadet, Condorcet, Brissot, Camus, Prieur (de la Marne,) Camille-Desmoulins, Barere, Quinette, Danton, Siéyes, La Source, Cambacères, Isnard, Jean Debrez.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxv. 141.

† By a singular coincidence the author has been fortunate enough to acquire the extensive and valuable collection of revolutionary tracts and journals formed by Gohier during the sitting of the Legislative Assembly and Convention, and is now surrounded by them in his interesting labours.



and noblesse, with their servants and retainers, should be disarmed, as being all persons suspected; that the searches might be made during the night; and that, if they again acquired arms, they should be imprisoned. On the 27th, additional powers were conferred on the Revolutionary Tribunal, and all inferior tribunals were directed to send a list of their accused persons to the central court at Paris, to see if they should be selected for trial there; and on the same day a decree was passed, ordering every householder in France, within three days, to affix a list on the outside of his house, of all the persons resident or lodging there; and in all towns containing two thousand inhabitants and upwards, compelling them, in the same time, to send a duplicate of their lists to the committee of communes or sections.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

March 27.

<sup>1</sup> Decrees,  
26th and  
27th March  
1793. Hist.  
Parl. xxv.  
142, 150.

During the period that the contest with Dumourier was going on, Marat in his journal, and the Jacobins in their debates, thundered in the loudest terms against that general and his counter-revolutionary designs. But when his arrest of the commissioners of the Convention, and flight into Austrian Flanders, became known, on the 4th April, in Paris, the agitation rose to the highest pitch. At the municipality the scene was stormy beyond example; and the Assembly, on the motion of Danton, decreed, amidst the most vehement agitation, the immediate formation of a camp of forty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Paris, from which all nobles and ex-nobles were to be rigidly excluded. At the same time a maximum was fixed on the price of bread: the difference of such price, and the cost of production, being to be laid as a tax on the rich. The Jacobins took advantage of the general consternation to propose the establishment

vehement  
agitation  
which succeeded on  
Dumourier's  
flight.

April 5.

CHAP. of a new committee, to be called the Committee  
 XI.

PUBLIC SALVATION. To achieve this great object  
 1793.

they held out the most violent threats against the Convention. "We shall never succeed," said Robespierre the younger at the Jacobin club, "in defeating the designs of our enemies as long as we speak only, and do not act. Roland is not yet arrested: he has even received honours from his section. The Convention has shown itself incapable of governing, we must attack its leaders. Citizens, come not here to offer your arms and your lives—come to demand the blood of the criminals. Let the good citizens unite in their sections; let them rouse public opinion as strongly as possible, and come to the bar of the Convention to demand the arrest of the infidel deputies. It is by such measures alone that you can save the Republic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal des Jacobins, 5th April 1793, No. 389.

Appointment of the Committee of Public Salvation.

Strengthened by these menaces, the Jacobins next day brought forward the proposal for the establishment of a committee, with a right to deliberate in secret, and armed with despotic power. Buzot, on the part of the Girondists, strongly opposed this proposal, but the Plain, or neutrals, joined the Jacobins. "We must," said Marat, "adopt this great measure of public salvation. The torpor of the executive, its negligence in regard to the armies, its evident connivance with the traitorous generals, call for the instant adoption of vigorous measures. Talk not of dictators! A dictator is a single man vested with absolute power: what is now proposed is a committee of nine men, appointed by the Assembly and capable of being dissolved at any moment by it. And who are the men who now declaim against a dictator? The very men who strove to concentrate all power in the hands of Roland. Very possibly even this committee may not prove sufficiently power

ful: it is by violence alone that liberty is to be established; and the time has come *when we must* CHAP. XI.  
*organize the despotism of liberty to overturn the* 1793.  
*despotism of kings."* Loud applause from the galleries and the extreme left followed these words, and amidst the general transport the awful committee was established.\* On the same day—an ominous conjunction!—the new Revolutionary Tribunal commenced its sittings, and immediately condemned Louis Guizot Dumollans, an emigrant of Porton, accused<sup>1</sup> of having been found in arms in France contrary to the law of 23d October, to the punishment of death. He was executed four hours afterwards, protesting he had never heard of the law till his sentence was pronounced.<sup>1</sup> April 6. Bulletin du Tribunal Révolution, No. 1. Hist. Parl. xxv. 299, 304.

Alarmed by the commencement of punishment by this formidable tribunal, and by the constant succession of orators of the sections of Paris, who loudly demanded at their bar an immediate denunciation of Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and all the leaders of the Gironde, with threats of instant insurrection if they were not forthwith arrested and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal,† the Girondists resolved on a last effort to rescue their party from the destruction with which they were menaced.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, however, they were anticipated by the Jacobins, who brought forward a motion for the denunciation of the Duke of The Girondists are denounced by Robespierre. April 8. Hist. Parl. xxv. 320, 337.

\* The persons chosen for this committee, were Barere, Delmas, Bréard, Cambon, Jean Debrez, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Treilhard and Delacroix.—*Hist. Parl.* xxv. 307.

† L'orateur de la Section Bonconseil:—"Depuis assez longtemps la voix publique vous désigne les Vergniauds, les Guadets, les Gensonnés, les Brissots, les Barbaroux, les Louvets, les Buzots, &c. Qu'attendez-vous pour les frapper du décret d'accusation? Vous mettez Dumourier hors la loi, mais vous laissez assis parmi vous ses complices. Vous manque-t-il des preuves? Les calomnies qu'ils ont vomies contre Paris

CHAP. XI. Orleans and the whole Girondists as guilty of high treason, along with Dumourier. This was the commencement of the strife which led to the fall of the latter party.

Robespierre's speech against the Girondists.

"A powerful faction," said Robespierre, "in the Convention combines with the tyrants of Europe to give us a king, with a species of aristocratic constitution. It proposes to bring us back to that shameful compromise by the force of foreign armies, and the effect of internal intrigues. A republic suits only the people, and those few in the higher conditions who have pure and upright minds. External warfare is the system of Pitt, who is the soul of the coalition; it suits all the ambitious; it suits the *burgher aristocracy*, ever trembling for their property and filled with horror at real equality; it pleases the nobles—too happy to find, in a representation based on the aristocracy and in the court of a new king, the distinctions which have slipped from their hands. The aristocratic system is that of La Fayette, and all such persons known under the name of Feuillans or Moderates; it is the system of those who have succeeded in their place. Persons have changed; but the end is the same: the means even are the same, with this difference, that their successors have augmented their resources and increased the number of their partisans. This ambitious faction have never made use of the people, but to serve their own

déposent contre eux. Patriotes de la Montagne, c'est sur vous que se repose la patrie du soin de désigner les traîtres. Il est temps de les dépouiller de l'inviolabilité liberticide: sortez de ce sommeil qui tue la liberté: levez-vous! levez aux tribunaux les hommes que l'opinion publique accuse: déclarez la guerre à tous les modérés, les Feuillans—à tous ces agens de la ci-devant cour des Tuileries. Paraissez à cette tribune, ardens patriotes—appelez la glaive de la loi sur la tête de ces inviolables conspirateurs, et alors la postérité bénira le temps que vous avez existé."—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxv. 311, 312; 8 Avril 1793.

purposes; they have never coalesced with the Jacobins, but to elevate themselves. On the 10th August, they strove to shield the tyrant from the just vengeance of the people; they strove to bring us back to royalty, by giving a preceptor to his son. I need not designate this party; it is to the Brissots, the Guadets, the Vergniauds, the Gensonnés, and the other hypocrites of their factions alone, that the description applies.

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

“Every step of theirs has been marked by a departure from the principles of the Revolution: never have they marched with it, but when constrained by necessity. They appropriated to themselves the whole fruits of the victory of the 10th August, by restoring their minions, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, to office; but, with the same breath, they began to calumniate the municipality of Paris, which alone had in reality gained the victory. To destroy the vast centre of public intelligence and republican virtue which exists in this immortal city, they incessantly calumniated the citizens of Paris, representing them as a mere band of sanguinary assassins, of bloodthirsty vultures. Thence their eternal declamations against the revolutionary justice which punished the Montmorins, the Lessarts, and their brother conspirators, at the moment when the people and the *fédérés* were rising in a mass to repel the Prussians, whom their weak and treacherous administration had brought almost to the gates of the capital. Louis would have been brought to justice the very day the Convention met, if it had not been for their exertions. During four months they protracted the proceedings against the tyrant. Who can reflect without shuddering on the arts, the shuffling, the chicane to which they had recourse

CHAP. to avert the uplifted sword of national vengeance;  
XI. or on the perfidious audacity with which they have  
1793. sheltered the emigrants, and favoured their return  
to light the flames of that civil war which even now  
burns so fiercely in La Vendée and the western  
provinces?

“This just punishment of the tyrants—the single and glorious triumph of the Republic—has postponed only for a moment their unwearied activity against the sovereignty of the people. Won by their arts, the very generals of the Republic have betrayed us. Where are now La Fayette and Dumourier? How often have they been denounced as traitors in the patriotic clubs?—how often has been predicted the disasters which they would bring upon the arms of the Republic? They alone, leagued with the court, dragged us into the war; the Jacobins uniformly opposed it. Who does not now see their object in so doing? what other was it but to bring the foreigners into our bosom, to light a civil war on our hearths, to deliver over our allies to their vengeance? But for the revolt of 10th August, all their objects would have been gained, and the counter-Revolution, aided by foreign bayonets and domestic treachery, would now have been triumphant.

“Dumourier, their creature, was impelled by the vigour of the Republic to a brilliant success; and, after the battle of Jemappes, if he had pushed on at once into Holland, and raised the standard of Republicanism in that country, England was ruined and Europe revolutionized. Instead of this he halted in the midst of victory; and why? Because he was restrained by the Executive Council. He did, by their orders, every thing in his power to prevent the execution of the decrees of 19th November

and 15th December, which could alone consolidate the external conquests of the Republic. Would you ally yourselves with anarchy and murder? was the constant exclamation of the Guadets and the Gensonnés; and thus it was that they damped the ardour of the Allies, who were joining us in Flanders, and arrested our victorious legions till the enemy had again collected sufficient forces to threaten our frontiers. All the measures of Dumourier in the Low Countries were calculated to favour the counter-Revolution, until at length, gorged with the wealth which he had acquired in Belgium, and rampant with his support in the foreign alliances, he openly avowed his intention to restore royalty, and hoisted the standard of treason in the Republican camp. And who accompanied him in his flight to the stranger? Was it not young Egalité, the son of D'Orleans? During all this time the committee of general safety, with Vergniaud at their head, have constantly retarded every measure calculated to promote the general safety, to give Dumourier time to complete his detestable projects. I<sup>1</sup> Hist Parl. demand that all the individuals of the family of <sup>xxxv. 337,</sup> Orleans should be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, <sup>361.</sup> as well as Sillery and his wife,\* Vergniaud, Guadet, <sup>Moniteur,</sup> and his accomplices."<sup>1</sup> <sup>April 9,</sup> 1793.

Vergniaud immediately rose to reply; but he could not be heard for some time for the loud applause from the Mountain and the galleries at the conclusion of Robespierre's address. "It is," said he, "with a heart penetrated with grief, that I rise to reply to accusations, the absurdity of which is only equalled by their malignity, at a time when the dangers of the country require all our united efforts."

\* Madame Genlis.

CHAP. I will show who are the real accomplices of Dun

XI.

1793.

rier. If we strove to moderate the movement on 10th August, which, ill-directed, might have led to a regency, or a new sovereign, were we enemies of liberty? Did not we propose a republic in lieu of that royalty under which France had groaned for many centuries? Did we not suspend the King amidst the clang of the tocsin on the 10th August? Robespierre, doubtless, knew nothing of these things for he prudently hid himself in a cellar during the whole conflict. When the father was suspended from all authority, was there any thing hostile to liberty in appointing a preceptor for his son, to prevent him from the courtly ideas he might otherwise have imbibed? The thing is too ridiculous to require a serious answer.

“We have praised La Fayette, and this is brought as a charge against us. Is there any man in the Convention who has not done the same? We entered into the war with Austria; was not this measure unanimously supported by the Legislative Assembly? Was not war *de facto* declared by the accumulation of Austrian and Prussian forces on our frontier; and did we not judge rightly in taking the initiative to remove the war from our own frontiers? But we are charged with having calumniated the council-general of the municipality of Paris. We have done so. During the administration enormous dilapidations were committed on the national domains, on the moveable property of emigrants, on the houses of royalists, on the effects deposited in the municipality; and, to put an end to these dilapidations, I proposed a decree that they should give an account of the property they had acquired? Was that calumniating the municipality?



Was it not rather furnishing them with an opportunity of establishing their innocence? Robespierre accuses us of calumniating Paris. So far from it, I have constantly maintained that the massacres which have disgraced the Revolution, were the work of a small band of assassins who had flocked there from all parts of the Republic; and it was to exculpate Paris that I wished to surrender the real assassins to the sword of the law. The real calumniators of Paris are those who, by striving to secure impunity to the brigands, confess that they belong to themselves. Which calumniates the people—the man who declares them innocent of the crimes of stranger assassins, or the man who obstinately persists in imputing, to the entire people, the odium of these scenes of blood?

CHAP.  
XL  
1793.

“ We are accused of having wished to leave Paris when the Prussians were in Champagne. This comes with singular propriety from Robespierre, who at that period wished to fly to Marseilles. But the accusation is an infamous calumny. If driven from Paris, we constantly maintained that the Revolution was lost; it was then we were determined to live or die. We have become moderate Feuillans! We were not so on the 10th August, when you, Robespierre, were in your cellar. We have heard much lately of the rights of insurrection, and I lament it. I understand insurrection where it has an object, when tyranny is there; but when the statue of liberty is on the throne, insurrection can be provoked only by the friends of royalty. Yes! it is the friends of royalty, or of tyranny under some other name, who would now provoke an insurrection. You are seeking to consummate the Revolution by terror: I would complete it by love. But I have yet to learn that, like

CHAP. the priests and barbarous ministers of the Inquisi-  
 XI. tion, who speak of the God of pity at the stake, we  
 1793. should speak of liberty in the midst of poniards and  
 executioners. You will find the real accomplices of  
 'Hist. Parl. Dumourier in the conspirators against the Conven-  
 xxv. 361, tion on the 10th March, and in those who have since  
 364. rendered nugatory your decrees for their punish-  
 Moniteur, March 11, ment." <sup>1</sup>  
 1793.

The Girondists had still the majority in the Con-  
 vention; and this accusation of Robespierre was  
 quashed. But the Jacobins were not discouraged;  
 and, relying on the support of the armed sections of  
 Paris, they published an address, on the instiga-  
 tion of Marat, and signed by him, from the Jacobins  
 of Paris to the affiliated societies in the depart-  
 ments, in which they called on them to arm, and  
 rise in insurrection against the Convention.\* This  
 address was read by Guadet in the Assembly  
 and it excited such consternation, that the cry  
 arose on all sides, "A l'Abbaye! A l'Abbaye!"  
 and he was, by acclamation from three-fourths of  
 the Legislature, ordered to be sent to the Revolution-  
 ary Tribunal. Danton and the Jacobins vehemently  
 resisted this; but it was carried, after a furious

Marat is  
 sent to the  
 Revolu-  
 tionary  
 Tribunal.  
 March 13.

\* "Amis, nous sommes trahis! Aux armes! Aux armes! Voilà l'heure terrible où les défenseurs de la patrie doivent vaincre ou s'en sevelir sous les décombres de la République. Français! jamais votre liberté ne fut en plus grand péril: nos ennemis ont en fin mis le sceau à leurs noires perfidies: et pour les consommer, Dumourier, leur complice, marche sur Paris. Frères et amis! vos plus grands ennemis sont au milieu de vous: ils dirigent vos opérations, vos vengeances ils conduisent vos moyens de défense. Oui! c'est dans le sénat que de parricides mains déchirent vos entrailles! Oui! le contre-révolution est dans la Convention Nationale. C'est là, c'est au centre de votre sûreté et de vos espérances, que de criminels déligues tiennent les fils de la trame qu'ils ont ourdi avec la horde des despots qui viennent nous égorger. C'est là qu'une cabale dirigée par la cour d'Angleterre et autres. Mais déjà l'indignation enflamme votre courageux cœur. Allons, Republicains—armons-nous!"—MARAT, *Journal des Jacobins* 11 Avril 1793, No. 174.

altercation, by a large majority. This was the first instance of the inviolability of the Convention being broken through; and, as such, it afforded an unfortunate precedent, which the sanguinary party were not slow in following. Yet the accusation of Marat was in reality no violation of the privileges of the Assembly. He was sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, not for what he said or did in the Convention, but for a circular addressed to the departments as president of the Jacobin Club; and it was never supposed that the members of the Assembly were privileged to commit treason without its walls.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxv. 429,  
430. Journ.  
des Jacobins,  
April 11, 1793,  
No. 184.  
Toul. iv.  
339. Th.  
iv. 150.

The Jacobins lost no time in adopting measures to counteract this vigorous step. The clubs, the multitude, and the centre of insurrection, the municipality, were put in motion. The whole force of popular agitation was called forth to save, as they expressed it, "that austere, profound philosopher, formed by meditation and misfortune, gifted with such profound sagacity, and so great a knowledge of the human heart, who alone penetrated the designs of traitors on their triumphal cars, at the moment when the stupid vulgar were still loading them with applause." Pâché, the mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, to demand, in the name of five and thirty sections, and of the commune, the expulsion of the leaders of the Gironde. "The Parisians," said they, "first commenced the Revolution by overturning the Bastille, which was ready to thunder over their heads: they have come to-day to destroy a new tyranny because they are the first witnesses of it. They are the first to raise, in the heart of France, the cry of indignation. We come not to accuse the majority of the Convention, which has shown its virtue by condemning the tyrant: we

Vehement  
agitation  
to counter-  
act it.  
April 15.

CHAP. come to specify the perfidious men, his allies in the  
 XI.

1793. Convention, who have never ceased striving to save him, and are now endeavouring to sell us to England, and bring us back to slavery. We have not destroyed hereditary tyranny only to make way for that which is elective: already the departments are revoking your powers: hear now their demand. We call upon you to send this address of the majority of the Sections of Paris to the departments; and that, as soon as they have intimated their adherence, the after-mentioned deputies be expelled from the Assembly.\* The young and generous Boyer Fonfrede demanded to be included in the list of the proscribed; an act of devotion which subsequently cost him his life. All the members of the right and centre rose, and insisted upon being joined with their colleagues in the accusation. The petition

was rejected, but the designs of its authors were gained; it accustomed the people to the spectacle of the Convention being besieged by popular clamour, and impaired the majesty of the legislature, by exhibiting the impunity with which its members might be assailed.<sup>1</sup>

Marat was accompanied to the Revolutionary Tribunal by the whole leaders of the Jacobin party. His trial from the first was a mere mockery, and certain to terminate in a triumph to the Jacobins; for how could a tribunal instituted to try crimes against the sovereignty of the people, find one guilty who had been loudest in asserting it? He entered the court with the air of a conqueror. His first words were—"Citizens! it is not a guilty person who appears before you; it is the apostle and

\* Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Lalle, Birotteau, Ponte-Coulard, Pétion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Le Hardy, Louvet, Gorsas, Fauchet, Lanthenas, Lasource, Valady, Chambon.—*Hist. Parl.* xxvi. 7.

He is acquitted.

martyr of liberty, against whom a handful of in-  
 triguers and factious men have obtained a decree of  
 accusation." He was acquitted, and brought back  
 in triumph to the Assembly. An immense multi-  
 tude came with him to the gates: the leaders of  
 the mob entered, and exclaimed—"We bring you  
 back the brave Marat, the tried friend of the peo-  
 ple: they will never cease to espouse his cause!"  
 A sapper broke off from the multitude, and exclaim-  
 ed—"Marat was ever the friend of the people: had  
 his head fallen, the head of the sapper would have  
 fallen with it!" At these words he brandished his  
 axe in the air, amidst shouts of applause from the  
 Mountain and the galleries. The mob insisted up-  
 on defiling in triumph through the hall: before the  
 president could consult the Assembly on the sub-  
 ject, the unruly body rushed in, bearing down all  
 opposition, and climbing over all the barriers, seated  
 themselves in the vacant places of the deputies, who  
 retired in disgust from such a scene of violence.  
 The Convention beheld in silence the defeat of its  
 measures; the Jacobins redoubled their efforts to  
 improve the victory they had gained. Its approaches  
 were incessantly besieged by an unruly mob, who  
 clamoured for vengeance against the proscribed de-  
 puties: the galleries were filled by partisans of the  
 Jacobins, who stifled the arguments of their oppo-  
 nents, and loudly applauded the most violent pro-  
 posals: the clubs, at night, resounded with demands  
 of vengeance against the traitor faction.<sup>1</sup>

Although, however, the most execrable character  
 of the Revolution, one who had never ceased for  
 years to urge the people to deeds of atrocity and  
 blood, was thus acquitted by the Revolutionary Tri-  
 bunal; yet it was by no means equally indulgent to  
 accused persons of another stamp, and already had

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. 260.  
Lac. ii. 66.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxvi. 129,  
130. Mig.  
i. 260. Th.  
iv. 151,  
152. Bull.  
de Trib.  
Rév. April  
15, 1793.

Numerous  
condemna-  
tions of the  
Revolutionary  
Tribunal.

CHAP. evinced that insatiate thirst for blood which subse-  
 XI. quently rendered its proceedings so terrible. As

1793. fast as persons accused of Royalist or Moderate sentiments were brought before them, they convicted them without either distinction or mercy. Besides several persons of inferior note, who were condemned and executed in the first three weeks of April, Louis Philippe Blanchelaude, formerly marshal of the camp, was convicted of attempts tending to disturb the state, and suffered death: Jeanne Clere was convicted of having attempted to re-establish royalty, and underwent the same penalty: Anne Hyacinthe de Vagous, colonel of dragoons, was sentenced and executed the next day on the same charge: Gabriel Duguigny, a returned emigrant, suffered with uncommon firmness on the 21st; and on the April 27. 27th François Boucher, a dentist, and Charles Min-  
 got, a hackney coachman, were condemned and executed for having used expressions tending to royalty. They died exclaiming "Vive Louis XVII!" Already it had become evident that this terrible tribunal, instead of dispensing justice against all the enemies of the state with an equal hand, had become, under the influence of the vehement popular excitement and intimidation with which it was surrounded, nothing but a terrible engine in the hands of the Jacobin faction, for securing impunity for the worst crimes for themselves, and destroying on the most trifling grounds all their opponents.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du Tribunal Rév. pp. 39, 84.

The execution of persons accused of Moderate or Royalist opinions, however, would neither supply the markets, lower prices, nor fill the treasury; and the pressure of these exigencies, amidst their fierce internal contests, occupied no small portion of the time of the Convention. All their efforts to attain these objects, however, were nugatory: for the vast

Increasing difficulties of finding subsistence for the people, and demands for a maximum.

and increasing expenditure of the Republic could only, amidst the total failure of the taxes, be supplied by the issue of assignats; and this, of course, by rendering paper money redundant, lowered its value in exchange with other commodities, and occasioned a constant and even frightful rise of prices. The people did not understand this, and conceived, on the contrary, that the prices of all articles should fall, now that the reign of liberty and equality was established. The Jacobins incessantly told them it was all owing to the monopolizers, who, in league with the Royalists, Girondists, and Moderates, had entered into an infernal conspiracy to starve the people. The municipality of Paris, acting on this impulse, repeatedly and formally demanded from the Convention the fixing of a maximum on all articles of provision, accompanied with the denunciation of the penalty of death against all who should ask a higher sum; and proposed that the dealers should be indemnified for their losses by a forced tax on the rich. At length the clamour became so violent, that the Assembly, on 2d May, passed a decree, fixing for a limited time a maximum on the price of grain, and imposing a forced loan of 1,000,000,000 francs (L.40,000,000) on the rich, to be levied by taxing the whole of every proprietor's income which exceeded 2000 francs yearly.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. des Jacobins, April 22d and 27th, 1793. Séances de la Commune, April 30. Hist. Parl. xxvi. 228, 227, 340. Deux Amis, x. 282, 283.

It was not surprising that prices rose in this alarming manner; for the issue of assignats from the public treasury had now become unprecedented in the history of the world. The Convention, upon the report of the minister of finance, decreed, on the 7th May, the immediate issue of 1,200,000,000 francs in paper, (L.48,000,000,) *in addition* to 3,100,000,000 francs (L.124,000,000) already in

Enormous issue of fresh assignats. May 7.

CHAP. circulation ! It was not surprising that so prodigious an issue of paper, in a country not at that

XI.  
1793. period containing above 25,000,000 souls, and with scarce any commerce, external or internal, amidst the existing convulsions, should have led to an universal rise of prices, to such an extent as at once to destroy the fortunes of the rich, and multiply tenfold the sufferings of the poor. The confusion of prices and depreciation of the assignats, under the influence of this enormous addition to the circulating medium of the country, soon became such, that debts were discharged in assignats bearing a forced circulation, for a third of the sum for which they had been contracted, and the price of provisions was tripled. Nor is this report of the finance minister less important as exhibiting, on the one hand, the enormous defalcation of the ordinary revenue, which was estimated at 1,000,000,000 francs, (L.40,000,000,) and, on the other, the stupendous amount of the confiscated property belonging to the church and the emigrants, which, after deducting the whole debts with which they were charged, was valued at 6,700,000,000 francs, or L.268,000,000 sterling.<sup>1</sup>\*

Rapport  
de Jôhannot, Ministre de  
Finances,  
May 7,  
1793. Hist.  
Parl. xxvi.  
377, 378.  
Moniteur,  
May 7,  
1793.

\* "The statement of the resources of the Republic was stated in this Report to be—

	Francs.	
1. Arrears of taxes and contributions,	1,000,000,000	or L.40,000,000
2. Due on national domains sold,	2,000,000,000	... 80,000,000
3. Woods and forests,	1,200,000,000	... 48,000,000
4. Effects on the civil list,	300,000,000	... 12,000,000
5. Engaged domains,	100,000,000	... 4,000,000
6. Feudal right,	50,000,000	... 2,000,000
7. Salt mines,	50,000,000	... 2,000,000
8. Unsold national domains of emigrants, deducting debts,	3,000,000,000	... 120,000,000
	7,700,000,000	L.308,000,000

of which L.260,000,000, or 67,000,000,000 francs, arose from the confiscated estates."—See *Rapports de JOHANNOT sur les Finances de la Republic*, 7th May 1793; *Hist. Parl.* xxvi. 378.



The incessant declamations of the Jacobins at their central club, in the forty-eight sections of Paris, at the club of the Cordeliers, and in the hall of the municipality, aided by the incendiary press of Marat, Freron, Hebert, and the other revolutionary journals, at length, coupled with these substantial grievances, worked the people up into such a state of fury, that they became ready for a general insurrection against the authority of the Convention. As a last resource, Guadet, one of the most energetic and intrepid leaders of the Gironde, proposed the convocation of the supplementary members of the Assembly\* at Bourges, and the dissolution of the existing municipality of Paris. "Citizens," said he, "while good men lament in silence the misfortunes of the country, the conspirators are in motion to destroy it. Like Cæsar, they exclaim—'Let others speak, we act!' To meet them, we must act also. The evil lies in the impunity of the conspirators of March 10; in the prevailing anarchy; in the misrule of the authorities of Paris, who thirst only for power and gold. There is yet time to save the country, and our own tarnished honour. I propose instantly to annul the authorities of Paris; to replace the municipality by the presidents of the sections; to unite the supplementary members of the Assembly at Bourges; and to announce this resolution to the departments by extraordinary couriers." These decisive measures, if adopted by the Assembly, would have destroyed the power of the municipality and the designs of the conspirators; but they would have at once occasioned a civil war, and, by dividing the centre of action, augmented the danger of foreign

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

Proposal  
of Guadet  
for a separation of  
the Assembly  
repelled, and  
Commission of  
Twelve  
appointed.  
May 10.

\* Members elected to supply any vacancies which might occur during the sitting of the Assembly.

CHAP. subjugation. The majority were influenced by these  
XI. considerations ; the separation of the Assembly into

1793. two divisions, one at Paris, one at Bourges, seemed  
the immediate forerunner of conflicting governments.  
Barere supported these opinions. " It is by union  
and firmness," he said, " that you must dissipate the  
storms which assail you; division will accelerate your  
ruin. Do you imagine that, if the conspirators dis-  
solve the Convention in the centre of its power, they  
will have any difficulty in disposing of its remnant  
assembled at Bourges? I propose that we should  
nominate a commission of twelve persons, to watch  
over the designs of the commune, to examine into  
the recent disorders, and arrest the persons of their

May 15. authors ; but never, by acceding to the measures of  
<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxviii. 129, Guadet, declare ourselves unequal to combat its in-  
132. Toul. fluence." This proposal was adopted by the Con-  
iii. 261. vention, ever ready to temporize rather than adop-  
Mig. i. 260, tions, a decisive course, and the opportunity of destroying  
iv. 198. the municipality was lost for ever.<sup>1</sup>  
Deux Amis, x. 284, 285.

The Commission of Twelve, however, commenced  
General in- their proceedings with vigorous measures. A conspi-  
surrection racy against the majority of the Convention had for  
against the some time been openly organized in Paris ; the club  
Girondists of the Cordeliers was the centre of the movement,  
and Con- and an insurrectionary committee sat night and day.  
vention, The public fervour soon demanded more than the  
May 21. mere proscription of the thirty deputies ; three hun-  
dred were required. Varlet had openly proposed a  
plan for the insurrection, which was discussed amidst  
furious cries at the Cordeliers, and the execution of  
the design fixed for the 22d May. It was agreed that  
the armed multitude should proceed to the hall of the  
Convention, with the Rights of Man veiled with  
crape, to seize and expel all the members who had be-

longed to the Constituent or Legislative Assemblies, turn out the ministry, and destroy all who bore the name of Bourbon. The Commission speedily obtained evidence of this conspiracy, and arrested one of its leaders, Hebert, the author of an obscene and revolting revolutionary journal, entitled the *Père Duchesne*, which had acquired immense circulation among the followers of the municipality. That turbulent body instantly put itself in a state of insurrection, declared its sittings permanent, and invited the people to raise the standard of revolt. Some of the most violent sections followed their example; the few who held out for the Assembly were besieged by clamorous bands of armed men. The club of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, of the Revolutionary Sections, sat day and night; the agitation of Paris rose to the highest pitch.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, x.  
282, 290.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxvii. 203.  
Lac. ii. 67,  
68. Mig. i.  
261, 262.  
Th. iv.  
208, 211.  
May 25.

The Commission of Twelve, in this extremity, brought forward a measure, eminently calculated to rescue the Convention from the dreadful thralldom to the armed force of Paris, to which they had hitherto been subjected. Vigee, in its name, said —“ From the very first steps of our career, we have discovered the traces of a horrible conspiracy against the Republic, against the national representation, against the lives of many of its members, and of other citizens. Every step we have taken has brought to light new proofs: yet a few days and the Republic is lost; you yourselves are no more. (*Loud murmurs on the left.*) I declare solemnly, on the responsibility of the whole Commission, that if France is not soon convinced of the existence of a conspiracy to murder many of yourselves, and to establish on the ruins of the Republic the most horrid and degrading despotism; if we do

Commission of  
Twelve  
propose an  
armed  
guard for  
the Con-  
vention.  
May 25.

CHAP. not demonstrate to all the world the existence of  
 XI. this conspiracy, we are ready to lay our heads on

1793. the scaffold." He then proposed, as a preliminary measure, a decree ordering every citizen of Paris to be ready to join their respective sections at a moment's notice, and in the mean time send two men from each company, to form a permanent guard for the Convention, and that the assemblies of the sections should close their sittings every night at latest at ten o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
 xxvii. 185,  
 186. Moni-  
 teur, May  
 26, 1793.

This was going to work in the right spirit; for it proposed to establish an armed force, to counter-balance that of which the Jacobins and municipality had the disposal. They stoutly denied, therefore, the existence of any conspiracy. "We are called upon," said Marat, "to discuss measures directed against a supposed conspiracy. I protest against discussing a motion founded on a fable in the air. I know that you never can cure fear; it is on that account that you never can cure statesmen. But I declare I know of no other conspiracy in France except that of the Girondists." Danton strongly supported the same side. "What is the use," said he, "of additional laws to protect the national representation? The existing laws are amply sufficient for that purpose; all that is wanted is to direct them to the punishment of the really guilty. If guilty men are seized, they will find no defenders: the demand for an armed force to protect its sittings, betrays fears unworthy of the National Assembly. Can there be a more decisive proof of the efficiency of the existing laws than the fact, that the National Convention is untouched; and that <sup>2</sup> one has perished, (Lepelletier,) he at least was not one of those who betrayed any apprehension?"<sup>2</sup> The

Answer of  
 Marat and  
 the Jacobins.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Parl.  
 xxvii. 186,  
 201.

Convention, however, now seriously alarmed, passed a decree in terms of the proposal, and at the same time, another for improving the composition of the juries for the Revolutionary Tribunal, by taking them from sixteen departments chosen by lot.

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

These measures, if carried into effect, would have struck both at the physical force and judicial tyranny of the Jacobins; and therefore they resolved instantly to commence their insurrections. On the next day, being the 25th May, a furious multitude assembled round the hall of the Convention, and a deputation appeared at the bar, demanding in the most threatening terms the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, and the immediate liberation of Hebert, the imprisoned member of the magistracy: some even went the length of insisting that the Commission should immediately be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. "We come," said they, "to denounce a crime committed by the Council of Twelve on the person of Hebert: he is in the prison of the Abbaye. The council-general of the municipality will defend him to the death. These arbitrary arrests are civic crowns for good men." Isnard, the president of the Assembly, a courageous and eloquent Girondist, replied—"Listen to my words: if ever the Convention is exposed to danger; if another of those insurrections, which have recurred so frequently since the 10th March, breaks out, and the Convention is outraged by an armed faction, France will rise as one man to avenge our cause, Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will enquire on which bank of the Seine Paris stood." This indignant reply produced, at the moment, a great impression; but crowds of subsequent petitioners, whom Danton strongly supported from the benches of the Mountain, quickly

Menacing  
deputa-  
tions which  
threaten  
the Assem-  
bly.  
May 25.

CHAP. appeared, and restored confidence to the conspi-  
 XI. rators. Upon the continued refusal of Isnard to

1793. order the liberation of Hebert, crowds from the Jacobin benches rose to drag him from his seat; the Girondists assembled to defend him. In the midst of the tumult, Danton, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed—"So much impudence is beyond endurance: we will resist you: let there be no longer any truce between the Mountain and the base men who wish to save the tyrant. If there had

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl. been no ardent men there would have been no Re-  
 xxvii. 221. volution. The small number of conspirators will  
 Moniteur, May 26, soon be unmasked; the French people will save  
 1793. Mig. themselves; the mask has fallen from the faces of  
 i. 262. Lac. those who have so often sworn to defend it, but who  
 ii. 69. Th. now strive only to save the aristocrats. France will  
 iv. 213. rise and prostrate its enemies."<sup>1</sup>  
 Deux Amis, x. 289, 292.

Desperate  
 contest in  
 the Assem-  
 bly, and  
 liberation  
 of Hebert.  
 May 27.

The deputies from the municipality retired on this occasion, without having obtained what they desired but they were resolved instantly to proceed to insurrection. All the remainder of the 25th, and the whole of the 26th, was spent in agitation, and exciting the people by the most inflammatory harangues. Such was the success of their efforts, that, by the morning of the 27th, eight and twenty sections were assembled to petition for the liberation of Hebert. The Commission of Twelve could only rely on the support of the armed force of three sections; and they hastened, on the first summons, to the support of the Convention, and ranged themselves, with their arms and artillery, round the hall. But an immense multitude crowded round their ranks, cries of "Death to the Girondists!" resounded on all sides, and the hearts even of the most resolute began to quail under the fury and menacing conduct of the people. The

Girondists with difficulty maintained their ground against the Jacobins within the Assembly and the furious multitude who besieged its walls, when Garat, the minister of the interior, entered, and deprived them of their last resource, the necessity of unbending firmness. When called upon to report upon the state of Paris, he declared—"That he saw no appearance of a conspiracy; that he had met with nothing but respect from the crowd which surrounded the Assembly; and that the only perfidious design which he believed existed, was to divide, by the dread of chimerical dangers, two parties, equally desirous of promoting the public welfare." In making this report, Garat had been deceived by Paché, mayor of Paris, a furious and hypocritical Jacobin, of the most dangerous character. France had reason then to lament the retirement of the sagacious Roland from his important office. Struck dumb by this extraordinary and unexpected report, which appeared accountable only on the defection of the minister of the interior, the Girondists, for the most part, withdrew from the Assembly, and the courageous Isnard was replaced in the president's chair by Herault de Sechelles. Yielding to the clamour which besieged the Legislature, he declared "the force of reason and of the people are the same thing; you demand a magistrate in detention, the representatives of the people restore him to you." The motion was then put, that the Commission of Twelve should be abolished, and Hebert set at liberty; it was carried at midnight, amidst shouts of triumph from the mob, who constituted the majority, by climbing over the rails, and voting on the benches of the Mountain with the Jacobins.<sup>1</sup>

Ashamed of the consequences of their untimely

CHAP.

XI.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Deux

Amis, x.

294, : 95.

Hist. Parl.

xxvii. 267,

276. Lac.

ii. 69. Mig.

i. 263. Th.

iv. 214,

221.

CHAP. XI. desertion of the Convention, the Girondists, on the following day, assembled in strength, and reversed the  
 1793. decree, extorted by force, on the preceding evening.

Which de- Lanjuinais in an especial manner distinguished him-  
 cree is re- self in this debate, which was tumultuous and me-  
 versed nacing to the very last degree. "Above fifty thou-  
 next day. sand citizens," said he, "have already been impri-  
 May 28. soned in the departments, by orders of your com-  
 missioners ; more arbitrary arrests have taken place  
 than under the old *régime* in a whole century ; and  
 you have excited all this tumult, because we have  
 put into custody two or three individuals who openly  
 proclaimed murder and pillage. Your commissaries  
 are proconsuls, who act far from you, and without  
 your knowledge ; and your whole jealousy is centred  
 on the Commission placed under your eyes, and  
 subject to your immediate control. On Sunday last  
 it was proposed at the Jacobins to have a general  
 massacre in Paris ; to-night the same proposal is to  
 be brought forward at the Cordeliers, and the elec-  
 toral club of the Evêché ; the proofs of the conspi-  
 racy are ready ; we offer them to you, and yet you  
 hesitate ; you protect only assassins covered with  
 blood." At these words the Mountain drowned the  
 voice of the speaker, and Legendre threatened to  
 throw him headlong from the Tribune. "Yesterday,"  
 said Danton, "you did an act of justice ; beware of  
 departing from its example. If you persist in asser-  
 ting the powers you have usurped ; if arbitrary  
 imprisonments continue ; if the public magis-  
 trates are not restored to their functions, after having  
 shown that we surpass our enemies in moderation  
 and wisdom, we will show that we surpass them in  
 audacity and revolutionary vigour." But the intrep-  
 id Lanjuinais kept his ground ; and the decree of



the preceding day was reversed by a majority of fifty-one. The Jacobins instantly broke out into the most furious exclamations. "You have violated the 'Rights of Man,'" said Collot d'Herbois; "tremble! we are about to follow your example; they shall not serve as a shield to tyrants. Throw a veil over the statue of Liberty, so impudently placed in the midst of your hall; we will not incur the guilt of any longer restraining the indignation of the people." "It is time," said Danton, "that the people should no longer be restrained to a defensive system. They must attack the leaders of moderation; it is time that we should advance in our career, and secure the destinies of France. Paris has always been the terror of the enemies of liberty. Paris has once conquered; it will conquer again."

CHAP.  
XI.  
1793.

Deux  
Amis, x.  
296, 297.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxvii. 286,  
291. Th.  
iv. 223,  
224.

The agitation, which had begun to subside after the victory of the preceding evening, was renewed with redoubled violence on the reversal of the decree. Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Paché, immediately commenced the organization of a new revolt; the 29th was employed for arranging the forces. "It is not Hebert," said Robespierre at the Jacobins, "who was attacked: it is the cause of freedom: it is the Republic. If the municipality of Paris does not now unite closely with the people,

Renewal  
of the in-  
surrection  
on May  
31st.

CHAP. command of the armed force ; and the Sans Culottes  
 XI. were promised forty sous a-day, by the municipality,

1793. while under arms. These arrangements being made, the tocsin sounded, the *générale* beat at daybreak on the morning of the 31st, and the forces of the Faubourgs marched to the Tuileries, where the Convention was assembled. On this occasion, the first symptom appeared of a division between Danton and Robespierre and the more furious Jacobins: the former was desirous of procuring the abolition of the Commission of Twelve, but not of an outrage on the legislature ; the latter wished to overturn the Convention by the force of the municipality. But he was already passed in the career of revolution by more desperate insurrectionists : a general revolt had been resolved on by the central committee of insurrection ; a moral insurrection, as they termed it, unaccompanied by pillage or violence, but with such an appalling display of physical force as should render resistance impossible. Forty-eight sections met, and publicly announced their determination to raise the standard of revolt ; and by daybreak on the 31st all Paris was in arms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv. 225, 236, 237. Mig. i. 265. Lac. ii. 70, 71. Journ. des Jacobins, May 29, 1793, No. 423. Moniteur.

The National Guard, and the insurgent forces, were at first timid, and uncertain whose orders to obey, and for what object they were called out. The terrible cannoniers, the janizaries of the Revolution, took the lead. The cry " Vive la Montagne ! Périssent les Girondins ! " broke from their ranks, and revealed the secret of the day ; they fixed the wavering by the assumption of the lead. It was soon discovered that the object was to present a petition, supported by an armed force, to the Assembly, demanding the proscription of the twenty-two leaders of the Gironde, the suppression of the Commission of

Vast forces organized in the Faubourgs.

Twelve, and the imposition of a fresh maximum on the price of bread. In the Faubourg St Antoine, the old centre of insurrections, the revolt assumed a more disorderly character. Pillage, immediate rapine, and disorder, could alone rouse its immense population. The commune excited their cupidity, by proposing to march to the Palais Royal, whose shopkeepers were the richest in Paris. "Arm yourselves!" exclaimed the agents of the municipality, "the counter-Revolution is at hand; at the Palais Royal they are this moment crying, 'Vive le Roi!' and trampling under foot the national colours; all its inhabitants are accomplices in the plot: march to the Palais Royal, and thence to the Convention." But the inhabitants of that district were prepared for their defence; the gates of the palace were shut, and artillery placed in the avenues which led to them. When the immense forest of pikes began to debouch from the side of the faubourgs, the cannoniers stood with lighted matches to their pieces; and the wave of insurrection rolled aside to the more defenceless quarter of the Legislature.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxvii. 304,  
320. Deux  
Amis, x.  
299, 302.  
Lac. ii. 71,  
72. Th. iv.  
237, 247.  
Mig. i. 265.

The Convention had early assembled at the sound of the tocsin, in the hall of the Tuileries, which had now become their place of meeting, instead of the Salle du Ménage; the chiefs of the Girondists, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their friends, all repaired to the post of danger. They had passed the night in the house of a common friend, assembled together armed, and resolved to sell their lives dearly; but at daybreak they left their asylum, and took their seats in the Convention as the tocsin was sounding. Garat persisted in maintaining that there was nothing to fear; that a *moral insurrection* alone was in contem-

Insurrec-  
tion of the  
31st May.

May 31.

CHAP. plation. Paché, with hypocritical zeal, declared  
 XIV. that he had doubled the guards of the Convention,  
 1793. and forbid the cannon of alarm to be discharged.  
 At that instant, the sound of the artillery was heard; the *générale* beat in all quarters, and the ceaseless roll, like the noise of distant thunder, showed that all Paris was in motion. "I demand," said Vergniaud, "by whose authority the cannon of alarm have been sounded." "And I demand," answered Thuriot, "that the Commission of Twelve be instantly dissolved.—" And I," said Tallien, "that the sword of the law strike the conspirators in the bosom of the Convention." The Girondists insisted that Henriot, the commander-in-chief, should be called to the bar, for sounding the cannon of alarm without the authority of the Convention. "If a combat commences," said Vergniaud, "whatever be its result, it will ruin the Republic. Let all the members swear to die at their posts." They all took the oath; in a few hours it was forgotten. "Dissolve the Commission of Twelve," said Danton, with his tremendous voice; "the cannon has sounded. If you have any political discretion you will take advantage of the public agitation to furnish you with an excuse for retracing your steps, and regaining your lost popularity. I address myself to those deputies who have some regard to the situation in which they are placed, and not to those insane mortals who listen to nothing but their passions. Hesitate no longer, therefore, to satisfy the people."—"What people?" exclaimed Vergniaud. "That people," replied Danton, "that immense body which is our advanced guard; which hates alike every species of tyranny, and that base moderation which would speedily bring it back. Hasten, then,

to satisfy them; save them from the aristocrats; save them from their own anger; and if the movement should continue when this is done, Paris will soon annihilate the factions which disturb its tranquillity." Vast bodies of petitioners soon began to defile through the Assembly with menacing petitions. "We demand," said they, "the levy of a central Revolutionary army of Sans Culottes, who are to receive forty sous a-day each man; and demand a decree against the twenty-two members denounced by the Sections of Paris, as well as the Committee of Twelve. We demand the price of bread to be fixed at three sous a pound in all the departments, and that the difference of price be made up by a forced tax on the rich."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Moniteur, May 31, 1793. Mig. i. 266. Th. iv. 234, 240, 243. Lac. ii. 73. Hist. Parl. xxvii. 343, 345.

The Tuileries were blockaded by the multitude: their presence, and the vociferous language of the petitioners who were successively admitted to the bar of the Assembly, encouraged the Jacobins to attempt the instant destruction of their opponents. Barere and the Committee of Public Salvation proposed, as a compromise, that the Commission of Twelve should be dissolved; Robespierre and his associates urged the immediate arrest of the Girondists—"Citizens," said he, "let us not lose our time in vain clamours."

They surround and assail the Convention.

CHAP. the Republic ; against you, who have unrelenti  
XIV. attacked those whose heads Dumourier demand

1793. against you, whose criminal vengeance has provoked  
the cries of indignation, which you now reproach  
a crime to those who have suffered from it.—I  
the immediate accusation of those who have conspired  
with Dumourier, and are specified in the petition  
the people.” The Assembly, moved by the violence  
with which they were surrounded, deemed it the  
prudent course to adopt the proposal of Barere  
the Committee, for the suppression of the Com  
sion, without the violent proposals of the Jacobins  
a ruinous precedent of submission to popular violence  
which soon brought about their total subjugation

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxvii. 347,  
349. Moni-  
teur, May  
31, 1793,  
pp. 663,  
667. Mig.  
i. 268. Lac.  
ii. 73. Toul.  
iii. 413.  
Th. iv.  
251, 252.

And or-  
ganize a  
general in-  
surrection.

But the Revolutionists had no intention of  
ping halfway in their career of violence. On  
evening of the 31st, Billaud Varennes declared in  
club of the Jacobins—“ That they had only half  
their work ; it must be instantly completed, be-  
the people have time to cool in their ardour.  
movement in Paris will be turned against us in  
departments : already couriers are sent off in  
directions to rouse them. I demand that the  
tings of the Jacobins be declared permanent. There  
must be no compromise with tyranny.”—“ Be-  
sured,” said Bourdon de l’Oise, “ that all those  
wish to establish a burgher aristocracy will soon  
gin to reflect on their proceedings. Even Danton  
has lost his energy since the Commission of Treason  
was dissolved. Already they ask, when urged  
put themselves in insurrection, Against whom  
we to revolt ? The aristocracy is destroyed,  
clergy are destroyed. Who, then, are our op-  
sors ?”<sup>2</sup> Lest any such reaction should take place  
they resolved to keep the people continually in

<sup>2</sup> Journ.  
des Jaco-  
bins, June  
2, 1793,  
No. 429.  
Th. iv.  
258, 259.  
Toul. iii.  
414.

tation. The 1st of June was devoted to completing the preparations; in the evening, Marat himself mounted the steeple of the Hotel de Ville, and sounded the tocsin. The *générale* beat through the whole night, and all Paris was under arms by daybreak on the morning of the 2d.

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

On the preceding day, being the last that they were to meet in this world, the Girondists dined together to deliberate on the means of defence which yet remained in the desperate state of their fortunes. Their opinions, as usual, were much divided. Some thought that they should remain firm at their posts, and die on their curule chairs, defending to the last extremity the sacred character with which they were invested. Pétion, Buzot, and Gensonné, supported that mournful and magnanimous resolution. Barbaroux, consulting only his impetuous courage, was desirous to brave his enemies by his presence in the Convention. Others, among whom were Louvet, strenuously maintained that they should instantly abandon the Convention, where their deliberations were no longer free, and the majority were intimidated by the daggers of the Jacobins, and retire each into his own department, to return to Paris with such a force as should avenge the cause of the national representation. The deliberation was still going forward, when the clang of the tocsin and the rolling of the drums warned them that the insurrection had commenced; and they broke up without having come to any determination.<sup>1</sup>

Last dinner of the Girondists together. June 1.

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv. 280. Buzot, 74, 80. Garat, 128.

At eight o'clock, Henriot put himself at the head of the immense columns of armed men assembled round the Hotel de Ville, presented himself before the Council of the municipality, and declared, in the name of the insurgent people, that they would not

Attack on the Convention. June 2.

CHAP. lay down their arms till they had obtained the arrest  
XIV. of the obnoxious deputies. The forces assembled on  
1793. this occasion were most formidable. One hundred  
and sixty pieces of cannon, with tumbrils, and wag-  
gons of balls complete, furnaces to heat them red-hot,  
lighted matches, and drawn swords in the hands of  
the gunners, resembled rather the preparations for  
the siege of a powerful fortress, than demonstrations  
against a pacific legislature. In addition to this, several  
battalions, who had marched that morning for  
La Vendée, received counter orders, and re-entered  
Paris in a state of extreme irritation. They were in-  
stantly supplied with assignats, worth five francs  
each, and ranged themselves round Henriot, ready  
to execute his commands, even against the Conven-  
tion. The whole battalions of the National Guard  
which were suspected of leaning to the Convention,  
were removed to distant parts of the city, so that  
the legislature was surrounded only by their most  
inveterate enemies. After haranguing them in the  
Place de Grève, he proceeded to the other insur-  
gents, put himself at their head, and marched to  
the Carrousel. By ten o'clock, the whole of the  
avenues to the Tuileries were blockaded by dense  
columns and artillery; and eighty thousand armed  
men surrounded the defenceless representatives of  
the people.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, x.  
317, 318.  
Mig. i. 269.  
Toul. iii.  
415, 424.  
Th. iv.  
261, 262.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxvii. 390,  
391.

Few only of the proscribed deputies were present  
at this meeting. The intrepid Lanjuinais was among  
the number; from the tribune, he drew a picture,  
in true and frightful colours, of the state of the As-  
sembly deliberating for three days under the poniards  
of assassins, threatened without by a furious multi-  
tude, domineered within by a faction, who wielded  
at will its violence, descending from degradation to

Vehement  
debate in  
the Assem-  
bly.



degradation, rewarded for its condescension with arrogance, for its submission by outrage. "As long as I am permitted to raise my voice in this place," said he, "I shall never suffer the national representation to be degraded in my person. Hitherto you have done nothing; you have only suffered; you have sanctioned every thing required of you. An insurrection assembles, and names a committee to organize a revolt, with a commander of the armed force to direct it; and you tolerate the insurrection, the committee, the commander." At these words, the cries of the Mountain drowned his voice, and the Jacobins rushed forward to drag him from the tribune; but he held fast, and the president at length succeeded in restoring silence. "I demand," he concluded, "that all the Revolutionary authorities of Paris be instantly dissolved; that every thing done during the last three days be annulled; that all who arrogate to themselves an illegal authority be declared out of the pale of the law." He had hardly concluded, when the insurgent petitioners entered, and demanded his own arrest, and that of the other Girondists. Their language was brief and decisive. "The citizens of Paris," said they, "have been four days under arms; for four days they have demanded from their mandatories redress of their rights so scandalously violated; and for four days their mandatories have done nothing to satisfy them. The conspirators must instantly be placed under arrest: You must forthwith save the people, or they will take their safety into their own hands."—"Save the people!" exclaimed the Jacobins; "save your colleagues, by agreeing to their provisional arrest." Barere and the neutral party urged the proscribed deputies to have the generosity

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

CHAP. to give in their resignations in order to tranquillize  
XIV. the public mind. Isnard, Lanthenas, and others,  
1793. complied with the request; Lanjuinais positively  
refused. "Hitherto," said he, "I have shown  
some courage; I will not fail at the last extremity.  
You need not expect from me either suspension  
or resignation." Being violently interrupted by  
the left, he added—"When the ancients prepared a  
sacrifice, they crowned the victim with flowers and  
garlands when they conducted him to the altar; the  
priest sacrificed him, but added not insult or injury.  
But you, more cruel than they, commit outrages on  
the victim who is making no efforts to avert his  
fate."—"I have sworn to die at my post," said  
Barbaroux; "I will keep my oath. Bend, if you  
please, before the municipality, you who refused to  
arrest their wickedness; or rather imitate us, whom  
their fury immediately demands. Wait, and brave  
their fury. You may compel me to sink under their  
daggers: you shall not make me fall at their feet."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
Parl. xxvii.  
383, 397.  
Moniteur,  
3d June  
1793. Mig.  
i. 270, 271.  
Lac. ii. 72.  
73. Toul.  
iii. 430,  
434. Th.  
iv. 264,  
265.

They move  
out of the  
hall, but  
are driven  
back by  
the armed  
multitude.

While the Assembly was in the utmost agitation,  
and swayed alternately by terror and admiration,  
Lacroix, an intimate friend of Danton's, entered with  
a haggard air, and announced that he had been  
stopped at the gate, and that the Convention was  
imprisoned within its walls. The secret of the revolt  
became now evident; it was not conducted by Dan-  
ton and the Mountain, but by Robespierre, Marat,  
and the municipality. "We must instantly avenge,"  
said Danton, "this outrage on the national repre-  
sentation: Let us go forth, and awe the rebels by  
the majesty of the legislature." Headed by its pre-  
sident, the Convention set out, and moved in a body,  
with the signs of distress, to the principal gate lead-  
ing to the Place de Carrousel. They were there met

by Henriot on horseback, with his sword in his hand, at the head of the most devoted battalions of the faubourgs. "What do the people demand?" said the president, Herault de Sechelles; "the Convention is occupied with nothing but their welfare."—"Herault," replied Henriot, "the people are not to be deceived with fine words: they demand that twenty-four culpable deputies be given up."—"Demand rather that we should all be given up!" exclaimed those who surrounded the president. "Cannoniers, to your pieces!" replied Henriot. Two guns, charged with grape-shot, were pointed against the Assembly, which involuntarily fell back; and, after in vain attempting to find the means of escape at the other gates of the garden, returned in dismay to the Hall. Marat followed them, at the head of a body of brigands. "I order you, in the name of the people, to enter, to deliberate, and to obey."\*  
CHAP. XIV. 1793.  
<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxvii. 400, 401. Deux Amis, x. 319, 321. Lac. ii. 76. 77. Mig. i. 268, 272. Th. iv. 268, 270.

When the members were seated, Couthon rose. "You have now had convincing evidence," said he, "that the Convention is perfectly free. The indignation of the people is only pointed against certain unworthy members: we are surrounded by their homage and affection: let us obey alike our own conscience and their wishes. I propose that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, Sillery, Gensonné, Le Hardi, Guadet, Pétion, Brissot, Boileau, Birotteau, Valazé, Gomaise, Bertrand, Gardieu, Keverlegan, Mellevant, Bergoien, Barbaroux, Ledon, Buzot, La Source, Rabaut, Salles, Chambon, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Le Sage, Vigee, Louvet, and Henri Lariviere, be immediately put under arrest." With the dagger at their  
The thirty Girondists are given up and imprisoned.

\* So sensible were the Revolutionists themselves of the violence done on this occasion to the Convention, that no mention is made of this event in the *Moniteur*.—See *Moniteur*, 4th June 1793, p. 671.

CHAP. throats, the Convention passed the decree: A large  
 XIV. body had the courage to protest against the violence  
 1793. and refuse to vote. This suicidal measure was car-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. ried by the sole votes of the Mountain, and a few  
 Parl. xxvii. adherents: the great majority refused to have any  
 401. Moni- share in it. The multitude gave tumultuous cheers,  
 teur, 4th June 1793, and dispersed: their victory was complete; the muni-  
 p. 661. cipality of Paris had overthrown the National As-  
 Mig. i. 272, sembly.<sup>1</sup>  
 273. Lac. ii. 78, 79. Th. iv. 272.

Termina- The political career of the Girondists was termi-  
 tion of the nated by this day; thenceforward they were known  
 political only as individuals, by their heroic conduct in adver-  
 powers of sity and death. Their strife with the Jacobins was  
 the Girondists. a long struggle between two classes, who invariably  
 succeed each other in the lead of revolutionary con-  
 vulsions. The rash and reckless, but able and gene-  
 rous party, which trusted to the force of reason  
 in popular assemblies, perished because they strove  
 to arrest the torrent they had let loose, to avenge  
 the massacres of September, avoid the execution of  
 the King, resist the institution of the Revolutionary  
 Tribunal, and the Committee of Public Salvation.  
 With the excitement of more vehement passions,  
 with the approach of more pressing dangers, with  
 the advent of times when moderation seemed a crime,  
 they expired. Thereafter, when every legal form  
 was violated, every appeal against violence stifled  
 by the imprisonment of the Girondists, democratic  
 despotism marched in its career without an ob-  
 stance; and the terrible dictatorship, composed of  
 the Committee of Public Salvation, and the Revolu-  
 tionary Tribunal, was erected in resistless sover-  
 eignty. The proscribed members were at first put  
 under arrest in their own houses. Several found  
 the means of escape before the order for their im-

prisonment was issued. Barbaroux, Pétion, Lanjui-  
 nais, Henri Lariviere, arrived at Caen, in Normandy,  
 where a feeble attempt at resistance to the usurped  
 authority of the Parisian mob was made, which  
 speedily yielded to the efforts of the Jacobin emissaries.  
 Louvet escaped to Bordeaux, and subsequently  
 wandered for months among the forests and caverns  
 of the Jura, where he employed his hours of solitude  
 in composing the able *Memoirs of his Life*.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv.  
275, 276.  
Deux  
Ams, x.  
325, 328.

Vergniaud, Guadet, Brissot, and the other leaders,  
 were soon afterwards arrested in different places,  
 and thrown into prison, from whence, after a pain-  
 ful interval, they were conducted to the scaffold.  
 They were detained in prison for above four months  
 before being brought to trial, in order to secure the  
 power of the Jacobin faction before they brought the  
 illustrious leaders of the opposite party, so long the  
 idols of the people, to trial and death. When they  
 did so, their condemnation was secured ere they  
 were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal.  
 Their trial and condemnation took place in the  
 month of October, before that tribunal. The Con-  
 vention passed a decree authorizing their trial; the  
 indictment against them was general, but its specific  
 charges affected only five or six of the accused. They  
 insisted upon the right of separate defence; the  
 Jacobins, the Committee of Public Safety, and the  
 Convention, held this demand decisive evidence of a  
 new conspiracy. To obviate its supposed danger,  
 and guard against the effect of the well-known elo-  
 quence of the accused, which had already strongly,  
 moved the audience, the Revolutionary Tribunal,  
 after the trial had proceeded some days, obtained  
 from the Convention a decree, authorizing them to  
 convict and pass sentence,<sup>2</sup> as soon as they were

Their trial  
and con-  
demnation.

Oct. 19.

Toul. iv.  
114. Th.  
iv. 389.  
Mig. ii.  
293. I. ac.  
ii. 78, 99.  
Louv. p. 1.

CHAP. convinced of the guilt of the accused, *whether they*  
 XIV. *had been heard in their defence or not.*

1793. The grounds of the accusation were of the most contemptible kind, and consisted of the charges brought against them by Robespierre, which have been already given.<sup>1</sup> Chaumette recounted all the struggles of the municipality with the *Côte Droit*, without adding a single fact that could inculpate the accused: the wretch Hebert recounted the particulars of his arrest by the Commission of Twelve, and alleged that Roland had endeavoured to corrupt the public writers, by offering to buy up his obscene journal, the *Père Duchesne*: Destournelle deponed, that the accused had exerted themselves to crush the municipality, declared against the massacres in the prisons, and laboured to institute a departmental guard. Chabot was the most virulent of the witnesses against them; he ascribed to them a Machiavelian policy throughout all the Revolution; endeavouring to convert every thing to their own profit, and even permitting the massacres of September, in order to cut off some of their enemies among the victims. The prosecution lasted nine days. At the end of that time, the jury declared themselves convinced; the eloquence of Vergniaud, the vehemence of Brissot, had pleaded in vain. The court then read to the accused the decree of the Convention, empowering them *to terminate the proceedings as soon as the jury had declared their minds made up*; they saw upon this that their fate was determined, as they were to be condemned without being heard in their defence.\* They all rose, and, by loud expres-

\* "L'accusateur public requiert la lecture de la loi sur l'accélération des jugemens criminels. Cette lecture est faite. Le Tribunal ordonne la transcription de la loi sur ses registres. Le Président—

sions of indignation, drowned the voice of the president, who read their sentence. Valazé stabbed himself with a poniard, and perished in presence of the court, who immediately ordered that his dead body should be borne on a car to the place of execution, and beheaded with the other prisoners. La Source exclaimed—"I die at a time when the people have lost their reason: you will die as soon as they recover it." The other prisoners embraced each other, and exclaimed, "Vive la Republique!" and the audience, though chiefly composed of the assassins of the 3rd September, were melted to tears.<sup>1</sup>

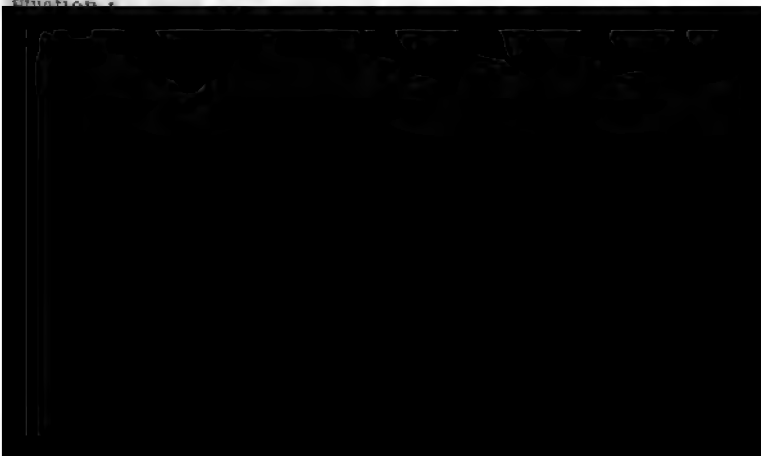
The anxiety of his friends had provided Vergniaud with a certain and speedy poison. He refused to make use of it, in order that he might accompany his friends to the scaffold. The eloquence of that highly gifted man, which poured forth the night before his execution, on the expiring liberty of France, in strains of unprecedented splendour, entranced even the melancholy inmates of the prison. The illastrious prisoners were conducted, on the 31st October, to the place of execution. They marched together with a firm step, singing the Revolutionary song, which they applied by a slight change to their own situation.

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du Trib. Rév. No. 62, p. 246—255. Hist. Parl. xxx. 110, 123. Toul. iv. 114. Lac. ii. 99. Mig. ii. 294. Th. v. 389, 390, 391.

Their  
heroic  
death.



CHAP. The quays, the gardens of the Tuileries, the Pont  
XIV. de la Concorde, and all the windows from thence to

1793. the Conciergerie, from which they were brought, were crowded with spectators. Brissot and Fauchet alone had a sad and pensive countenance. When they arrived at the place of execution at one o'clock in the afternoon, they mutually embraced, exclaiming, "Vive la Republique!" Sillery ascended first; he bowed with a grave air to the people, and received with unshrinking firmness the fatal stroke. Le

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du Trib. Rév. No. 64. Lac. ii. 99, whole Place. The execution of the whole lasted 100. Th. v. 392. thirty-eight minutes, during which the condemned Mig. ii. 294. Toul. awaiting their turn, as their friends were successively iv. 115. beheaded, never ceased chanting with firm voices Riouffe, 51, 52. Hist. an air, the burden of which was—"rather death than Parl. xxx. slavery." Vigeo suffered last. They all died with 122, 123. the resolution of Romans, protesting with their last Biog. Univ. xlviii. 206, 209. (Ver- breath their attachment to freedom and the repub- gniaud) lic.<sup>1</sup>

A young man, named Girey Dufoco, editor of the *Patriote Français*, was brought to the bar of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The president asked if he had been a friend of Brissot. "I had that happiness."—"What is your opinion of him?"—"That he lived like Aristides, and died like Sidney!" was the intrepid answer. He was forthwith sent to the scaffold, where he perished with the firmness of his departed friend. Rabaud St Etienne, one of the most enlightened and virtuous of the proscribed deputies, had escaped soon after the 2d June from Paris. Tired of wandering through the provinces, he returned to the capital, and lived concealed in the house of one of those faithful friends, of whom the

Execution  
of Dufoco  
and Ra-  
baud St  
Etienne.



revolution produced so many examples. His wife, CHAP. XIV.  
 influenced by the most tender attachment, incessantly  
 watched over his safety. In the street, one day, 1793.  
 she met one of the Jacobins, who assured her of his  
 respect in her husband, and professed his desire to  
 give him an asylum in his own house. Rabaud  
 was informed of the circumstance, and desirous of  
 saving his generous host from further danger, inform-  
 ed the Jacobin of his place of retreat, and assigned  
 the hour of the night for him to come and remove him  
 from it. The perfidious wretch came accompanied  
 by gendarmes, who dragged their victim, with his  
 friendly host and hostess, to the Revolutionary Tri-  
 bunal, whence they were sent to the scaffold. In  
 the pair at having been the instrument, however in-  
 strument, of such treachery, his wife, in the flower of  
 youth and beauty, put herself to death.<sup>1</sup>

Madame Roland was the next victim. This heroic  
 man had been early involved in the proscription  
 of the Girondists, of whom her splendid talents had  
 most rendered her the head. Confined in the prison  
 of the Abbaye, she employed the tedious months of  
 captivity in composing the Memoirs, which so well  
 illustrate her eventful life. With a firm hand she  
 wrote in that gloomy abode, the joyous as well as

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du  
 Trib. Rév.  
 No. 97, p.  
 387. Lao.  
 ii. 100.  
 Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 27, 28.

Trial and  
 death of  
 Madame  
 Roland.

CHAP. every important occasion. In the solitude of pri  
XIV. son she had leisure to reflect on the strong political

1793. career in which she had borne so distinguished part, and lamented the delusions in which she had so long been involved. Her friends had provided her with the means of escape; but she refused to avail herself of them. During the long and dreary period of her captivity, she studied Tacitus incessantly. "I cannot sleep," said she, "without reading some of his writings: *we seem to see things in the same light.*" At another time she said—"The present government is a kind of monster, of which the action and the forms are equally revolting: it destroys all it touches, and devours itself." On the day of the execution of the Girondists, she was transferred to the Conciergerie, where she was strictly watched, in a wretched humid apartment, with straw mattress alone for a bed. Though she had opium secreted she refused to make use of it, alleging that she would not shrink from the fate of her friends, and that her death would be of service to the world. Her memoirs evince unbroken serenity of mind, though she was frequently interrupted in their composition by the cries of those whom the executioners were dragging from the adjoining cell to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Univ. xxxviii. 464, 465. Riouffe, 56, 57. Lac. ii. 100. Roland, i. *passim*, and 97.

On the day of her trial she was dressed with scrupulous care in white. Her fine black hair fell in profuse curls to her waist; but the display of its beauty was owing to her jailers, who had deprived her of all means of dressing it. She chose that dress as emblematic of the purity of her mind. Her advocate, M. Chaveau Lagarde, visited her to receive her last instructions; drawing a ring from her finger she said—"To-morrow I shall be no more; I know

Her generous conduct. 8th Nov.

well the fate which awaits me ; your kind assistance could be of no avail ; it would endanger you without saving me. Do not, therefore, I pray you, come to the tribunal ; but accept this as the last testimony of my regard." Her defence, composed by herself the night before the trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution. Her answers to the interrogatories of the judges, the dignity of her manner, the beauty of her figure, melted in the revolutionary audience with pity. They then had the barbarity to ask her questions reflecting on her honour : the unworthy insult brought tears to her eyes, but did not disturb her serenity of demeanour. Finding they could implicate her in no other way, the president asked her if she was acquainted with the place of her husband's retreat. She replied, that "whether she knew it or not she could not reveal it, and that there was no law by which she was obliged, in a court of justice, to violate the strongest feelings of nature." Upon this she was immediately condemned. When the reading of her sentence was concluded, she rose and said—<sup>1</sup> Roland, i. 40, 41, 43. "You judge me worthy to share the fate of the great ii. 439. men whom you have assassinated. I shall endeavour App. Q. p. 425.



CHAP. XIV. She did this with so much simplicity and effect

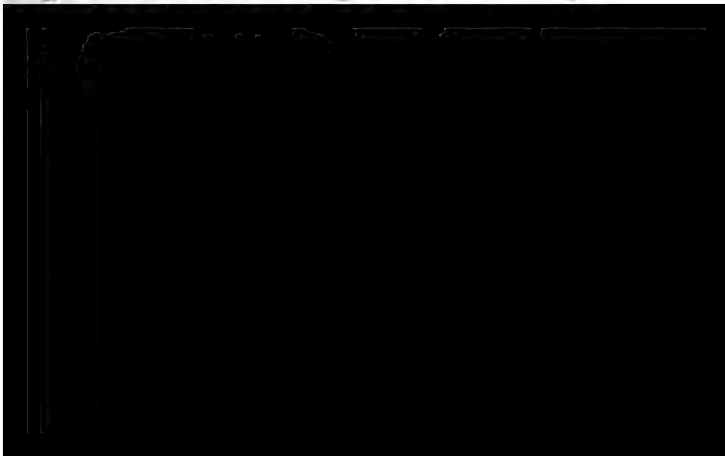
1793. she frequently brought a smile on the lips  
were about to perish. At the place of execution  
bowed before the gigantic statue of Liberty, and  
announced the memorable words—"Oh, Liberty,  
many crimes are committed in your name!"  
they arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she had  
generosity to renounce, in favour of her country,  
the privilege of being first executed. "I am  
first," said she, "let me at least spare you the  
sight of seeing my blood flow." Turning to the  
executioner, she asked if he would consent to that  
arrangement; he replied, "That his orders were that  
you should die the first."—"You cannot," said she  
with a smile, "I am sure, refuse a woman her last request."  
Undismayed by the spectacle which immediately  
succeeded, she calmly bent her head under the guillotine  
and perished with the serenity she had evinced  
since her imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du  
Trib. Rév.  
No. 76, p.  
301. Biog.  
Univ.  
xxxviii.  
463, 464.  
Roland, i.  
43, 44.  
Lac. x. 278.

Madame Roland had predicted that her husband  
would not long survive her. Her prophecy was  
Death of M. Roland. ly fulfilled. A few days afterwards, he was  
dead on the road between Paris and Rouen;  
stabbed himself in that situation, that he might  
by the situation in which his body was found,  
the generous friends who had sheltered him  
from misfortunes. In his pocket was contained a  
note in these terms—"Whoever you are, oh passerby,  
who discover my body, respect the remains of an  
unfortunate. They are those of a man who  
devoted his whole life to be useful to his country;  
died as he had lived, virtuous and unsullied.  
My fellow-citizens embrace more humane senti-  
ments, not fear, but indignation, made me quit my  
life when I heard of the murder of my wife. I

d stained with so many crimes." The other CHAP. XIV.  
of the party, dispersed in the provinces of XIV.  
, underwent innumerable dangers, and made 1793.  
more wonderful even than those which ro-<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
has figured. Louvet owed his salvation to the xxviii. 48.  
of female attachment. Barbaroux, Buzot, Roland, i. 45, 46.  
and Valazé, were concealed at St Emelion, Lac. x. 278.  
vern, by a sister of Guadet. A few only Mémoires de Buzot, Louvet,  
the anxious search of the Jacobins; their and Bar-  
s evince a curious proof of the indignation passim,  
usiastic but virtuous minds at the triumph of and Lac. x. 280.  
ambition.<sup>1</sup>

le these events were in progress, the arm of  
enthusiasm arrested the course of one of the Charlotte  
; and her deed, though it occurred a few Corday.  
after their fall, was the direct consequence Her cha-  
overthrow of the Girondists. Charlotte racter.  
; a native of Rouen, at the age of five  
enty, was animated by a heroism and de-  
above her sex. Gifted with a beautiful  
nd a serene temper, she deemed the occu-  
and ordinary ambition of women beneath  
ious regard; possessed of more than mascu-  
urage, she had lost nothing of female delicacy.



CHAP. stacle appeared to remain to the reign of justice  
XIV. and equality, to the commencement of the happiness  
1793. of France. In the heroic spirit of female devotion  
she resolved to sacrifice her life to this inestimable  
object.

Having taken her resolution, she regained all her wonted cheerfulness of manner, which the public calamities had much impaired. Deceived by the appearance of joy which she exhibited, her relations allowed her to set off on some trifling commissions to Paris. In the public conveyance she was chiefly distinguished by the amiable playfulness of her demeanour, uninterrupted even by the savage conversation of some Jacobins who were present. The first day of her arrival at Paris was employed in executing her commissions: on the second she purchased a knife at the Palais Royal, to plunge into the bosom of the tyrant. On the third day, she with difficulty obtained an entrance to Marat. She was ushered into a room adjoining the cabinet, where he lay in the bath. He eagerly enquired after the proscribed deputies at Caen. Being told their names—  
She resolves to assassinate Marat, and kills him. July 13.

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, *Rév. de Paris*, No. 207, p. 684. *Deux Amis*, x. 369, 371. *Lac.* ii. 80, 81. *Mig.* ii. 279. *Th.* v. 80, 81.

“They shall soon meet with the punishment they deserve,” said Marat. “Yours is at hand!” exclaimed she, and stabbed him to the heart. He uttered a loud shriek and expired. Charlotte Corday remained motionless in the apartment, and was seized and conducted to prison.<sup>1</sup>

When conducted to prison, the cheerfulness and serenity of her manner astonished the jailers, who though they watched her day and night, could discern no change in the tranquillity which she evinced. On the same day she wrote to Barbaroux at Caen in terms singularly descriptive of her state of mind.<sup>1</sup>

\* “Nous sommes si bons republicains à Paris, l’on ne conçoit pas

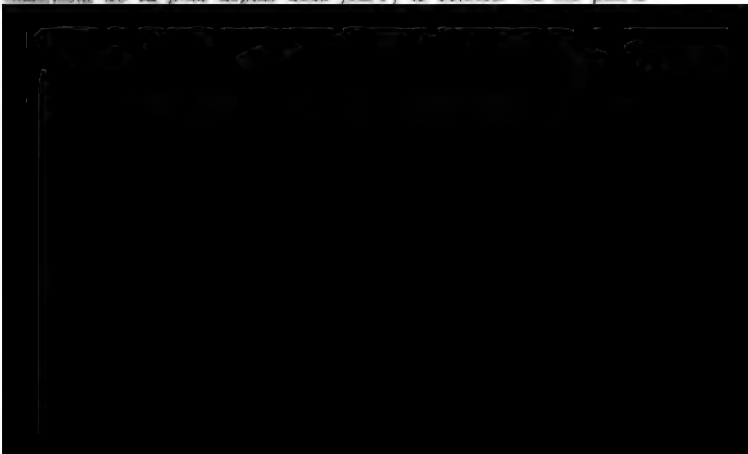
Her trial and death.

On the day of her trial, her extraordinary beauty and innocence of manner excited universal interest. She interrupted the prosecutors, who were beginning to prove the death of the deceased.—“These formalities are unnecessary: I killed Marat!”—“What tempted you to commit the murder?”—“His own crimes.”—“What do you mean by his crimes?”—“The misfortunes which he has inflicted on France since the Revolution, and which he was preparing to increase.”—“Who are your associates?”—“I have none: I alone conceived the idea.”—“What did you propose to yourself by putting Marat to death?”—“To stop the anarchy of France. I have seen in one man to save a hundred thousand; a wretch, preserve the innocent; a savage monster, to give peace to my country. I was a republican before the Revolution, and I have never failed in energy.”—“What do you understand by energy?” asked the president. “The sentiment which animates those who, disdaining the consideration of their own safety, sacrifice themselves for the sake of their country.” During the interrogatory, she observed  
*ment une femme inutile, dont la plus longue vie ne serait bonne à rien, peut se sacrifier du sangfroid pour sauver son pays. Je jouis véritablement de la paix depuis deux jours; le bonheur de ma patrie*

CHAP.

XIV.

1793.







your kindness ; but I have no need of your assistance.”

CHAP.  
XIV.

The crowd which assembled to witness her execution exceeded any thing yet seen in Paris ; her youth, her beauty, her astonishing courage, the magnitude of the deed for which she was to suffer, produced universal and thrilling interest. She was drawn in a car, dressed in a scarlet robe : the colour appropriate to assassins. As she passed along, at half past seven in the evening, to the place of execution in the Place Louis XV., “ her manner,” says the revolutionary journal, “ had that exquisite grace which is above beauty, which art cannot imitate, nor language depict. She voluntarily held out her hands to be bound ; but when they began to attach her feet to the plank, she shuddered, conceiving they were going to insult her. When the object was explained, she consented with a smile. A blush of virgin modesty overspread her beautiful face and neck when the executioner undid the clasp from her bosom ; but it took nothing from her serenity of manner, and she herself placed and adjusted her head under the terrible axe. The immense multitude awaited the stroke in death-like silence. When the guilotine had fallen, the executioner lifted the head, still perfectly beautiful, but pale ; and struck it with his hand. An universal shudder was felt in the crowd : he raised it, and struck it again ; the blood then suffused the cheeks and restored their lovely carnation. Cries of ‘ Vive la Republique ! ’ arose on all sides ; but the beauty and courage of Charlotte Corday had made a profound impression on every heart.”<sup>1</sup>

1793.

Her execution.

<sup>1</sup>Chronique de Paris, July 19, 1793 Hist. Parl. xxviii. 334, 335. Deux Amis, x. 376, 377. Th. v. 86, 78. Lac. ii. 82, 83. Prudhomme, Rév. de Paris, No. 209.

The Jacobins attempted to deify Marat : Robespierre pronounced an eloquent eulogium on his virtues in the Convention. “ If I speak to-day,” said he, “ it is because I am bound to do so. Poniards were

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

Funeral  
honours  
and apo-  
theosis of  
Marat.

here used : I should have received the fatal  
Chance alone made it light on that great  
Think no longer, therefore, of vain declamation  
the pomp of burial ; the best way to avenge Marat  
to prosecute his enemies with relentless vigour  
vengeance which is satisfied with funeral honours  
soon appeased, and loses itself in useless projects  
Renounce, then, these useless discussions, and  
him in the only manner worthy of his name.  
obsequies were celebrated with extraordinary pomp  
a band of young women, and deputies from all  
tions of Paris, were invited to throw flowers  
body, and the president of the Popular Society  
who pronounced his funeral oration, said—"I  
not pronounce his eulogy : it is to be found  
conduct, his writings, his ghastly wound, his  
Citizens ! cast your flowers on the pale body of  
Marat ; he was our friend—the friend of the people  
it was for the people that he lived, for the people  
that he died. Enough has now been given  
mentation : Listen to the great soul of Marat  
rises from the grave, and says—' Republicans  
end to your tears : Republicans should weep  
a moment, and then devote themselves to their  
try : It was not me whom they wished to  
nate ; it was the Republic : It is not I who  
vengeance ; it is the Republic ; it is the people  
is yourselves ! ' " His remains were consigned  
funeral pomp to the Pantheon ; and his monument  
raised in every town and village of France. Robespierre  
has reversed the sentence : it has consigned  
to eternal execration, and associated Charlotte  
day with Timoleon and Brutus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jacobins,  
14th July 1793.  
Journal de la  
Monarchie,  
No. 47. Hist.  
Parl. xxviii.  
339. Mig. ii.  
279. Lac.  
ii. 83. Th.  
v. 88—91.

Robespierre and the Decemvirs made the  
nation of Marat the ground for increased  
towards the broken remains of the Girondist

Many of their friends remained in the Convention ; with generous constancy they still sat on the benches to the right, thinned by the proscription of so many noble members. During the trial of Charlotte Corday, a secret protest, signed by seventy-three deputies, against the usurpation of 2d June, was discovered ; they were all immediately arrested, and thrown into prison. The Convention, after their removal, contained no elements even of resistance to the tyrants.

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

Arrest of  
seventy-  
three mem-  
bers of the  
Conven-  
tion.

Thus perished the party of the Gironde, reckless in its measures, culpable for its rashness, but illustrious from its talents, glorious in its fall. It embraced all the men who were philanthropists from feeling, or republicans from principle ; the brave, the humane, and the benevolent. But with them were also combined within its ranks numbers of a baser kind ; many who employed their genius for the advancement of their ambition, and were careless of their country provided they elevated their party. It was overthrown by a faction of coarser materials, but more determined character ; with less remains of conscientious feeling, but more acquaintance with practical wickedness. Adorned by the most splendid talents, supported by the most powerful eloquence, actuated at times by the most generous intentions, it perished the victim of a base and despicable faction—of men sprung from the dregs of the populace, and impelled by guilty and selfish ambition. Such ever has, and ever will be, the result of revolutionary convulsions in society, when not steadily opposed in the outset by a firm union of the higher classes of the community ; in the collision of opposite factions, the virtuous and the moderate will, unless bold and united, be always overcome by the reckless and the daring. Prudence

Reflections  
on the  
overthrow  
of the Gi-  
rondist.

CHAP. clogs their enterprise ; virtue checks their ambition ;  
 XIV. humanity paralyses their exertions. They fall, be-  
 1793. cause they recoil from the violence which becomes  
 in disastrous times essential to success in revolutions.

The principles of this celebrated party disquali-  
 Causes of fied them from taking an energetic or successful part  
 this failure. in public affairs. Their aversion to violence, their  
 horror at blood, rendered them totally unfit to strug-  
 gle with their dreadful antagonists. They deemed  
 it better to suffer than to commit violence ; to die in  
 the attempt to preserve freedom, rather than live by  
 the atrocities which would subvert it. Their prin-  
 ciples in the end, when driven to extremities, were  
 those so finely expressed by Louis XVIII. when  
 urged to assassinate Napoleon—"In our family we

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires are murdered, but we never commit murder."<sup>1</sup>  
 sur Louis Their greatest fault, and it is one which all their  
 XVIII. i. subsequent misfortunes could not expiate, consisted  
 221. in the agitation which, partly from philosophic de-  
 Buzot, 10. lusion, partly from ignorance of the world, partly  
 from selfish ambition, they so sedulously maintained in  
 the public mind. The storm which their eloquence  
 created, it was beyond the power of their wisdom to  
 allay. They roused the people against the throne on  
 the 10th August ; they failed in saving the monarch  
 on the 21st January, and died under the axe of the  
 populace, whose furious passions they had awakened.  
 Such is the natural progress of revolution, and the  
 means provided by Providence for its termination  
 and punishment. Its early leaders become them-  
 selves the objects of jealousy when their rule is  
 established ; the turbulent and the ambitious com-  
 bine against an authority which they are desirous of  
 supplanting ; stronger flattery to popular licentious-  
 ness, more extravagant protestations of public zeal,  
 speedily arouse the multitude against those who have

obtained the influence which they desire for themselves. Power falls into the hands of the most desperate; they gain every thing, because they scruple at nothing.

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

The time which elapsed from the death of the King to the fall of the Girondists, was to the revolutionary executive, what the Legislative Assembly was to the constitutional throne. Both were brief periods, during which the inability of government to combat the forces of the Revolution was clearly made manifest, and in both which, after a lingering and painful struggle, the ruling power was overthrown by an insurrection in the capital. The throne and Girondist government fell from the same cause, viz. —the want of any military force to coerce the populace, and maintain the independence of the legislative as well as the executive. Both were the victims of the fatal delusion, that a government can rest on the moral support of the nation, without any protection from its institutions, and that no danger is to be apprehended from the people, if practically indulged with the only military force in the state. The Girondists destroyed themselves by the lamentable prostration of the power of government which they forced upon the reluctant Louis; the revolt of 10th August, in which they themselves bore a part.

Analogy of  
the rule of  
the Girondists and  
the Legislative Assembly.

CHAP. trious league of eminent\* and eloquent me

XIV. had done so much to overturn the throne,

1793. basest and most atrocious that ever was elev

Atrocious  
character  
of the fac-  
tion which  
overturned  
the Giron-  
dists.

popular passion or madness to power, in any country. Without the fanaticism and en

Robespierre or St Just, without the vigour :

casional humanity of Danton and Camille D

lins, they possessed the whole bloodthirstine

cruelty of both these parties, and added to

baseness and cruelty peculiarly their own.

from the very dregs of society, alike witho

racter or employment when the Revolution

out,\* they brought to the important situation

municipality of Paris, to which they were e

by their dexterity in pandering to the wor

sions of the people, a baseness, falsehood, &

lany, fortunately for the world, rare in any

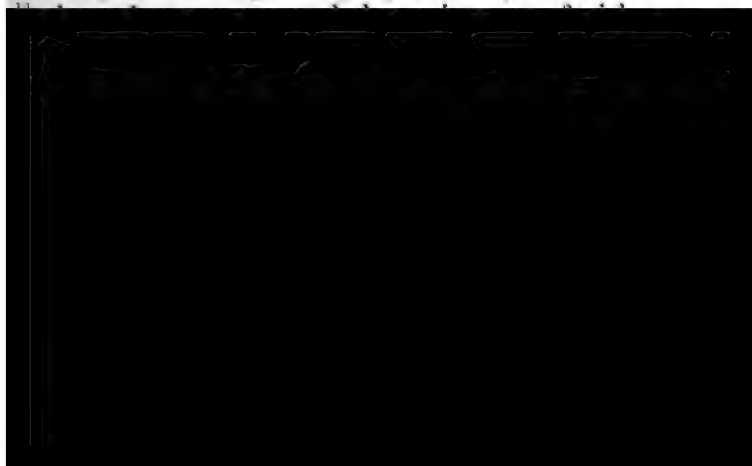
Perhaps there is not to be found in any la

\* Chaumette, born at Nevers in 1763, was the son of a co  
at first received some education ; but dissipation soon made him  
his studies, and he gained his livelihood for some years as a  
the Loire. In 1789, when the Revolution broke out, he  
Paris, and got employment as a copying clerk, and first rose  
by his power of speaking in the club of Cordeliers, where he  
tronised by Camille Desmoulins. He was appointed Procure  
Communes, on being elected member of the Convention in 8  
1792. Hebert, born at Alençon in 1755, of obscure parents,  
Paris in 1775 in quest of subsistence, and after living some  
villany, he was appointed a boxkeeper at one of the lesser the  
afterwards a footman, both of which situations he lost from h  
nesty. He was utterly destitute when the Revolution broke  
that soon found him employment. He was, from his comman  
gar slang and gross ideas, early employed by the extreme Jaco  
nal, called the " Pere Duchesne," the nature of which may b  
of from its title, " Lettres b——t patriotiques du veritable  
chesne." Full of blackguard expressions, atrocious falsehood  
obscenity, and frightful blasphemy, it soon became a powerfi  
in the hands of the atheistical and anarchical party, was hawl  
in every street of Paris, sent down in profusion to the departm  
forwarded by cart-loads to the armies. It forms now eleven  
one of the most curious monuments of the Revolution.—*Bis*  
*Universelle*, xix. 545, 547, (Hebert,) and viii. 300, (Chaumette

such a mass of ribaldry, falsehood, and obscenity, unrelieved by any talent save that which panders to the thirst for scandal, as is to be found in Hebert's well-known journal, the *Père Duchesne*. Yet this infamous production elevated him to greatness : rendered him one of the rulers of the municipality of Paris, enabled him to bid defiance to the party which had overturned the throne of Louis XVI., and bring the Girondists and whole philosophers of the Revolution to the scaffold ! A memorable proof of the rapid ascendancy which, in revolutionary struggles, the basest and most atrocious of mankind ere long acquire, and of the fatal nature of the delusions which lead so many well-meaning but inexperienced men, in every age, to imagine that the multitude will select good governors for themselves, because it is for their interest to be well governed.

The Girondists, and the whole constitutional party of France, experienced, when they attempted to coerce their former allies, and restrain the march of the Revolution, the necessary effect of the false principles on which they had acted, and the perilous nature of the doctrines which they had taken such pains to spread through the people. They were never

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.



CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

excited so terrible a convulsion. It is this feeling of distrust on the one hand, and treachery on the other, which so speedily annihilates the power of the authors of a revolution, when they endeavour to restrain its excesses; and renders the leader of a mighty host in one year utterly powerless and contemptible in the next. It is the charge of inconsistency which they never can get over; the bitterness excited by an abandonment of principle, which paralyses all their efforts even to correct its abuses. The Girondists and Constitutionalists experienced this cruel reverse in the most signal manner in all the latter stages of the Revolution. La Fayette wielded the whole power of France when he arrayed the National Guard against the monarchy in 1789; but he could not raise thirty men to join his standard in defence of the throne in 1792; and the leader of the populace on the 5th October, owed his escape from their ferocity solely to his confinement in an Austrian dungeon. Vergniaud and the Girondists were all-powerful while they were declaiming against the supposed treachery of the court, and inflaming the nation to plunge into an European war; but when they inveighed against the massacres in the prisons, and sought indirectly to save the life of the monarch whom they had dethroned, they became to the last degree unpopular, and were consigned to prison and the scaffold amidst the applause of the very multitude which had so recently followed them with acclamations.

These facts suggest an important conclusion in political science, which is, that the injustice and violence of a revolutionary party can hardly ever be effectually controlled by those who have participated in its principles; but that the only hope of the friends of order in such circumstances, is to be found in those who, under every intimidation, have resolutely resist-



ed measures of injustice. There is something in CHAP. courage and consistency which commands respect, XIV. even amidst the bitterness of faction; and if a reac- 1793. tion against the reign of violence is ever to arise, its leaders must be found, not among those who have at first promoted and afterwards abandoned, but who have ever resisted the march of revolution. It costs little to a soldier to fight under the banners of an able and resolute adversary; but he will never place confidence in a general who has deserted his colours during the combat. The Republican writers are all in error when they assert, that the horrors of the Revolution were owing to the King not having cordially thrown himself into the arms of the Constitutional party. With such allies he never could have mastered the Jacobin party, supported as they were by so large a proportion of the indigent and urban population of France: it was the Royalists alone who could have effectually taken advantage of the strong reaction against the Revolution which the first open acts of violence against the throne occasioned, and it was their migration which left the nation impotent against its excesses. And the event has abundantly proved the justice of these principles. The Orleans and Girondist parties were never able to oppose any serious resistance to the progress of the Revolution.

The early leaders of revolution can seldom restrain its last excesses.

CHAP. general desertion of the country by the emigrants,  
 XIV. the treachery of the army, and the undue humanity  
 1793. of the King, which really paved the way for the Jacobin excesses.

Effect of  
 the heroic  
 death of  
 the Girondists.  
 But although the previous excesses and reckless ambition of the Girondists precluded them from opposing any effectual resistance to the progress of revolution, they did much to redeem their ruinous errors, by the heroism of their death. Posterity invariably declares for the cause of virtue; the serenity and courage of the supreme hour often cause many previous faults to be forgotten. The last impressions are those which are the most durable; the principles, which in the end prove triumphant, are those which find a responsive echo in the human heart. Already this effect has become conspicuous. The talents, the vigour, the energy of the Jacobins, are forgotten in the blood which stained their triumphs; the guilty ambition, the imprudent zeal, the irresolute conduct, the inexperienced credulity of the Girondists, are lost in the Roman heroism of their fall. The Reign of Terror, the night of the Revolution, was of short duration; the stars which were extinguished in its firmament, only turned the eyes of the world with more anxiety to the coming dawn. But the eloquence of Vergniaud, the heroism of Madame Roland, have created a lasting impression upon the world; and while history, which records the dreadful evils which their impetuous declamations produced upon their country, cannot absolve them from the imputation of rash and perilous innovation, of reckless and guilty ambition, it must respect some of the motives which led even to errors, whose consequences were then in a great degree unknown, and venerate the courage with which, in the last extremity, they met their fate.

## CHAPTER XII.

## WAR IN LA VENDEE.

## ARGUMENT.

Character of the French Revolution—Origin of the Religious  
 La Vendée to the Revolution—Character and aspect of the  
 le Bocage, its peculiar character—Manners of the Inhabitants  
 adlords—Character of the People—Their strong Religious  
 elings of the People on the breaking out of the Revolution  
 s excited by the first Severity against the Priests—Previous  
 a Brittany, and abortive attempts at Insurrection—Excessive  
 which it was Suppressed, and general Indignation thence ex-  
 levy of 300,000 Men occasions an Insurrection over the whole  
 thy Thousand Men are soon in arms—Their leaders are ap-  
 nri de Larochejaquelein joins them—First Conflicts and great  
 the Country—The Peasants' rude Levies—General confusion  
 be Vendéan Forces—Formidable nature of this Warfare—The  
 parations for an Expedition—Their first Onset and enthusiastic  
 cannot be kept to their Standards after any success—Their  
 Baggage and Equipments—Their mode of giving Orders and  
 heir Humanity till it was extinguished by the Republicans—  
 ly Atrocities in Lower Poitou—Character of Bonchamps—Of  
 -Of Henri de Larochejaquelein—Of M. de Lescure—Of D'El-  
 and Charette—The Forces which they severally Commanded  
 lers of the Convention to extinguish the Revolt—The Royal-  
 n one instance, never Retaliate—The Republicans are defeated

CHAP.  
 XII.  
 1793.



CHAP. ed, and M. de Lescure mortally Wounded—Desperate State of the Royalists  
 XII —Battle of Cholet, in which they are Defeated—and D'Elbée and Bon-  
 1793. champs mortally Wounded—Humanity of Bonchamps to Five Thousand  
 Republican Prisoners—and his Death—Atrocious Cruelty of the Republi-  
 cans—Dreadful Passage of the Loire—Their great Difficulties in Brittany,  
 which they enter—Henri de Larochejaquelein is made Commander-in-Chief  
 —Battle of Chateau Gonthier gained by them—Great Results of this Vic-  
 tory—Desperate State of the Republicans after their Defeat—Death of  
 M. de Lescure—Attack on Granville—The Royalists are Repulsed—Their  
 Retreat towards the Loire—They Defeat the Republicans at Pontorson, and  
 at Dol—Their great Difficulties notwithstanding these Victories—Ultimate  
 Victory—Their glorious Victory and Humanity at Antrain—They are re-  
 pulsed at Angers—They in vain attempt to cross the Loire—Defeated with  
 great loss at Mans—Dreadful Rout which ensued—Their hopeless State—  
 Heroic Conduct of Henri de Larochejaquelein—Final Rout at Savenay—  
 Total Ruin of the Vendéans—Tardy Movements of the English to support  
 the Insurgents—Operations of Charette—Death of Henry de Larochejaque-  
 lein, and the Prince of Talmont—Unheard of Cruelties of the Republicans  
 —Thurreau and the Infernal Columns—Executions at Nantes—Compagnons  
 of Marat—Carrier—Republican Marriages and Baptisms—Dreadful Scenes  
 in the Prisons—Adventure of Agatha Larochejaquelein, and Madame de  
 Bonchamps—Cruelty of the Small Shopkeepers in the Towns—Heroic Ben-  
 volence of the Country Peasants—Reflections on the extraordinary Success  
 of the Vendéans, and the causes of their Disasters—Vendéan War finally  
 commits the Revolution against Religion.

THE French Revolution was a revolt not only against the government and institutions, but the opinions and the belief of former times. It was ushered in by an inundation of scepticism and infidelity; it was attended by unexampled cruelty to the ministers of religion; it led to the overthrow of every species of devotion, and the education of a generation ignorant even of the first elements of the Christian faith. When the French soldiers approached the cradle of their religion, when they beheld Mount Carmel and Nazareth, when they visited the birthplace of Christ, and saw from afar the scene of his sufferings, the holy names inspired them with no emotion; they gazed on them only as Syrian villages, unconnected either by history or tradition with any interesting recollections. The descendants of Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, of those who perished in

he service of the holy sepulchre, viewed the scenes CHAP.  
 of the Crusaders' glory with indifference; and names XII.  
 to which their forefathers would have thrilled with 1793.  
 emotion, were regarded by them only as the abode <sup>1</sup> Lav. i.  
 of barbarous tribes.<sup>1</sup> 372.

But it was not in the nature of things, it was not  
 the intention of Providence, that this prodigious Origin of  
 revolution should be effected without a struggle, or the reli-  
 the Christian faith obliterated for a time from a gious re-  
 nation's thoughts, without a more desperate contest sistance in  
 in the dearest interest of present existence could La Vendée  
 produce. Such a warfare accordingly arose, and to the Re-  
 marked too with circumstances of deeper atrocity volution.  
 than even the Reign of Terror, or the rule of Robes-  
 pierre. It began, not amidst the dignity of rank, or  
 the lustre of courts; not among those distinguished  
 by their knowledge, or blessed by their fortune, but  
 among the simple inhabitants of a remote district;  
 among those who had gained least by the ancient  
 institutions, and perilled most in seeking to restore  
 them. While the nobility of France basely fled  
 at the first appearance of danger, while the higher  
 orders of the clergy betrayed their religion by their  
 pusillanimity, or disgraced it by their profligacy;

CHAP. XII. 1793. stained with blood the efforts of freedom, the village pastors, and uneducated flocks of La Vendée bore the temptations of victory without seduction, and the ordeal of suffering without dismay.

The district immortalized by the name of La Vendée, embraces a part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the county of Nantes, and is now divided into four departments, those of Loire Inferieure, Maine and Loire, Deux Sevres, and Vendée. It is bounded on the north by the Loire, from Nantes to Angers; on the west, by the sea; on the south, by the road from Niort to Fontenay, Luçon, and the Sables d'Olonne; on the east, by a line passing through Brissac, Thouars, Parthenay, and Niort. This space comprehends the whole of what was properly the seat of the La Vendée contest, and contains 800,000 souls; the Loire separated that district from that which afterwards became so well known from the Chouan wars. This country differs, both in its external aspect, and the manners of its inhabitants, from any other part of France. It is composed for the most part of inconsiderable hills, not connected with any chain of mountains, but which rise in gentle undulations from the generally level surface of the country. The valleys are narrow, but of no great depth; and at their bottom flow little clear streams, which glide by a gentle descent to the Loire, or the neighbouring ocean. Great blocks of granite rise up at intervals on the heights, and resemble castellated ruins amidst a forest of vegetation. On the banks of the Sevre, the scenery assumes a bolder character, and that stream flows in a deep and rocky bed amidst overhanging woods; but in the districts bordering on the Loire, the declivities are more gentle, and extensive valleys reward the labours of the cultivator.<sup>1</sup>

character  
and aspect  
of the  
country.

Personal  
observation.  
Lacombe, 31,  
12.  
Beauch. i.  
i. Guerres  
des Vend.  
. 10. Th.  
v. 165,  
160.

The Bocage, as its name indicates, is covered with trees; not indeed in any where disposed in large masses, but surrounding the little inclosures into which the country is subdivided. The smallness of the farms, the great subdivision of landed property, and the prevalence of cattle husbandry, has rendered the custom universal of enclosing every field, how small soever, with hedges, which are surmounted by pollards, the branches of which are cut every five years for firewood to the inhabitants. Little grain is raised, the population depending chiefly on the sale of their cattle, or the produce of the dairy; and the landscape is only diversified at intervals in autumn by yellow patches glittering through the surrounding foliage, or clusters of vines overhanging the rocky eminences. The air in this region is pure, the farms small, the situation of the farm-houses, overshadowed by aged oaks, or peeping out of luxuriant foliage, picturesque in the extreme. There are neither navigable rivers nor canals, no great roads nor towns in the district; secluded in his leafy shroud, each peasant cultivates his little domain, severed alike from the elegancies, the ambition, or the seductions of the world.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

The Bocage. Its peculiar character.

<sup>1</sup> Guerres des Vend.  
i. 16. La-roch. 32.  
Beauch. i. 8, 9. Personal observation.  
Th. iv.

<sup>1</sup> 165, 166.

The part of La Vendée which adjoins the ocean to the south of the district, and formerly was buried beneath its waves, is called the Marais, and bore a prominent part in this memorable contest. It is perfectly flat, and in great part impregnated by salt marshes, which never yield to the force of the sun. This humid country is intersected by innumerable canals, communicating with each other, which are planted with willows, alders, poplars, and other marsh trees, whose luxuriant foliage frequently overshadow the little enclosures. The peasants are never seen without a long pole in their hands, with the aid of

The  
Marais.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

which they leap over the canals and ditches with surprising agility. Nothing can be more simple than the habits of the inhabitants; one roof covers a whole family, their cows and lambs, which feed on their little possessions; the chief food of the people is obtained from milk, and the fish which they obtain in great quantities in the canals, with which their country is intersected. The silence and deserted aspect of these secluded retreats; the sombre tint of the landscape, and the sallow complexions of the peasantry, owing to the general prevalence of aguish complaints, give a melancholy air to the country; but in the midst of its gloom a certain feeling of sublimity is experienced even by the passing traveller; and in no part of France did the people give greater proofs of an elevated and enthusiastic character. A single great road, that from Nantes to Rochelle, traverses the district; another from Tours to Bordeaux, by Poitiers, diverges from it, leaving betwixt them a space thirty leagues in extent, where nothing but cross roads are to be found. These cross roads are all dug out as it were between two hedges, whose branches frequently meet over the head of the passenger; while in winter, or rainy weather, they generally become the beds of streams. They intersect each other extremely often; and such is the general uniformity of the scenery, and the absence of any remarkable feature in the country, that the natives frequently lose themselves if they wander two or three leagues from their place of ordinary residence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch. 34.  
Beauch. i. 6, 7.  
Guerres des Vend. i. 16. Th. iv. 166.  
167. Personal observation.

This peculiar conformation of the country offered the greatest obstacles to an invading army. "It is," says General Kleber, "an obscure and boundless labyrinth, in which it is impossible to advance with security even with the greatest precautions. You are

Obstacles which it opposes to an invading army.



igned, across a succession of natural redoubts and CHAP. XII.  
 renchments, to seek out the road the moment that  
 leave the great chaussée; and when you do find 1793.  
 it is generally a narrow defile, not only imprac-  
 able for artillery, but for the smallest species of  
 riots which accompany an army. The great roads  
 ve no other advantage in this respect but that  
 sing from their greater breadth; for, being every  
 ere shut in by the same species of enclosure, it is Kleber, Mem. 19.  
 rely possible either to deploy into line, or become Guerres des Vend.  
 are of your enemy till you are assailed by his fire." i. 18.  
 There are no manufactures or great towns in the  
 untry. The land is cultivated by métayers, who Manners of the in-  
 vide the produce with the proprietors, and it is habitants  
 re to find a farm which yields the proprietor a and the  
 vfit of L.25 a-year. The sale of the cattle consti- landlords.  
 tes almost the whole wealth of the country. Few  
 magnificent chateaus are to be seen; the properties  
 re in general of moderate extent, the landlords all  
 sident, and their habits simple in the extreme. The  
 xury and vices of Paris have never penetrated into  
 he Bocage, the sole luxury of the proprietors con-  
 sted in rustic plenty and good cheer; their sole  
 musement the chase, at which they have long been



CHAP. tual interest, or of kindly feeling with those who  
XII. cultivated his lands. He visited their farms, con-  
1793. versed with them about their cattle, attended their

marriages and christenings, rejoiced with them when they rejoiced, and sympathized with them when they wept. On holydays, the youths of both sexes danced at the chateau, and the ladies joined in the festive circle. No sooner was a boar or wolf hunt determined on, than the peasantry of all the neighbouring estates were summoned to partake in the sport; every one took his fusil, and repaired with joy to the post assigned to him; and they afterwards followed their landlords to the field of battle with the same alacrity with which they had attended them in those scenes of festivity and amusement.'

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
34, 35. Lac.  
xi. 11, 12.  
Th. iv.  
166.  
Beauch. i.  
17, 18.

Character  
of the  
people.

These invaluable habits, joined to a native goodness of heart, rendered the inhabitants of the Bocage an excellent people; and it is not surprising that while the peasantry elsewhere in France revolted against their landlords, those of La Vendée almost all perished in combating with them against the Revolution. They were gentle, pious, charitable, and hospitable, full of courage and energy, with pure feelings and uncorrupted manners. Rarely was a crime, seldom a lawsuit, heard of amongst them. Their character was a mixture of savage courage and submissive affection to their benefactors; while they addressed their landlords with familiarity, they had the most unbounded devotion to them in their hearts. Their temperament inclined them rather to melancholy; but they were capable, like most men of that character, of the most exalted sentiments. Slow and methodical in their habits, they were little inclined to adopt the revolutionary sentiments which had over-spread so large a portion of the population in the

more opulent districts of France; when once they were impressed with any truth, they invariably followed the course which they deemed right, without any regard either to its consequences, or the chances of success with which it was attended. Isolated in the midst of their woods, they lived alone with their children and their cattle; their conversation, their amusements, their songs, all partook of the rural character. Governed by ancient habits, they detested every species of innovation, and knew no principle in politics or religion, but to fear God and honour the King.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Beauch. i.  
14, 15.  
Laroch. 35.  
Guerres  
des Vend.  
i. 24, Th.  
iv. 166.

Religion, as might naturally be expected with such manners, exercised an unbounded sway over these simple people. They looked up with filial veneration to their village pastors, whose habits and benevolence rendered them a faithful image of the primitive church. But little removed from their flocks either in wealth, situation, or information, they sympathized with their feelings, partook of their festivities, assuaged their sorrows. They were to be seen beside the cradle of childhood, the fireside of maturity, the deathbed of age; they were regarded as the best friends of this life, and the dispensers of eternal felicity in that to come. The supporters of the Revolution accused them of fanaticism; and doubtless

Strong religious  
feelings of  
the people.

CHAP. cities, the religious fanaticism of La Vendée only  
 XII. drew tighter the bonds of moral duty, or enlarge  
 1793. the sphere of Christian charity.

When the Revolution broke out in 1789, the inhabitants of this district were not distinguished by any peculiar opposition to its tenets. Those who dwelt in the towns were there, as elsewhere, warm supporters of the new order of things : and though the inhabitants of the Bocage felt averse to any changes which disturbed the tranquillity of their rural lives, yet they yielded obedience to all the orders of the Assembly and only showed their predilection for their ancient masters by electing them to all the situations of trust of which they had the disposal. In vain the revolutionary authorities urged them to exert the privileges with which the new constitution had invested them and appoint members of their own body to the situations of trust of which they had the disposal ; the current ran so strongly in favour of the old proprietors, that all their efforts were fruitless. When the National Guards were formed, the seigneur was sought in every parish to become its commander when the mayors were to be appointed, he was immediately invested with the dignity ; when the seignorial seats were ordered to be removed from the churches, the peasants refused to execute it ; all the efforts of the revolutionists, like throwing water on higher level, only brought an accession of power to the depositaries of the ancient authority. A memorable instance of the kindly feeling which necessarily grows up between a resident body of landed proprietors and the tenantry on their estates ;<sup>1</sup> and a decisive proof of the triumphant stand which might have been made against the fury of the Revolution, had the same good offices which had there produced so large a r

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.  
 36. Th.  
 iv. 167.  
 Guerres  
 des Vend.  
 i. 145.  
 Lac. xi. 14.  
 Beauch. i.  
 17, 25.

tern of gratitude on the part of the peasantry, existed  
on the landlords' side in the other parts of France.

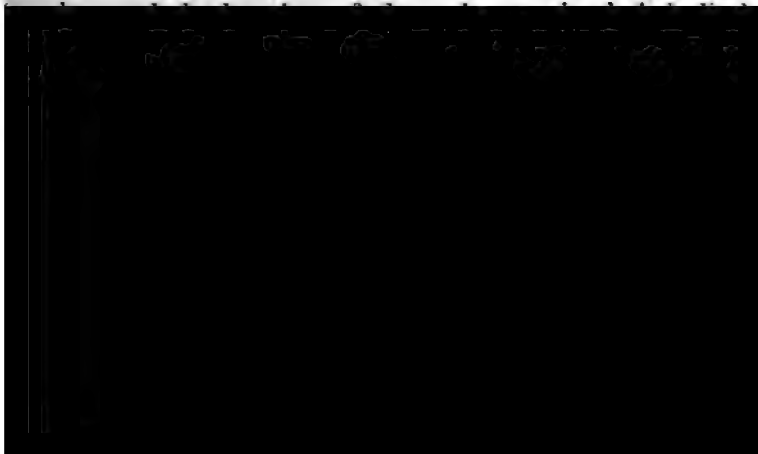
CHAP.  
XII.

It was the violent measures of the Assembly  
against the clergy which first awakened the sym-  
pathy of the rural tenantry. When the people in  
Bocage saw their ancient pastors, who had been  
brought from their own circle, bred up amongst them-  
selves, and to whom they were attached by every  
bond of affection and gratitude, removed because they  
refused to take the revolutionary oaths, and their  
places supplied by a new set of teachers, imbued with  
different tenets, strangers in the country, and igno-  
rant of its dialect, their indignation knew no bounds.  
They ceased to attend the churches where the in-  
stalling clergy had been installed, and assembled  
with zeal in the woods and solitudes, where the  
expelled clergy still taught their faithful and weeping  
flocks. The new clergyman of the parish of Echau-  
voignies was obliged to quit his living from the  
experienced impossibility of procuring either fire or  
provisions in a parish of four thousand inhabitants.  
These angry feelings led to several contests between  
the National Guards of the towns, or the gendar-  
merie and the peasantry, in which the people suffered

1793.

Discontent  
excited by  
the first  
severity  
against the  
priests.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
38, 39.  
Guerres



CHAP. and the heroism of the peasants who were put  
XII. death, evinced the strength of the religious enthu-

1793. asm which had now taken possession of their min-

"Lay down your arms!" exclaimed several Rep-  
tican horsemen to a peasant of Lower Poitou, w  
only defended himself with a fork. "Restore  
first my God," replied he, and fell pierced by t  
and-twenty wounds.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this heroic sp-

<sup>1</sup> Beauch.  
i. 26, 28.

confined to the peasantry: it pervaded also  
classes in these rural communities. During  
summer of 1792, the gentlemen of Brittany  
tered into an extensive association for the p  
pose of rescuing the country from the oppress  
yoke which they had received from the Paris  
demagogues. At the head of the whole was  
Marquis de la Rouarie, one of those remarkable  
who rise into eminence during the stormy days o  
revolution, from conscious ability to direct its cur  
Ardent, impetuous, and enthusiastic, he was f  
distinguished in the American war, when the in  
pidity of his conduct attracted the admiration of  
Republican troops, and the same qualities rende  
him at first an ardent supporter of the Revolutio  
France; but when the atrocities of the people beg  
he espoused with equal warmth the opposite si  
and used the utmost efforts to rouse the noblesse  
Brittany against the plebeian yoke which had b  
imposed upon them by the National Assembly.

submitted his plan to the Count d'Artois, and l  
organized one so extensive as would have pro  
extremely formidable to the Convention, if the  
treat of the Duke of Brunswick, in September 17  
had not damped the whole of the west of Fran  
then ready to break out into insurrection.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Beauch.  
i. 28.

Still the organization continued, and he had c

trived to engage not only all Brittany, but the greater part of the gentlemen of La Vendée, in the cause, when his death, occasioned by a paroxysm of grief for the execution of Louis, cut him off in the midst of his ripening schemes, and proved an irreparable loss to the Royalist party, by depriving it of the advantages which otherwise would have arisen from simultaneous and concerted operations on both banks of the Loire. The conspiracy was discovered after his death, and twelve of the noblest gentlemen in Brittany perished on the same day, in thirteen minutes, under the same guillotine. They all behaved with the utmost constancy, refused the assistance of the constitutional clergy, and after tenderly embracing at the foot of the scaffold, died exclaiming "*Vive le Roi!*" One young lady of rank and beauty, Angelique Dèsilles, was condemned by mistake for her sister-in-law, for whom she was taken. She refused to let the error be divulged, and died with serenity the victim of heroic affection.<sup>1</sup>

These severities excited the utmost indignation among all the Royalists in the west of France. These feelings, with difficulty suppressed during the winter of 1792, broke out into open rebellion in consequence of the levy of three hundred thousand men ordered by the Convention in February 1793. The

CHAP.

XII

1793.

Excessive  
cruelty

with which

it was sup-  
pressed,and gene-  
ral indig-nation  
thence

excited.

Beauch, i.

34, 63, 70.

The levy

of 300,000

men occa-

sions an in-

surrection.

CHAP. masters of a piece of cannon. This celebrated  
 XII. leader, having heard of the revolt at St Florent, was  
 1793. strongly moved by the recital, and addressing five  
 peasants who surrounded him:—"We will be  
 ruined," he exclaimed, "if we remain inactive;  
 the country will be crushed by the Republic. We  
 must all take up arms." The whole six set out  
 amidst the tears of their wives and children, and  
 fearlessly commenced a war with a power which the  
 kings of Europe were unable to subdue.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.  
 47. Guerres  
 des Vend.  
 i. 67, 72.  
 Beauch. i.  
 89, 90.

A few days after, the insurrection assumed a more  
 serious aspect at Cholet, which was attacked by  
 several thousand armed peasants; the Republicans  
 opposed a vigorous resistance, but they were at length  
 overwhelmed by the number and resolution of the  
 insurgents. An incident on that occasion marked  
 in a singular manner the novel character of the war.  
 In the line of retreat which the Republicans followed,  
 was placed a representation of our Saviour on Mount  
 Calvary, and this arrested the progress of the victors,  
 as all the peasants, as they passed the holy spot, fell  
 on their knees before the images, and addressed a  
 prayer, with uplifted hands, before they resumed the  
 pursuit. This continued even under a severe fire  
 from the National Guards; the peasants threw them-  
 selves on their knees within twenty-five paces of the  
 post occupied by the enemy, and bared their bosoms  
 to the fatal fire, as if courting death in so holy a  
 cause. When they made themselves masters of the  
 town, instead of indulging in pillage or excesses of  
 any sort, they flocked in crowds to the churches to  
 return thanks to God; and contented themselves  
 with the provisions which were voluntarily brought  
 to them by the inhabitants. Every where the in-  
 surrection bore the same character; the indignities

Fifty thou-  
 sand men  
 are soon in  
 arms.  
 March 14.



offered to the clergy were its exciting cause; and a mixture of courage and devotion its peculiar character. In a few days fifty thousand men were in a state of insurrection in the four departments of La Vendée; but on the approach of Easter the inhabitants all returned to their homes to celebrate their devotions; and a Republican column dispatched from Angers, traversed the whole country without meeting with any opposition, or finding an enemy on their road.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.

49. Jom.

iii. 390.

Beauch. i.

95, 97,

102. Th.

iv. 171,

172.

Guerres

des Vend.

i. 74, 76.

After the Easter solemnities were over, the peasants assembled anew; but they now felt the necessity of having some leaders of a higher rank to direct their movements, and went to the chateaus to ask the few gentlemen who remained in the country to put themselves at their head. They were not long in answering the appeal: M. De Lescure, De Larochejaquelein, Bonchamps, Stofflet, D'Elbée, put themselves at the head of the tenantry over which they had most influence; while the brave Cathelineau, though only a charioteer, who had already, by his successful enterprise, gained the confidence of the peasantry, was made commander-in-chief—names since immortalized in the rolls of Fame, and which long opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of revolution, and acquired only additional lustre, and shone with a

Their leaders are appointed.

CHAP. my courage. If I advance, follow me; if I retreat,  
XII. kill me; if I fall, avenge me." The peasants answered

1793. him with acclamations; but their arms and equipments were far from corresponding to the spirit by which they were animated. Most of them had no other weapons but scythes, pikes, and sticks; not two hundred fusils were to be found among many thousand men. Sixty pounds of powder, discovered in the hands of a miner, which had been used for blasting rocks, formed their whole ammunition. The skill and intrepidity of their chief, however, supplied every deficiency. He led them next day to attack a Republican detachment at Aubiers, and, by disposing them behind the hedges, kept up so murderous a fire upon the enemy, that they wavered, upon which he rushed forward at the head of the most resolute, and drove them from the field with the loss of two pieces of cannon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
86, 67.  
Jom. iii.  
390.  
Bonch. 41.  
Beauch. i.  
141.

La Vendée soon became the theatre of innumerable conflicts, in which the tactics and success of the insurgents were nearly the same. An inconceivable degree of activity immediately prevailed over the whole country; the male population were all in insurrection, or busily engaged in the manufacture of arms; the shepherds converted their peaceful huts into workshops, where nothing was heard but strokes of the hammer, and the din of warlike preparation. Instruments of husbandry were rudely transformed into hostile weapons; formed for the support of life, they became the deadly instruments of its destruction. Agriculture at the same time was not neglected, it was intrusted to the women and children; but if fortune proved adverse, and the hostile columns approached, they, too, left their homes,<sup>2</sup> and flew to

<sup>2</sup> Bonch.  
43. Jom.  
iii. 320.

the field of battle, to stimulate the courage of their husbands, stanch their wounds, or afford them shelter from the pursuit of their enemies.

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

The method of fighting pursued by this brave but motely assemblage was admirably adapted both to the spirit by which they were animated, and the peculiar nature of the district in which the contest was conducted. Their tactics consisted in lining the numerous hedges with which the fields were enclosed, and remaining unseen, till the Republicans had got fairly enveloped by their forces; they then opened a fire at once from every direction, and with such fatal accuracy, that a large proportion of the enemy were generally prostrated by the first discharge. This thicket species of warfare continued till the Republican ranks began to fall into confusion; upon which they instantly leapt from their places of concealment with loud cries, and headed by their chiefs, rushed upon the artillery. The bravest took the lead; fixing their eyes on the cannon's mouth, they prostrated themselves on the ground the moment they saw the flash; and rising up when the sound was heard, ran forward with the utmost rapidity to the battery, where the cannoniers, if they had not taken to flight, were generally bayoneted at

The peasants' mode of fighting.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

General  
confusion  
of ranks in  
the Vendé-  
an forces.

were, at the commencement of the war, alike ignorant of the military art. The soldiers were never drilled, a limited number of them only had been habituated to the use of fire-arms. In this extremity the choice of the men fell on the most intrepid or skilful of their number, without much attention to superiority of station. A brave peasant, a shop-keeper in a little town, was the comrade of a gentleman: they led the same life, were interested in the same objects, shared the same dangers. The distinction of birth, the pride of descent, even the shades of individual thought, were obliterated in the magnitude of present perils. Many differences of opinion existed in the beginning of the contest, but the atrocities of the Republicans soon made them disappear in the Royalist army. Persons of intelligence or skill, of whatever grade, became officers, they knew not how; the peasants insensibly ranged themselves under their orders, and maintained their obedience only as long as they showed themselves worthy to command.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
69, 100,  
101,  
Beauch. i.  
185, 190.

Formi-  
dable na-  
ture of this  
warfare.

It was extremely difficult for the Republicans in the outset to withstand this irregular force, acting in such a country, and animated with so enthusiastic a spirit. There was in all the early actions a prodigious difference between their losses and those of their opponents. The peasants, dispersed in single file between the hedges, fired with a clear view of their enemies, who were either in columns, or two deep in the fields; while their discharge could only be answered by a discharge at a green mass, through which the figures of the Royalists were scarcely discernible. Harassed and disconcerted by this murderous fire, the Republicans were rarely able to withstand the terrible burst, when, with loud shouts, the Royalists

broke from their concealment, and fell sword in hand  
 on the thinned ranks of their opponents. Defeat was  
 still more bloody than action. Broken and dispersed,  
 they fled through a woody and impervious country,  
 and fell into the hands of the few peasantry who still  
 remained in the villages, and assembled with alacrity  
 to complete the destruction of their enemies. When  
 the Royalists, on the other hand, were routed, they  
 immediately dispersed, leapt over the hedges, and  
 returned home without the victors being able to  
 reach them. Nowise discouraged by the reverse, they  
 assembled again in arms, with renewed hopes, in a  
 few days, and gaily took the field, singing "Vive le  
 Roi quand même."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
69, 70.

Beauch. i.  
184, 188,  
190.

When a day was fixed on for any exploit, the to-  
 cain sounded in the village assigned as the rendezvous  
 of the peasants—the neighbouring steeples repeated  
 the signal, the farmers abandoned their homes if it  
 was night, their ploughs if day, hung their fusils over  
 their shoulders, bound their girdle loaded with cart-  
 ridges round their waists, tied their handkerchiefs  
 over the broad-brimmed hats which shaded their sun-  
 burnt visages, addressed a short prayer to God, and  
 gaily repaired to the appointed place, with a full con-  
 fidence in the protection of Heaven and the justice

Their pre-  
parations  
for an ex-  
pedition.

CHAP. holding his musket in one hand, resting on the  
 XII. watching like a savage animal, without either n  
 1793. or drawing his breath.

Meanwhile the enemy's column advanced, pr  
 by a cloud of scouts and light troops, who were a  
 to proceed without challenge close to the lurkin  
 Their first onset, and enthusias-  
 tic valour. They waited till the division was fairly engag  
 the defile, and was so far advanced that it cou  
 recede ; then a cry was suddenly raised like t  
 a cat, and repeated along the whole line, as a  
 that every one was at his post. If the same  
 was given, a human voice was suddenly heard  
 ing the attack. Instantly a deadly volley pro  
 from every tree, every hedge, every thicket: a  
 of balls fell upon the soldiers without their bei  
 to see the assailants, the dead and the wound  
 together into the bottom of the road, and if t  
 lumn did not immediately fall into confusion, a  
 voice of the officer, heard above the roar of mu  
 roused them to burst through the hedges by  
 they were enveloped, the peasants instantly fe  
 behind the next enclosure, and from its leafy r  
 a fire as deadly proceeded as that which mowe  
 down on the road. If this second hedge was  
 in the same manner, three, four, ten, twenty in  
 ments of the same sort offer their support  
 murderous retreat : for the whole country is  
 vided in this manner, and every where offer  
 children an asylum, to its enemies a tomb. I  
 great cause of the early and astonishing suc  
 the Vendéans was their enthusiastic and indom  
 valour. The Republicans were, for the mos  
 composed of National Guards and volunteers  
 though greatly better armed, equipped, and  
 lined, were totally destitute of the ardent, d

spirit with which the Royalists were animated. The former took the field from no common feeling, but from the terror of the requisitions and sanguinary measures of the Convention; the latter fought alongside of their neighbours and landlords, in defence of their hearths, their children, and their religion; the one acted in obedience to the dictates of an unseen but terrible power, which had crushed the freedom in whose name they were arrayed; the other yielded to their hereditary feelings of loyalty, and deemed themselves secure of Paradise in combating for their salvation.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Desmon-  
court, La  
Vendée,  
31.

Guerres  
des Vend.  
i. 55.

Laroch. 70.  
Beauch. i.  
185, 189.

Had the Vendéan chiefs possessed the same authority over their troops, which is enjoyed by the commanders of regular soldiers, they might at one time have marched to Paris, and done that which all the forces of the Coalition were unable to effect. But their greatest success was always paralyzed, by the impossibility of retaining the soldiers at their colours for any considerable length of time. The bulk of the forces were never assembled for more than three or four days together. No sooner was the battle lost or won, the expedition successful or defeated, than the peasants returned to their homes. The chiefs were left alone with a few hundred deserters, or

But cannot  
be kept to  
their stan-  
dards after  
any suc-  
cess.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

such a place, at such an hour, with provisions for so many days." The order was obeyed with alacrity; the only emulation among the peasants was, who should attend the expedition. Each soldier brought a certain quantity of bread with him, and some stores were also provided by the generals. The corn and oxen necessary for the subsistence of the army were voluntarily furnished by the gentlemen and chief proprietors, or drawn by requisitions from the estates of the emigrants; and as the troops never remained together for any length of time, no want of provisions was ever experienced. The villages vied with each other for the privilege of sending carts for the service of the army, and the peasant girls flocked to the chapels on the road-side to furnish provisions to the soldiers, or offer up prayers for their success.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.  
101, 102.  
Jom. iii.  
390, 391,  
397. Th.  
iv. 174.  
Beauch. i.  
184.  
Guerres  
des Vend.  
i. 98.

Their total  
want of  
baggage  
and equip-  
ments.

The army had neither chariots nor baggage-wagons; tents were totally out of the question. But the hospitals were regulated with peculiar care; all the wounded, whether Royalists or Republicans, being transported to St Laurent sur Sevre, where the charitable sisters and religious votaries, who flocked from all quarters to the scene of woe, assuaged their sufferings. They never could be brought to establish patrols or sentinels, or take any of the precautions against surprise which are in use among regular troops; and this irregularity not only exposed them to frequent reverses, but rendered unavailing their greatest successes. The men marched, in general, four abreast, the officers in front being alone acquainted with their destination. They had few dragoons; and their cavalry, which never exceeded nine hundred men, was almost entirely mounted by the horses taken from the Republicans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Beauch.  
i. 185, 186.  
Laroche.  
103.

When the troops were assembled, they were divided.



different columns, to attack the points selected by the generals. The only orders given, were—  
 "a leader goes such a road; who follows him?" 1793.  
 "At the point of attack, the commands were given after the same fashion: Move towards that tree, towards that tree; leap that hedge, were the orders ever issued. Neither threats, nor the promise of rewards, could induce them to send forward; when that duty was necessary, the officers were obliged to take it upon themselves. The peasants never went into battle without saying their prayers, and generally made the sign of the cross before they discharged their firelocks. They had a few standards, which were displayed on important occasions; but no sooner was the victory gained, than they placed standards and drums upon their carts, and returned with songs of triumph to their villages. When battle began, and the sound of the musketry and cannon was heard, the women, the children, the sick, the aged, flocked to the churches, or prostrated themselves in the fields to implore a blessing on their arms. With truth it might be said, that on such occasions there was but one thought, one wish, throughout all La Vendée; every one waiting, in silence, the issue of a struggle on which the fate of

CHAP.  
XII.

Their  
mode of  
giving  
orders and  
fighting.



CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.  
104, 105.  
Jom. iii.  
390, 391.

war, to have a white flag on each steeple ; to be permitted to furnish a detachment for the body-guard of the sovereign, and to have some old projects for the improvement of the roads and navigation of the country, carried into effect, constituted the sole wishes of those whose valour had so nearly accomplished the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

The early successes of the Vendéans, and their enthusiastic valour, did not extinguish the humanity which their dispositions, and the influence of religion, had nourished in their bosoms. In the latter stages of the war, the atrocities of the Republicans, the sight of their villages in flames, and their wives and children massacred, inflamed an inextinguishable desire of vengeance ; but during the first months of the contest, their gentleness was as touching as their valour was admirable. After entering by assault into the towns, they neither pillaged the inhabitants, nor exacted either contribution or ransom ; frequently they were to be seen, shivering with cold, or starving with hunger, in quarters abounding both with fuel and provisions. "In the house where I lodged," says Madame de Larochejaquelein, at Bressuire, "there were many soldiers, who were lamenting that they had no tobacco ; I asked if there was none in the town. 'Plenty,' they replied, 'but we have no money to buy it.' Under our windows, a quarrel arose between two horsemen, and the one wounded the other slightly with his sabre ; his antagonist quickly disarmed him, and was proceeding to extremities, when M. de Larochejaquelein exclaimed from the windows — 'Jesus Christ pardoned his murderers, and a soldier of the Christian army is about to kill his comrade !' The man, abashed, put up his sabre, and embraced his enemy." These touching incidents occurred in

Their humanity till it was extinguished by the Republicans.

n recently carried by main force, occupied at a  
 by twenty thousand insurgents, and peculiarly  
 rious to the Royalists, from the cruelty which  
 ational Guards had exercised towards the pea-  
 y. "In this town," she adds, "I was surprised,  
 e evening, to see all the soldiers in the house  
 me on their knees at prayers, and the streets  
 with peasants at their devotion; when they  
 concluded, they led me out to see their favou-  
 rannon, called Marie Jeanne, their first trophy  
 the Republicans, which, after having been re-  
 d, had again fallen into their hands; it was de-  
 ed with flowers and ribands, and the peasants  
 aced it with tears of joy." When Thouars was  
 ed by assault, the Republican inhabitants were  
 e utmost consternation, as they anticipated a  
 e retaliation for the massacre perpetrated by  
 upon the Royalists in that town, in the August  
 eding. What then was their astonishment, when  
 beheld the soldiers, instead of plundering or  
 mitting acts of cruelty, flocking to the churches,  
 returning thanks to God at the altars for the  
 ess with which he had blessed their arms! Even  
 garrison was treated with the most signal hu-  
 ity. Twelve only were retained from each

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

Laroch.

90, 91.

Beauch. i.

102, 104.



CHAP. of Charette ; and, under the influence of revolting  
XII. news of the Republican cruelties at Nantes and Paris,

1793. the prisons were forced by a furious mob, and above  
eighty prisoners massacred in one day. Nearly five  
hundred Republicans fell victims to the rage of  
a Royalist Committee, at the head of which was a  
wretch named Souchu, who soon after hoisted his  
true colours and joined the Republicans, but fell a  
victim to the just indignation of the widows of those  
he had murdered. Charette, on his return, was  
horror-struck at these atrocities, and, finding his  
military authority not yet sufficiently established  
to coerce them, he had recourse to the clergy to aid  
his efforts. They fabricated a miracle at the tomb  
of a saint to influence the minds of the people, and  
while they were prostrated round the altar, con-  
jured them, in the name of the God of Peace,  
never to kill but in the hour of combat. At the  
same time, Charette forbade any prisoner to be slain  
in his army under pain of death, and concealed in  
his own house several zealous Republicans, whose  
heads were loudly demanded by his soldiers.  
By these means, the cruelty which had com-  
menced and stained the Royalist cause in Lower  
Poitou, was arrested, and a reply made, in a true  
Christian spirit, to the savage decrees of the Con-  
vention, which had ordered every Vendéan taken in  
arms to be put to death without mercy in twenty-four  
hours.<sup>1</sup>

March 19,  
1793.  
<sup>1</sup> Pièces  
Just. No.  
10.  
Beauch. i.  
116, 123.  
Th. iv.  
172.

Character  
of Bon-  
champs.

M. Bonchamps, chief of the army of Anjou, was  
the most distinguished of the Royalist leaders. To  
the heroic courage of the other chiefs, he joined con-  
summate military talents, and an eloquence which at  
once gave him an unlimited sway over the minds of  
the soldiers. Had he lived, the fate of the war would,

in all probability, have been widely different, and the expedition beyond the Loire, which led to such disastrous results, the commencement of the most splendid success. Gentle in his manners, humane in his conduct, affable in his demeanour, he was adored by his soldiers, who were at once the most skilful and best disciplined of the Vendéan corps. In the midst of the furies of a civil war, and the dissensions of rival chiefs, he was the enemy of intrigue; free from personal ambition, he was intrusted with an important command, solely from his personal merits. His character may be appreciated from the words which he addressed to his young and weeping wife, when he put himself at the head of his troops. "Summon to your aid all your courage; redouble your patience and resignation; you will have need for the exercise of all these virtues. We must not deceive ourselves; we can look for no recompense in this world for what we are to suffer; all that it could offer would be beneath the purity of our motives, and the sanctity of our cause. We must never expect human glory; civil strife affords none. We shall see our houses burned; we shall be plundered, proscribed, outraged, calumniated, perhaps massacred. Let us thank God for enabling us to foresee the worst, since that presage,

CHAP.

XII.

1793.



CHAP. traordinary degree of intelligence, and the strongest  
XII. natural sagacity, he joined a nervous eloquence, ad-

1793. mirably calculated to influence the soldiers. His age was thirty-four years; his disposition humble, modest, and retiring. He was without either ambition or cupidity; humble and unassuming, he sought only to do his duty. He acquired influence without either desiring it or intending it; and got a lead in the armies he knew not how—a situation in which its noble leaders had the patriotism and judgment at once to confirm him. Such was his reputation for piety and rectitude, that the peasants called him the Saint of Anjou, and earnestly sought to be placed in battle by his side, deeming it impossible that those could be wounded who were near so unblemished a man.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.  
95.  
Beauch. i.  
91, 92.

Of Henri Larochejaquelein, son of the Marquis Larochejaquelein, was the leader of all the parishes which were situated round Chatillon. He refused to follow the general tide of emigration, and, on the contrary, repaired to Paris to defend the constitutional monarchy; and when the revolt on the 10th August overturned the throne, he set out for La Vendée, exclaiming, “I will retire to my province, and soon you will hear of me!” Though still young, he acquired the confidence of the soldiers by his invincible courage and coolness in action, which gained for him the surname of the Intrepid. He was reproached for being too forward in battle, carried away by his ardour, and forgetting the general in the soldier. Frequently before making a prisoner, he offered to give him the chance of escape by a personal conflict. Councils of war, or the duties of a commander, fatigued his buoyant disposition, and he generally fell asleep after giving his opinion, and answered to the reproaches of his brother officers, “Why do you insist upon

making me a general? I wish only to be a hussar, to have the pleasure of fighting." Notwithstanding this passion for danger, he was full of sweetness and humanity; and when the combat was over, no one was more generous to the vanquished. Even after his eminent services, he formed only the most humble wishes for himself, "Should we replace the King on the throne," said he, "I hope he will give me a regiment of hussars." He performed the most eminent services in the war, and at its most critical period was unanimously elected to the supreme command. After innumerable heroic actions, he fell in an obscure skirmish, and was interred in the cemetery of St Aubin. "Chance," says the annalist, "has covered his tomb, as well as that of his brother Louis, with the Flower of Achilles; and never did it blossom over remains more worthy of the name."<sup>1</sup>

M. de Lescure, the cousin and intimate friend of Henri de Larochejaquelein, was distinguished by a bravery of a totally different character; cool, intrepid, and sagacious, he was not less daring than his youthful comrade; but his valour was the result of reflection and a sense of duty. His counsels were much regarded, from his knowledge of fortification

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Genoude,  
47. Bonch.  
41. La-  
roch. 96,  
98. Jom.  
iii. 393.Of M. de  
Lescure.

CHAP. the debts of an extravagant father: and it was not  
XII.

1793. till he was twenty-five, and had become a father,  
that gentler feelings softened the native austerity of  
his character. His young wife, only daughter of the  
Marquis of Donnissan, a rich heiress, united to all  
the beauty and graces more than the courage of her  
sex. The only occasion on which he was ever heard  
to swear, was when his indignant soldiers mas-  
sacred a prisoner behind his back, whom he had  
disarmed in the act of discharging a musket at  
his bosom. The number of lives which he saved  
during the war was incalculable; and, alone of all  
the chiefs in that memorable struggle, it could be  
said with truth, that his glory was unstained by  
human blood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.

97. Bonch.

47.

Beauch. i.

147.

In the Grand Army, as it was called, of La  
OF D'EL- Vendée, the principal chief was M. D'Elbée, a pea-  
bée. sant of Saxon descent, but naturalized in France.  
He was forty years old when the contest commenced,  
ignorant of the world, devout, enthusiastic, and  
superstitious; but his principal merit consisted in  
an extraordinary coolness in danger, which rivalled  
that of Marshal Ney himself. He more nearly re-  
sembled than any of the other chiefs the Puritan  
leaders of the great rebellion in England. His  
talents for war were great, and his courage un-  
daunted; but greater still was his influence over his  
rude and enthusiastic followers. His devotion was  
sincere; but finding, like Cromwell, that it was the  
most powerful lever to move the peasants, he carried  
it to an extravagant height. He acquired, by ex-  
traordinary sanctity, an unbounded ascendancy over  
his soldiers, and justified their confidence by great  
talents as a leader, which ultimately led to his ap-  
pointment as commander-in-chief; <sup>2</sup> a situation which

<sup>2</sup> Jom. iii.

392.

Thureau,

Mém. 92.

Beauch. i.

97. Th.

iv. 176.



ith unshaken firmness during a period of CHAP.  
XII.  
and ruin.

an Alsatian by birth, and a gamekeeper by 1793.

was early distinguished by his devotion to Stofflet.

cause, and headed some of the first detach-

ch took the field. Endowed with a power-

hardy in his habits, harsh in his manners,

acquired, like the chiefs of gentle blood, the

soldiers; but his stern character and un-

ceverity made him more implicitly obeyed

other leader, and on that account his ser-

vice highly prized by the Royalist generals.

Intelligent, and brave, he was a skilful par-

tyer than a consummate general; and when <sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
95. Jom.

of the other chiefs opened to him the way iii. 394.  
Beauch. i.

to command, his ambition and jealousy con-

tributed much to the ruin of the common cause.<sup>1</sup>

At length, the last of this illustrious band, succeed-

ed late in the struggle, and when the war And Cha-

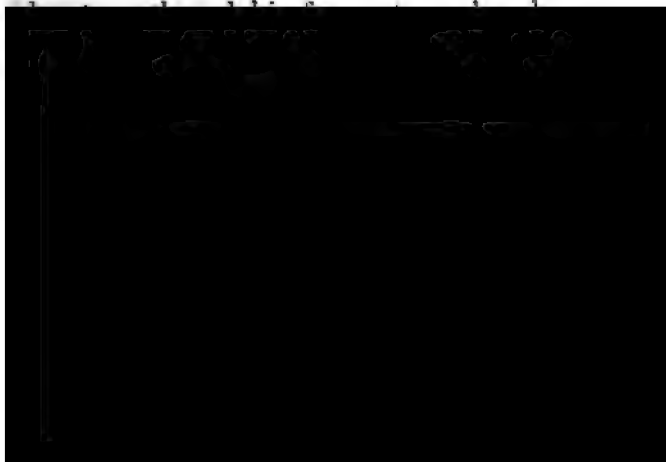
became an affair of posts rather than a regular rette.

He was originally a lieutenant in the navy,

with a feeble and delicate constitution; but the

love of the chase, to which he was passionately

devoted, and in which he frequently lay for months



CHAP. on the Gospels, at the High Altar of the Chu  
XII. Machecault, to be faithful to the cause of Go

1793. the throne. His courage was unconquerab  
firmness invincible, his resources unbounded  
long after the conflict had become hopeless in  
quarters, he maintained, in the marshes and f  
of Lower La Vendée, a desperate struggle.  
was the terror inspired by his achievements,  
when he was at the head of only fourteen folk  
the Convention offered him a million of francs  
would retire to England; but he refused the  
and preferred, even with that inconsiderable ba  
wage war with a power to which the kings of E  
were hastening to make submission. Betray  
length to his enemies, he met his fate with unsl  
firmness, and left the glorious name of being th  
and most indomitable of the Vendéan chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv.  
175, and  
viii. 216.  
Beauch. i.  
105, 106.  
Laroch.  
415.

The troops which these chiefs commanded  
The forces divided into three divisions. The first, or the  
which they of Anjou, under the orders of Bonchamps, com  
severally of twelve thousand men, was destined to comb  
command- Republicans from the side of Angers. The se  
ed. called the Grand Army, under the comman  
D'Elbée, amounted to twenty thousand men, a  
important occasions it could be raised to doubl  
amount. The third, called the Army of the M  
obeyed the orders of Charette, and at one time  
was raised to twenty thousand combatants. B  
these, a corps of twelve thousand men was stat  
at Montaigut, to observe the garrison of Luçon  
several smaller bodies, amounting in all to  
thousand men, kept up the communications be  
these larger corps. The early measures of the  
vention to crush the insurrection, were mark  
the bloody spirit which had so long charact

their proceedings. Orders were dispatched, on the first intelligence of the revolt, to the Republican soldiers, to exterminate men, women, children, animals, and vegetation. They sent against them the ruffian bands of the Marsellois, who, on their arrival at Bressuire, immediately exclaimed, that they must begin by massacring the prisoners; and surrounding the jail, put to death eleven peasants, who had been seized in their beds a few days before, on suspicion of being in concert with the insurgents. The fate of these brave men, who were cut down, with sabres while on their knees praying to God, and exclaiming "Vive le Roi," excited an universal enthusiasm among the inhabitants. "It is painful," said the Republican Commissioners, "to be obliged to proceed to extremities; but they cannot be avoided, from the fanaticism of the peasants, who, in no one instance, have been known to betray their landlords. We must cut down the hedges and woods; decimate the inhabitants; send the remainder into the interior of France; and repeople the country by colonies of patriots.<sup>1</sup>"

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

Nor were these atrocities the work merely of the generals in command. By a solemn decree of the Convention, they were enjoined to proceed with unheard of rigour against the insurgents. By this sanguinary law, "all the persons who have taken any share in the revolts are declared *hors la loi*, and in consequence deprived of trial by jury, and all the privileges accorded by law to accused persons; if taken in arms, they are to be shot within twenty-four hours by a military commission, proceeding on the testimony of a single witness;<sup>2</sup> those who had any share in the revolt, though not taken in arms, shall be subjected to the same mode of trial and

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
388. La-  
roch. 92.  
Th. iv.  
175, 176.

Savage  
orders of  
the Con-  
vention  
against  
giving any  
quarter.  
March 19,  
1793.

<sup>2</sup> Decree,  
March 19,  
1793.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxv. 132,  
133.  
Beauch. i.  
367.  
Bonch. 22,  
71, 73.

CHAP. XII. punishment; all the priests and nobles, with families and servants, shall undergo the same punishment; the pain of death shall in all cases draw it a confiscation of goods; and the same shall with those slain in battle, when the corpse is inflicted before the criminal judges."

The Royalists, in no instance in the course of the war, resorted to any measures of retaliation, except at Machecault, where the peasants already noticed, immediately after the insurrection and before Charette had succeeded to the command, exercised the most revolting cruelties. These cities, to which the armies of La Vendée proper were ever a stranger, and which were severely repaid by Charette, when he arrived at the command, incurred an incalculable injury to the Royalist cause, by the example which they inspired in the neighbouring towns, not only prevented the opulent city of Nantes from joining the insurrection, but produced that obstinate resistance on the part of its inhabitants to the orders of Cathelineau which occasioned the first and most disastrous of their reverses. But the Republicans found that they had a more formidable enemy to contend with than the unarmed prisoners, on whose atrocities at Paris had so long been exercised. The first expedition of importance undertaken by the Royalists was against Thouars, which was besieged by General Quetenau, with a division of five thousand men. A large proportion of the prisoners were here brought into action for the first time; but their courage supplied the place of discipline and experience.<sup>1</sup>

After a severe fire, the ammunition of the Royalists began to fail, upon which M. de Lescure seized upon a soldier, descended the heights on which

The  
Royalists,  
except in  
one in-  
stance,  
never re-  
taliate.

4th May  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
481.

troops were posted, and calling to the soldiers to follow him, rushed over the bridge which led to the city.

CHAP.  
XII.

A tremendous discharge of grape and musketry 1793.

deterred even the bravest of his followers, and he stood alone amidst the smoke; he returned to his companions, and exhorted them to follow him, and again tried the perilous pass; but again he stood alone, his clothes pierced in many places with balls. The Republicans are defeated at Thours, 4th May 1793.

At this moment Henri de Larochejaquelein came up, and, along with Foret and a single peasant, advanced to support their heroic comrade; all four rushed over the bridge, followed by the soldiers, who now closely pursued their steps, assailed and carried the barricades, while Bonchamps, who had discovered a ford at a short distance, destroyed a body of the National Guard who defended it, and drove the Republicans back to the town. Its ancient walls could not long resist the fury of the victors; Henri de Larochejaquelein, by mounting on the shoulders of a soldier, reached the top of the rampart, helped up the boldest of his followers, and speedily the town was carried. Six thousand prisoners, twelve cannons, and twenty caissons, fell into the hands of the Royalists. Though strongly inclined to Repub-



CHAP. it was carried, and the garrison, after sustainin  
 XII. severe losses, with difficulty escaped to Fontenay  
 1793. Thither they were followed by the Royalists; bu  
 forming the strength of the army melted away during th  
 Chataignerie and advance; great numbers of the peasants returne  
 and to cultivate their fields, and put their families i  
 defeat at Fontenay. a place of security; and when the army came i  
 ay 5. sight of Fontenay, they only mustered ten thousan  
 ay 15. combatants. With this force they assailed the town  
 but though M. de Lescure and Larochejaquelei  
 penetrated into the suburbs, the Royalists were de  
 defeated on other sides, with the loss of twenty-four  
 pieces of cannon, including the celebrated Mari  
 Jeanne, so much the object of their veneration; an  
 the victorious wing with difficulty drew off their ar  
 tillery from the place. This first check spread th  
 deepest dejection through the army; Marie Jeanne  
 their favourite cannon, was taken; they had not  
 only six pieces left; the ammunition was exhausted  
 the soldiers had only a single cartridge remaining fo  
 each musket; and they were returning in number  
 to their villages. In this extremity, the firmness of  
 the chiefs restored the fortune of the war; they in  
 stantly took their determination; fell back to Cha  
 taignerie, spoke cheerfully to the peasants, declared  
 Laroch. that the reverse was a punishment of Heaven for  
 16, 119. some disorders committed by the troops, and sent  
 ac. xi. 26. orders to the priests in the interior to send forward  
 each. i. 71, 173. without delay, all the strength of their parishes.<sup>1</sup>  
 om. iii. 25.

An unexpected incident at this period contributed  
 in a powerful manner to revive the Royalist cause  
 bishop of An Abbé, who had been seized by the Republicans  
 .gra. made his escape to the insurgents, declared that h  
 great ef- was the Bishop of Agra, and arrived at Chatillon o  
 ct of an the very day of the defeat. The peasants, overjoye  
 nexpect-  
 incident.

ing a bishop amongst them, flew to receive benediction, and flocked in multitudes, full of piety, singing Psalms and Litanies, to rejoin the army. Thirty-five thousand were speedily assembled, and the Royalist leaders lost no time in taking advantage of their enthusiasm to repair the disaster. Bonchamps commanded the right, Lamoignon the centre, and D'Elbée the left, while Larochejaquelein led the small but determined band of horsemen. On the following day they marched to Fontenay, where the Republicans, ten thousand strong, with forty pieces of cannon, were posted up on the outside of the town to receive the army.

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

The Royalist army received absolution on the spot; and M. de Lescure addressed them in the following words:—"Let us advance, my sons; we have nothing to lose; we can only retake the cannon with our bayonets. Marie Jeanne must be rescued; she will be the prize of the swiftest of foot amongst you." The army answered with acclamations; but when they reached the Republican guns, the severity of the contest made the bravest hesitate. Upon this M. de Lescure advanced above thirty paces before his men, and stood in front of a battery of six pieces, which was



stantly fell on their knees, under the fire of the cannon. An officer wished to raise them: "Allow them," said Lescure, "to pray to God; they will not fight the worse for it." In effect, a moment after, the men sprang up and rushed forward, armed with staffs and the but-end of their muskets, with such resolution, to the cannon mouths, that the artillerymen deserted them, and fled in confusion towards the town. Meanwhile, M. de Bonchamps, who had skilfully disposed his right wing in an oblique order, pushed forward with his men, and threw in so murderous a fire, at the distance of fifty paces, that on his side also the Republicans gave way, and the victory was complete. The victors and fugitives entered together into the town, headed by Lescure, who was the first man within the gates. No sooner was he there than he used all his efforts to save the vanquished, incessantly exclaiming, "Lay down your arms; quarter to the vanquished." Forty pieces of cannon, several thousand muskets, ammunition, and stores in abundance, rewarded this the greatest triumph of the Royalist arms, who sustained no serious loss excepting that arising from the wound of Bonchamps, who was shot by a traitor to whom he had just given his life. It was not the least part of their success, in the estimation of the peasants, that they retook their first and much-loved gun, Marie Jeanne, which was rescued from the Republicans by Foret, who with his own hand slew two gens-d'armes who guarded it. The enthusiasm excited by the recovery of this favourite piece of artillery was unbounded.<sup>1</sup> Filled with joy, the peasants threw themselves on their knees, embraced their favourite cannon, covered it with branches, flowers,

Laroch.  
22, 123,  
25.  
Bonch.  
33.  
Lac.  
i. 28, 29.  
Laroch.  
i. 178,  
19.



garlands, and themselves drew it into the marketplace in Fontenay, preparatory to its removal to a place of security in the Bocage.

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

The Royalists were much perplexed with the course pursued with the prisoners, to the number of many thousands, who were now in their hands. To detain them in custody was impossible, for they had fortified places; to follow the example of the Republicans, and murder them, out of the question. At length it was determined to shave their heads, and send them back to the Republicans; a resolution, the execution of which caused no small merriment to the latter. After the success at Fontenay, it was proposed to advance to Niort, where all the Republican troops of the neighbourhood were assembled; but the troops returned so rapidly to their homes that it was found to be impossible. In four-and-twenty hours after the capture of the town, three-fourths of the army had returned to the Bocage, to recount their exploits to their agitated families. It was resolved, therefore, to withdraw from their conquest, which was an indefensible post in the midst of a hostile territory, and in a few days the whole army re-entered the Bocage.<sup>1</sup>

Humanity  
of the Vendéans to  
the prisoners.

Beauch. l.  
195, 196.  
Laroch.  
127.



CHAP. were now making the most vigorous efforts to check  
XII. the insurrection, had collected twenty-two thousand

1793. regular troops, besides a great number of National  
Guards. The Royalist forces forty thousand strong,  
approached this city on the 10th June. The Re-  
publican army had taken post in a fortified camp  
which surrounded the town. Their left rested on the  
heights in front of the old castle, their right on Saint  
Florent, while formidable batteries lined all the in-  
termediate space between these points. Field-works  
had been thrown up, and in many places redoubts  
completed, to strengthen their intrenched camp,  
which covered the whole space running through the  
heights from the broad and deep stream of the Thouet  
to the banks of the Loire. Sixteen thousand men,  
and nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, were as-  
sembled in that important post, which commanded  
one of the chief passages over that great river.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
30, 31.  
Jom. iii.  
398.  
Beauch. i.  
197, 199,  
232.

Their  
great as-  
sault on  
Saumur.  
June 10.

While the chiefs were deliberating about the best  
mode of assailing this formidable camp, the Ven-  
déans, of their own accord, engaged in the attack.  
Such was the ardour of the troops, in consequence of  
some successful skirmishes in which the advanced  
guard was engaged, that the whole army precipitated  
itself upon the town without waiting for the command  
of their leaders. This tumultuous assault, without  
any orders, was little calculated to ensure success;  
M. de Lescure was wounded; the sight of his blood,  
whom they believed invulnerable, shook the courage  
of the soldiers, and a charge of cuirassiers completed  
their disorder. The peasants, seeing that their balls  
could not pierce these steel-clad enemies, fled in con-  
fusion, and were only rallied by M. de Lescure behind  
some overturned waggons, which formed a barricade  
in the line of their flight. The Royalist leaders, as

well as the confusion would admit, now took measures to attack in regular form. Stofflet and Cathelineau directed their forces against the heights, and made a feint against the castle, while Lescure put himself at the head of the left wing to assault the bridge of Foucard, and turn the redoubts of Bournan; and Henri de Larochejaquelein marched with his division towards the meadows of Varrins, to storm on that side the intrenched camp. While Lescure was rallying his men behind the waggons, Henri de Larochejaquelein assailed the Republican camp on the other side, where it was protected by a rampart and ditch. Finding that the soldiers hesitated to cross the fosse, he took off his hat, threw it into the ditch, and exclaiming "Who will get it for me?" plunged in himself, and was the first to seize it, followed by the soldiers, who now broke through in great numbers, and scaled the rampart, and entered the town.<sup>1</sup>

Followed by sixty foot-soldiers, he traversed the streets, crossed the bridges of the Loire, planted cannon on them to prevent the return of the Republicans, and pursued them for a considerable distance on the road to Tours. General Coustard, who commanded the Republicans on the heights of Bournan,

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.

366.

Laroch.

137. Th.

v. 50.

Beauch. i.

204.

Victory of  
the Royal-  
ists.

CHAP. gallop, and carried the guns; but the Orleans volun-  
XII. teers disbanded under the fire, and they were forced

1793. to relinquish them to the Royalists. While these advantages were gained on their side, M. de Lescure had succeeded in rallying his soldiers, who, by falling on their faces when the artillery was discharged, succeeded in capturing the redoubts opposed to them, while Stofflet broke into the town, and completed the victory. The trophies of the Vendéans in this great victory, by far more important than any yet gained over the Republicans by the Allied Sovereigns, were eighty pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and eleven thousand prisoners, with the loss only of sixty men killed, and four hundred wounded. On the following day, the castle surrendered, with fourteen hundred men and all the artillery which it contained, and gave them the command of both banks of the Loire. The Royalists shaved the heads of their prisoners, and sent them back to the Republicans on no other condition than that of not again serving against La Vendée; an illusory condition, speedily violated by the bad faith of their antagonists. This humanity was the more remarkable, as at this period the Republicans had already commenced their inhuman system of massacring their prisoners, and all taken in arms against the Convention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
31, 32, 33.  
Jom. iii.  
396. La-  
roch. 137.  
138, 141.  
Th. v. 50.  
Beauch. i.  
204, 208.

Catheli-  
neau cre-  
ated Com-  
mander-  
in-chief.

After the capture of Saumur, the opinion of the Council of Generals was divided as to the course which they should pursue; but at length they were determined by the consideration of the great advantages of the possession of Nantes, which would open up a communication with England, and serve as a dépôt and base for future operations up the course of the Loire, and, in consequence, it was resolved to adopt this plan. This resolution in the end proved

al to the Royalist cause, by turning their Grand  
 my from the road to Paris, where it might have  
 ived, and stifled the reign of blood in its cradle,  
 the first moments of alarm following the taking  
 Saumur; but it, nevertheless, was ably conceived  
 a military point of view, as it was evident that the  
 are of the Loire formed the line of the Royalist  
 strations, and that Nantes was indispensable to their  
 urity. The day after the battle, M. Bonchamps  
 ived with his division, five thousand strong, while  
 o noble young men, Charles Beaumont d'Auti-  
 amp and the Prince of Talmont, also joined the  
 oyalist cause; at the same time the supreme com-  
 and was given, by the Council of Generals, to the  
 essant Cathelineau; a striking proof of the disin-  
 rested magnanimity which distinguished the noble  
 hiefs of the army—while, by a strange contrast,  
 lion, a peer of France, and son of a marshal,  
 ed the Republican forces.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
 XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
 125.  
 Beauch. i.  
 210-212,  
 215, 219.  
 Th. v. 50.  
 Jom. iii.  
 397, 399.

M. Bonchamps, who was gifted with the true mili-  
 ary genius, strongly urged a descent into Brittany,  
 to obtain a communication with the ocean, and there-  
 after an immediate advance to Paris; and, if this  
 plan could have been adopted, it might have led to

Plan of the  
 Vendéan  
 chiefs at  
 this period.



CHAP. which, it was thought, more distant operations might, with more safety, be attempted. A garrison having

1793. been left in Saumur, to maintain the passage of the Loire, the Grand Army under Cathelineau, after occupying Angers, which was hastily abandoned by the Republicans, advanced towards Nantes, by the right bank of the river, while Charette, who had twenty thousand men under his command, was invited to co-operate in the attempt on the left.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beauch.  
i. 238.  
Laroch.  
153, 154.  
Lac. xii.  
127. Th.  
v. 66, 67.

The Royal-ists defeated in their attempt on Nantes. During the march, however, the ardour of the peasants was sensibly diminished; they had been long absent from home, and lamented the interruption of their agricultural labours; nor could any thing persuade them that, after having gained so many victories, it was necessary to attempt the reduction of so distant a place as Nantes. Great numbers left their colours, and returned to their fields; and when the main army approached that city, it hardly amounted to ten thousand combatants. The hour of attack was fixed at two o'clock on the morning of the 29th June; and Charette, on his

June 29.

side, commenced the assault at that hour; but the army of Cathelineau having been detained ten hours before the little town of Niort, did not arrive till ten. They were there arrested by a few hundred of the National Guard, who fought with heroic valour. Notwithstanding this delay, the united forces commenced the attack with great vigour, and Cathelineau had actually penetrated, at the head of the bravest of his troops, into the town, when on the Place Viarmis, he was severely wounded by a ball in the breast. The peasants, in despair, carried him out of the town, and abandoned all the advantages they had gained;<sup>2</sup> and although the combat continued for eighteen hours, the want of a leader ren-

<sup>2</sup> Lac. xii.  
127. Laroch.  
153, 155. Th.  
v. 69, 70.  
Beauch. i.  
238-348.

dered the courage of the soldiers of no avail, and the enterprise failed. CHAP. XII.

This check proved extremely prejudicial to the Vendéan cause. The army was dissolved in an instant. The brave Cathelineau was disabled by his wound ; officers, soldiers, hastily threw themselves into boats and recrossed the Loire ; the right bank was entirely deserted, and the men in groups of twenty and thirty straggled homewards. After an interval of a fortnight this noble chief expired of his wound, to the inexpressible regret of both the chiefs and soldiers, and carried with him to the grave the best hopes of the re-establishment of the Royalist cause. The death of the commander was announced by a July 14. peasant, a neighbour of the deceased, to the anxious group who surrounded the house where he breathed his last, in these simple words :—"The good Cathelineau has restored his spirit to Him who gave it to avenge his glory."<sup>1</sup>

1793.

Death of  
Cathelineau.Laroch.  
156, 174.  
Beauch. i.  
252, 253.

While these events were in progress on the side of Nantes, a formidable invasion by disciplined troops and able generals was defeated in the Bocage. Westerman, the celebrated chief of the Jacobin insurgents in Paris on the 10th August, having organized what he called a German Legion, from soldiers trained in the regular wars on the Rhenish frontier, and en-

Invasion of  
the Bocage  
by Westerman  
and its defeat.

CHAP. who burnt to the ground the castle of La Darbellière,  
XII. the domain of M. de Larochejaquelein. But here

1793. terminated the success of this rash enterprise. M. de Lescure had apprised the other chiefs of the danger, who were now advancing by forced marches to his aid. Stofflet and Bonchamps arrived with their divisions, while the tocsin roused the inhabitants of the surrounding parishes; and an able attack directed by Lescure, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, proved completely successful. In little more than an hour, two-thirds of Westerman's army were destroyed; and the fugitives who escaped, owed their salvation to the humanity of the very general whose chateau they had just burned. Westerman, with the utmost difficulty, escaped out of the Bocage with a few followers, and was in the end sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and perished on the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. v.  
121, 122.  
Beauch. i.  
257-264.

After Cathelineau's death, M. D'Elbée was appointed generalissimo, and the utmost efforts of all the chiefs were exerted to reassemble the army. Such was the disinterestedness of the other leaders, that Bonchamps, qualified above all others for the situation, made his own officers vote for his rival. Meanwhile Biron, having collected fifty thousand troops, commenced a regular invasion of the Bocage in four divisions, extending from the Loire to the Sevre. This inroad was at first attended with success: the Royalists, with twenty-five thousand men, attacked General Labarolliere, who, with fifteen thousand, was established at Martigne Briand; but after an obstinate engagement they were defeated, and retired to Coron. Thither they were pursued by Santerre, who deemed himself now secure of conquest: but a dreadful reverse awaited them. The tocsin was sounded in all the parishes; the Curate of St Laud, who eminently distinguished

M. D'Elbée is appointed generalissimo, who defeats Biron's invasion.

Aug. 13.



himself in the war, collected all the forces of the neighbouring districts ; and on the 17th the Republicans were attacked, while marching in column on the high-road, in front and flank at the same time, and driven back in the utmost disorder towards Saumur and Chionni, with the loss of ten thousand men, and all their artillery, baggage and ammunition.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.  
July 17.  
Jom. iii.  
400, 401.  
Beauch. i.  
278, 288,  
297.

Soon after, M. D'Elbée, with Charette, attacked a corps of fifteen thousand men at Luçon ; but although success at first attended the Royalists, they were ultimately defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon ; the greatest disaster experienced since the commencement of the war. It was chiefly owing to having followed, on M. Lescure's advice, a plan of attack, which, though admirably adapted for regular troops, was not suited to the desultory and impetuous mode of warfare adopted by the peasantry. The whole artillery of the Royalists would have fallen into the hands of the Republicans, had not Larochejaquelein, at the head of sixty of the bravest of his followers, by prodigies of valour, arrested the pursuit at the bridge of Dissay.

Defeat of  
the Royal-  
ists at Lu-  
çon.  
Aug. 13.

Laroche. i.  
194. Jom.  
iv. 290.

Encouraged by this success, the armies of the Convention, now greatly reinforced by the efforts of the Government, on all sides invaded the Bocage. San- terre, fatally celebrated in the Revolution, advanced

General  
invasion of  
the Bocage  
on all sides.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

in the neighbourhood of Chantonnay. It proved completely successful, chiefly in consequence of the valour of the division of Bonchamps, which, not having shared in the preceding reverses, had preserved all its wonted enthusiasm; the Republicans were routed, with the loss of all their artillery and baggage; and such was the carnage, that scarce eighteen hundred could be reassembled after the battle, and Santerre himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. At the same time, Charette maintained an obstinate contest in Lower La Vendée; and though frequently defeated, never suffered himself to be discouraged by his reverses, and destroyed several Republican columns that endeavoured to penetrate into his district.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
247, 402.  
Laroch.  
195.  
Beauch. ii.  
7. Lac. xii.  
129.

But the Convention, which was at last awakened to a full sense of the danger of the war, was now collecting forces on all sides to crush the insurgents. The garrison of Mayence, fourteen thousand strong, commanded by Kleber, and which the Allies, with culpable negligence, had not made prisoners of war, and only bound not to combat the Allies for a year, was dispatched by post to the scene of action; and great part of the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé, which had been restored on the same condition, soon followed in the same direction. Not only the National Guards, but the *levée en masse* of the neighbouring departments, were assembled; and before the middle of September, upwards of two hundred thousand men surrounded La Vendée on all sides, and, by a simultaneous advance, threatened to crush its revolt. To oppose this formidable invasion, the Royalists were divided into four divisions, that in the neighbourhood of Nantes under the command of Charette,<sup>2</sup> that on the banks of the Loire under Bon-

<sup>2</sup> Jom. iii.  
300.  
Laroch.  
197, 200.  
Beauch. ii.  
21, and i.  
3:3

L. de Larochejaquelein in Anjou, and  
 cure in Eastern Poitou, while D'Elbée  
 a supreme command.

CHAP.  
 XII.

1793.

1 which Bonchamps strenuously recom-  
 md which bears the marks of great military  
 3 to allow the enemy to penetrate, in de-  
 mms, into the Bocage; to overwhelm them  
 y by a junction of the Royalist forces in  
 t, who occupied a central position, and to  
 tage of the first moment of alarm, cross the  
 e the Royalist population of Brittany, and  
 e war from the resources of a hitherto un-  
 ntry. "What fortunate accident," said he,  
 as acquainted with the designs of the ene-

Able de-  
 sign of  
 Bon-  
 champs,  
 which is  
 not adopt-  
 ed.

I see clearly the hand of God for the safety  
 dée. The Republicans have at length dis-  
 e secret of our victories; they wish to con-  
 eir forces to overwhelm us by their mass.  
 ndeed, repulse the army of Mayence; but  
 return to the charge with accumulated  
 nd resistless force? Let us then anticipate  
 . Brittany calls us; let us march, and ex-  
 estinies. Let us no longer be deceived by  
 hat the Coalesced Powers will restore the



CHAP. garrison of Mayence, which crossed the Loire and  
XII. invaded the country on the 10th September. The

1793. Royalists were defeated in several encounters, and  
Defeat of driven back by this invasion. Bonchamps was defeat-  
the Repub- ed near the rocks of Erigny, while Lescure experi-  
licans at enced a check at Thouars, and the whole Lower  
Torfou. Poitou was wasted with fire and sword, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Charette. The successive retreat of these columns, however, brought the Royalist bodies nearer each other; and a simultaneous effort was made by all their forces. D'Elbée, and Bonchamps, who had now recovered from his wound, having united thirty thousand men, and the army having received the benediction of the Curate of St Laud, and heard high mass at midnight, they attack-  
Sept. 19. ed the Republicans at daybreak on the 19th September. The Royalists were forty thousand strong; the Republicans somewhat less numerous; but they embraced the garrison of Mayence, the best soldiers in France. All the chiefs felt that this invasion must at all hazards be repelled, and that the moment had arrived when they must conquer or die. Charette, certain of the co-operation of the other generals, had arranged his forces in order of battle, blocking up the road to Torfou. His defeated and discouraged troops, however, could not long withstand the shock of the veterans of Kleber; they were broken, and falling into confusion, when M. de Lescure, seeing affairs wellnigh desperate, exclaimed—"Are there not four hundred men brave enough to die with me?" The peasants of the parish of Echaubroignies, seventeen hundred strong, answered him with shouts, and this feeble division withstood the shock of the Republican forces for two hours, till the division of Bonchamps arrived. This reinforcement speedily changed

the face of affairs ; the peasants, dispersed in single file behind the hedges which enveloped the Republicans, kept up a murderous fire on every side ; the cannon were carried by assault, and the whole army thrown into confusion. Nothing but the heroic devotion of Colonel Chouardin and his regiment, who maintained the bridge of Boussay, and suffered themselves to be in great part destroyed before they abandoned it, preserved the invading army from total destruction.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom iv.  
302, 303.

Laroch.

213, 214.

Beauch. ii.

34—41.

Still the Royalists had not a moment to lose ; it was indispensable to attack immediately the corps of General Beysser, which was on the point of effecting a junction with the forces of Kleber. On the day after their victory at Torfou, they surprised him at Montaignut, and routed the Republicans entirely, with the loss of all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. This was followed by the surprise and total defeat of General Mukinski at St Fulgent, by Charrette and Lescure ; while, on the very same day, Bonchamps and D'Elbée assailed the retreating columns of General Kleber, encumbered with twelve hundred chariots, and after throwing them into confusion, captured a large portion of their baggage ; but this success, though considerable, was nothing to what would have been obtained had the whole Royalist forces been united, as they should have been, against the formidable bands of Mayence.<sup>1</sup>

And of

Beysser at

Montai-

gut.

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.

215, 217.

Jom. iv

303, 304.

Beauch. ii.

42—44.

In other quarters the Vendéans were equally successful. General Rossignol, with fifteen thousand men, indeed, defeated an ill-concerted attack of the Royalist chiefs, Talmont and Autichamp ; but having, after this success, advanced with Santerre to Coron, he was there attacked by Piron and Larochejaquelein, who had succeeded in rousing all the popu-

Defeat of

General

Rossignol

at Coron.

and gene-

ral defeat

of the Re-

publican

invasion.

Sept. 15.

CHAP. lation in the neighbouring parishes ; and with such  
XII. skill were the Royalist operations conducted, that the

1793. Republican army was pierced in the centre, and entirely dispersed, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and all

Sept. 18. their ammunition taken. Immediately after this success, a detachment of the Royalist forces were dispatched against General Duhoux, who had crossed the bridge of Cé, and was driving the Vendéan detachments before him ; but no sooner had he arrived at the heights of St Lambert, than he was assailed by the bulk of the Royalist forces, while Bernier, a farmer's servant in the parish of St Lambert, swam across the river, and attacked them in rear with the armed peasants in his vicinity. The rout soon was complete ; all the artillery of the invaders was taken, and their column, nine thousand strong, totally destroyed. Such was the terror produced by these defeats, that the *levée en masse* assembled between Tours and Poitiers, dispersed without striking a blow, and the regular forces of the Republicans, on all sides, quitted the Vendéan territory. Thus, by a series of most brilliant military combinations, seconded by the most heroic exertions on the part of the peasants, was the invasion of six armies, amounting to a hundred thousand regular troops, part of whom were the best soldiers of France, besides an equal force of National Guards, defeated, and losses inflicted on the Republicans incomparably greater than they had suffered from all the Allies put together since the commencement of the war ; a striking proof of the admirable skill with which their chiefs had availed themselves of their central position and peculiar mode of fighting to crush the invading forces, and a memorable instance of what can be effected by resolute men,<sup>1</sup> even without the advantages of regular

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
304—307.  
Laroch.  
202—210.  
Beauch. ii.  
28—32.

organization, if ably conducted, against the most CHAP.  
 formidable superiority of military force. XII.

But the Vendéans had to contend with a redoubt- 1793.  
 le adversary, and unfortunately the invading army, Vigorous  
 from which most was to be apprehended, was that exertions  
 which had suffered least from their attacks. The of the Go-  
 vernment  
 convention made the most vigorous efforts to meet at Paris.  
 the danger. Barere, in a report to the Convention,  
 declared, "The inexplicable La Vendée still exists;  
 twenty times since this rebellion broke out have your  
 representatives, your generals, the committee itself,  
 declared that it was stifled, and yet it exists more  
 formidable than ever. We thought we could destroy  
 it; the tocsin sounded in all the neighbouring depart-  
 ments; a prodigious number of armed citizens were  
 assembled to crush the insurrection; and a sudden  
 panic has dissolved the whole like a cloud. You must  
 change your system; one despotic chief must head  
 your armies; a term must be put to the existence of  
 the brigands. Like the Giant in the fable, which was  
 no longer invincible but when he touched the earth,  
 you must sever them from their native soil before you  
 can destroy them." In pursuance of this suggestion, Hist.  
 General Lechelle was appointed generalissimo; the Parl. xxx.  
 17, 19.  
 Jom. iv.  
 308, 309.



CHAP. of his countrymen. On learning the massacres which  
XII. the Republicans were making of their countrymen

1793. who had been made prisoners, and which were com-  
manded by the decrees of the Convention, forbidding  
them to give quarter, the Royalist soldiers loudly  
demanded reprisals upon the numerous captives who  
were in their hands; but the leaders expressed such  
horror at the proposal, that they always succeeded in  
preventing it from being carried into effect. The  
formidable bands of Mayence, at this time, were so  
much disgusted with the savage proceedings of the  
Convention, that they offered, if their pay was guar-  
anteed, to join themselves in a body to the Royalist  
cause; but the large sum required for this purpose,  
amounting to 400,000 francs, (L.16,000,) joined to  
the suspicions of the Royalists that some treachery  
was intended, rendered a design abortive which, if  
executed, would have given a decisive preponderance  
to the Vendéan forces. Where was England then,  
whose Government could so easily have procured  
this sum, which was beyond the reach of the peo-  
ple of La Vendée, and thereby secured an inesti-  
mable support to the Royalist arms in the west of  
France?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beauch.  
ii. 50—52,  
66. La-  
roche. 218,  
219.

Ruinous  
divisions  
of the  
Royalists.

Unfortunately at this time, when their enemies  
were concentrating under one able hand the whole  
of the Vendéan war, the Royalist chiefs, divided  
about the points to which their forces should be  
directed, separated their troops, Charette drawing off  
towards the Island of Noirmoutiers, while Lescure  
and Beaurepaire took post near Chatillon to make  
head against Westerman, who was advancing with a  
powerful force, massacring, without distinction, all  
the inhabitants, and burning every edifice that his  
soldiers could reach. Lescure, Stofflet, and Laroche-



Jaquelin, united, had only six thousand men at  
 Doulin and Chevres, a little in front of Chatillon,  
 where they were attacked by a column of twenty-  
 five thousand Republicans under Westerman: the  
 superiority of his force was such, that he drove them  
 into the town, which was speedily captured by his  
 forces; but their success was of short duration;  
 Bonchamps and Larochejaquelin having roused the  
 peasantry, and reassembled the whole grand army,  
 two days after, made a general attack upon the Re-  
 publicans, totally defeated them, and drove them out  
 of Chatillon, with the loss of above ten thousand men  
 and all their artillery. During the rout, Westerman,  
 who saw that the Royalists in Chatillon were almost  
 all drunk, and kept no look-out, conceived the bold  
 design of re-entering the town, and cutting to pieces  
 its garrison. This project was completely success-  
 ful. Taking a hundred intrepid hussars, with a  
 grenadier mounted behind each man, he returned at  
 midnight to Chatillon, where the Vendéans, as usual,  
 had placed no sentinels, broke into the streets, cut  
 down great numbers of the Royalists, who, between  
 sleep and intoxication, were incapable of making any  
 resistance, set fire to the town, and after a scene of

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

Oct. 7.

Oct. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.

312, 313.

Laroche.

221, 227,

229.

Beauch. ii.

68, 61, 73.

CHAP. XII. withstanding the most urgent representations from

1793.

the other leaders, Charette persisted in his system of separate operations, and wasted his force in a fruitless expedition to the Isle of Noirmoutiers. Lescure and Bonchamps, however, hastened to support M. de Royrand, who was flying before the invaders. It was arranged that the former should await the enemy in front, while the latter should, by a circuitous route, assail them in flank. But the Republicans having advanced more slowly than was expected, Lescure came up with them before Bonchamps was ready to support him ; and though they yielded in the first instance to the furious attack of the Vendéans, yet the inferiority of their force, and a desperate charge in flank made by Beaupuy when disordered by success, threw them into confusion, and they fell back to Beaupreau, while the Republicans bivouacked on the field of battle. The next day the victorious army entered Cholet, which the discouraged Vendéans could not be prevailed on to defend. The Royalist loss was not severe ; but they sustained an irreparable misfortune in a wound of M. Lescure, who was shot through the head when leading on his men, as usual, at the commencement of the action. The wound proved mortal after several weeks of suffering, which he endured with the wonted heroism and sweetness of his character.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv. 314. Laroch. 229, 230. Beauch. ii. 75, 78, 83.

The Vendéans were cruelly discouraged by this disaster : the more so, as the enemy's columns had now penetrated the country in every direction, and the ravages they had committed gave no hope of maintaining the contest longer in their native land. It was resolved, therefore, to cross the Loire, and carry the war into Brittany ; but, previous to this, it was deemed advisable by all the chiefs to make

The Royalists resolve to cross the Loire in their desperate circumstances.

one desperate effort to crush the invading force in the neighbourhood of Cholet. The action took place two days after, and was contested with the utmost

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

fury on both sides. The forces were nearly equal, the Royalists having forty thousand men, and the Republicans forty-one thousand; but the latter were greatly superior in their artillery, which consisted of thirty pieces, and cavalry, which amounted to three thousand men, and the infantry included the best troops in France. The combat was felt on both sides to be what in effect proved decisive of the fate of the war.

At three in the morning on the 17th October, the sound of artillery awakened the army, and the soldiers hastened to hear grand mass from the curate of

Battle of  
Cholet.  
Oct. 17.

the village where the headquarters were placed. The ceremony was performed by torchlight; the priest, in fervid and eloquent terms, besought them to combat courageously for their God, their King, and their children, and concluded by giving absolution to the armed multitude. The darkness of the scene, and the discharges of cannon which interrupted his discourse, filled all hearts with a gloomy presentiment of the disasters which were about to follow. The Republicans were drawn up in three divisions, the garrison

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
315, 316.  
Beauch. ii.



CHAP. order into the town of Cholet, where the great  
XII. of artillery was captured. The battle seemed

1793. lost, and the Republicans, panic-struck by the  
sudden onset of their enemies, were flying on all sides  
when Lechelle, as a last resource, ordered his  
reserve to charge, and the reserve, composed of the  
garrison of Mayence, to advance. The charge of horse  
placed from right to left through the whole  
army, now disordered by the rapidity of their  
movement, and at the same time the iron bands of M  
emerged through the fugitives, and checked the  
advance of the victors. In an instant the face  
of action was changed; the Vendéans, seized  
by sudden panic, fled on all sides, and the exultation  
of victory was succeeded by the terrors of defeat.  
At the extremity, Henri de Larochejaquelein, D'Elbe  
Bonchamps, collected two hundred of the brave  
of their troops, and by their heroic resistance, not  
only gave time to the Royalists to escape, but drove  
back the victorious squadrons of the enemy. Their  
unhappily proved fatal to the two latter, who  
were mortally wounded in the middle of the charge.  
Larochejaquelein, with great difficulty, collected  
about a thousand men, with which he carried off the  
remains of his gallant comrades to Beaupreau,  
where they passed the night; while the remainder  
of the army fled towards the Loire, and without any  
commenced the passage of the river.<sup>1</sup>

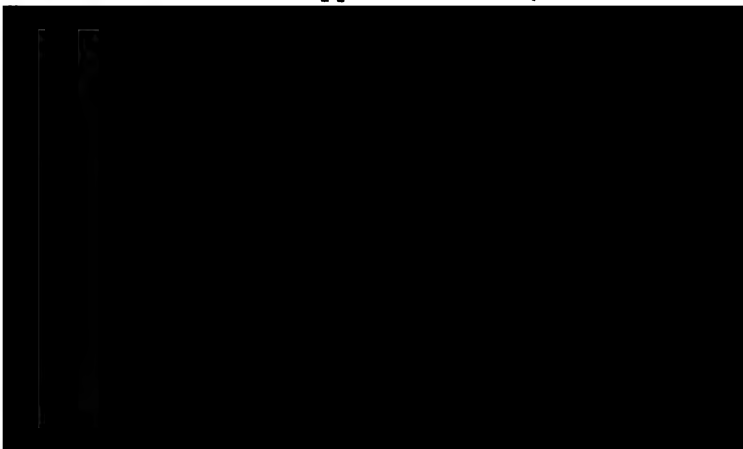
<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
316. La-  
roch. 236,  
237.  
Beauch. ii.  
86—91.  
Bonch. 49.  
Lac. xi.  
137.

Glorious  
humanity  
and death  
of Bon-  
champs.

This defeat proved highly injurious to the  
Vendéan cause, not only by the confusion and de-  
pression which it had occasioned among the troops, but  
by the irreparable loss which they sustained in the two  
most distinguished of their generals. The gallant  
Bonchamps was carried by his weeping soldiers  
to Fontenay-lez-Châteauneuf, where the Vendéans, worked up to mor-

by the conflagration of all their towns, and the massacre of their families, demanded, with loud cries, the immediate destruction of five thousand prisoners who were confined in the town. The intelligence of the wound of Bonchamps redoubled their fury, and nothing seemed capable of saving the unhappy captives. Already the cannon, loaded with grape-shot, were turned on the helpless crowd of captives, whose destruction to all appearance was inevitable. Meanwhile, the officers of his army, on their knees, by his bedside, awaited with trembling anxiety the report of the surgeon; their downcast and weeping countenances soon told him that there was no hope; while the cries of the soldiers from without announced the imminent peril of the prisoners. Instantly Bonchamps seized D'Autichamps, who knelt beside his couch, by the hand, and besought him immediately to fly and convey to the soldiers his last orders to save the captives. The latter quickly ran to fulfill the humane mission, but the soldiers were in such a state of exasperation, that not even the announcement of Bonchamps' entreaties could at first arrest the uplifted arm of destruction. At length, however, they listened to his reiterated supplications; the guns were

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.



CHAP. Divine mercy ; I have not acted from pride, or the  
XII. desire of a glory which perishes in eternity ; I have

1793. tried only to overturn the rule of impiety and blood ;  
I have not been able to restore the throne, but I  
have at least defended the cause of God, my King,  
<sup>1</sup> Bonch. and my country ; and he has in mercy enabled me  
52, 53. to pardon—" Here the voice of the hero failed,  
Laroch. 241. and he expired amidst the sobs of all who witnessed  
Beauch. ii. the scene.<sup>1</sup>  
96, 97.

While the last moments of the Royalist chief were  
ennobled by an act of mercy, the triumph of the Re-  
Atrocious  
cruelty of  
the Repub-  
licans. publicans was stained by unrelenting and uncalled-for  
cruelty. The towns of Beaupreau and Cholet were  
burnt to the ground ; the inhabitants of every age  
and sex put to the sword, and the trophies of victory  
reared on the blood-soaked ruins of their murdered  
countrymen's dwellings. "The National Conven-  
tion," said the representatives Bourbotte and Thur-  
reau, in their report to the Assembly, "have decreed  
that the war in La Vendée should be concluded by  
the end of October ; and we may now say with truth  
that La Vendée no longer exists. A profound solitude  
reigns in the country recently occupied by the rebels :  
you may travel far in those districts without meeting  
either a living creature or a dwelling ; for, with the  
exception of Cholet, Saint Florent, and some little  
<sup>2</sup> Hist Parl. towns, where the number of patriots greatly exceeds  
xxx. that of the Royalists, we have left behind us nothing  
Guerres des Vend. but ashes and piles of dead."<sup>2</sup>  
ii. 287.  
Jom iv. 318.

Meanwhile, the whole Vendéan forces, with the  
exception of those under Charette, flocked to Saint  
Dreadful  
passage of  
the Loire. Florent, with the design of hastening over the Loire.  
No words can do justice to the horrors of the scene  
which presented itself : eighty thousand persons, of  
whom little more than one-half were armed, filled

the semicircular valley which extends from the base of the heights of Saint Florent to the margin of the river. Soldiers, women, children, old men, were crowded together, flying in consternation from their burning villages, the smoke of which darkened the air behind them; while in front extended the broad surface of the Loire, with a few barks only to ferry over the helpless multitude. In the midst of the tumult, and while the air resounded with the cries of the fugitives, every one sought his children, his parents, or his defenders; and, crowding to the shore, stretched out their arms to the opposite bank, as if, when it was reached, a period would be put to all their sufferings. So terrible was the spectacle, so vehement the agitation of the multitude, that numbers compared it to the awful spectacle which awaits the world at the day of judgment. But the retributive justice of Heaven, though slow to punish, neither slumbered nor slept. On that day nineteen years began the retreat from Moscow; on that day twenty was completed the Rout of Leipsic.<sup>1</sup>

The generals were at first in despair at the sight of the crowd of fugitives who surrounded the army, and the utter confusion into which all ranks were thrown by the panic, a feeling which was much in

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

18th Oct.

Laroch.

239, 240.

Beauch. ii.

99, 100.

Their

great diffi-

culties in

Brittany.

CHAP. XII. vanced posts of the Republicans had yet reached Saint Florent. On the day following, Westerman and the

1793. foremost of the Republicans came up to Saint Florent in time to witness the last detachments of the Vendéans cross to the opposite shore, and vented their disappointment by devastating with fire and sword the unhappy country which they had abandoned. Opinions were divided as to the course which the army should now pursue. M. de Lescure strongly recommended that they should advance, before they were weakened by any further losses, to Nantes, in order both to secure a depôt for the army, open a communication with England, and place the unarmed crowd of women and children in a place of safety;

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv. 319, 320. if this advice had been adopted. But the Prince of Laroche. 239—241, Talmont strongly urged a movement towards Rennes, and it would have been well for the Royalist cause where an insurrection was expected to break out, and Beauch. ii. 102—104, his advice was adopted.<sup>1</sup> 109.

No sooner were the Vendéans in Brittany than they made choice of Henri de Larochejaquelin to be their commander, in the room of D'Elbée, who was utterly disabled by wounds, and on the recommendation of M. Lescure, who was yet lingering on the bed of death. "Could a miracle restore me to life," said that generous warrior, with a feeble voice, when on his death-bed, "I could form no wish but to be his aide-de-camp." Much had been gained by effecting the passage; but though the troops were still numerous, they were far from being in a condition to undertake active operations. Disheartened by defeat, exiled from their country, overwhelmed with a useless multitude of women and children, who followed their steps, the soldiers were very different from the ardent and impetuous bands, who at Saumur

Henri Larochejaquelin is made commander-in-chief.



and Torfou had carried terror into the Republican ranks. They were no longer in their own parishes; their mode of fighting was ill adapted for an open country, where artillery and cavalry constituted the principle weapons of war; they had no magazines or ammunition, and they had to repair the consequences of a recent and bloody defeat. What then must have been the skill of the generals, what the valour of the soldiers, who could still, even amidst such disastrous circumstances, again chain victory to their standards, and gain such an ascendancy over their enemies, that, but for the invincible repugnance of the troops to leave the vicinity of their homes, they might have marched to Paris itself.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

Jom. iv.

32.

Beauch. ii.

108, 109.

The army advanced successively to Ingrande, and Chateau Gonthier, the garrisons of which were easily routed. At Laval, nine thousand National Guards disputed the entrance of the town, but Larochejaquelein carried it by assault, and dispersed the enemy. Meanwhile, General Lechelle, and the Convention, who flattered themselves that the insurrection was crushed by the victory of Cholet, were beyond measure astonished by the discovery, that the Royalists had crossed the river without loss, and were in a situation menacing alike to Angers and Nantes. After much hesitation, it was resolved to divide the Republican army into two columns, the one of which was to cross at Nantes, and the other by the bridge of Cé, and unite for the pursuit of the Royal army. Lechelle came up with them while still occupying the town of Laval; and, dividing his army into two columns, commenced an attack. Larochejaquelein flew through the ranks, and addressed these energetic words to his soldiers:—"To efface now the remembrance of your former defeats is the only sal-

Battle of

Chateau

Gonthier.

25th Oct.

23d Oct.

CHAP. XII. vation that remains to you. On your arms now de-

1793.

pende not only your own lives, and those of your wives and children, but the throne of France, and the altars of God. Let us then advance to victory; the Bretons extend their arms to receive you; they will aid us to reconquer our hearths; but now we must conquer; a defeat would be irreparable ruin." Lescure insisted upon being carried in a litter through the ranks, and sharing in the dangers that awaited them. Animated by these examples, the Royalists advanced to the encounter in close columns. By a vigorous charge at the head of a small body of horse, Stofflet made himself master of some pieces of cannon, of which his troops were entirely destitute, which he immediately turned against the enemy; Larochejaquelein and Royrand pressed them severely in front, while another column, headed by Dehargues, turned their flank, and attacked them in rear. The Vendéans had to deal with the redoubtable garrison of Mayence, but they fought with the courage of despair, and on no former occasion had exhibited a more enthusiastic valour. After a desperate struggle, the Republicans began to give way; they were pursued with loud shouts by the Royalists as far as Chateau Gonthier, where a battery of cannon for a moment arrested their progress; but Larochejaquelein threw himself on the guns, carried them, and pursued the enemy through the town with great slaughter. On reaching the open country, on the opposite side, they dispersed, and with great difficulty, and in utter confusion, by diverging lines, reached the towns of Rennes and Nantes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv. 322, 323, 330. Laroche. 212--264. Kleber, Guerres des Vend. ii. 305, 306. Beauch. ii. 120, 123—130.

In this battle, the garrison of Mayence, which had inflicted such losses on the Vendéans, was almost entirely destroyed; the total loss of the Re-

publicans was twelve thousand men, and nineteen  
 pieces of cannon; and of their whole army, scarce  
 even thousand could be rallied at Angers after  
 the action. General Lecbelle was so overwhelmed  
 by the disaster, that he resigned the command in  
 despair, and retired to Tours, where anxiety and  
 chagrin soon brought him to an untimely end. On  
 the day when this astonishing victory was gained,  
 the Convention announced the extinction of the war of La  
 Vendée, in the following terms:—  
 "La Vendée is no more. Montaigut and Cholet  
 are in our power; the brigands are every where  
 exterminated; a profound solitude reigns in the  
 bocage, covered with cinders and watered with  
 tears. The death of Bonchamps alone is equivalent  
 to a victory. Abandoning themselves to the most  
 tumultuous joy at this intelligence, the people danced  
 in all the public places of Paris, and every where  
 the exclamation was heard, "La Vendée is no more!"  
 It may be conceived, then, what was the public con-  
 sideration when, a few days after, it was discovered  
 that the Republican army was dispersed, and that  
 nothing remained to prevent the advance of the  
 Royalists to the capital.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

Great re-  
sults of this  
victory.<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxx. 371.  
Beauch. ii.  
132—134.

This glorious victory restored at once the Vendée



CHAP. moment of decisive success. After remaining 1  
 XII. days at Laval, to restore some degree of order  
 1793. the army, they advanced to Fougères, in the hope  
 of being reinforced by recruits from Brittany, and  
 drawing nearer the expected aid from Great Britain.  
 Here two emigrants arrived with despatches from the  
 British Government, which, after assuring the Vendéans  
 of the desire of England to aid them, and commending  
 Granville as the point of debarkation, promised succour  
 on their arrival at that port. This offer removed every  
 hesitation as to their plans; the prospect of obtaining  
 a seaport town, defended by fortifications, where they  
 could at once deposit in a place of safety the crowd of  
 helpless mouths which encumbered the army, obtain a firm  
 footing for their stores, and open a direct communication  
 with their powerful allies who seemed to be advancing to  
 their assistance, dispelled every doubt. They determined  
 in consequence, to march to Granville, and dispatched  
 an answer by the British envoy, in which, after expressing  
 their intentions, and explaining their wants, they entreated  
 that a Prince of the Blood might be sent to assume the  
 command, and terminate the divisions which already began  
 to paralyse their movements. Meanwhile, the Republicans  
 did every thing in their power to repair the disaster;  
 and while Kleber laboured assiduously at Angers to reorganise  
 his army, the Convention issued a bloody decree, in which  
 they ordered, that "Every city which should receive the  
 rebels, give them succour, or fail to repel them with all the  
 means in their power, should be treated as a city in revolt,  
 razed to the ground, and the whole property of the inhabitants  
 confiscated to the Republic."<sup>1</sup> Fortunately

ov. 1.  
 Jom. iv.  
 27, 329.  
 aroch.  
 31.  
 each. ii.  
 18, 152—  
 55.  
 uerres  
 is Vend.  
 321, 327.

the weakness of their arms on the right bank of the Loire prevented this atrocious decree from being generally carried into execution.

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

At Fougères the army sustained an irreparable loss by the death of M. Lescure, who sunk at length under the consequences of the wound he had received at the battle of Cholet, and the protracted suffering and anxiety which he had since undergone. He waited the approach of death with his usual serenity. "Open the windows," said he to his wife, who was watching by his bedside; "is it clear?"—"Yes," said she, "the sun is shining."—"I have then," replied the dying general, "a veil before my eyes: I always thought that my wound was mortal: I have no longer any doubt of it. My dearest, I am about to leave you; that is my sole regret, and that I have not been able to replace the King upon the throne. I leave you in the midst of a civil war, with a helpless infant, and another in your bosom; that is what distresses me. For myself I have no fears: I have often seen death before me, and it has no terrors: I hope to go to heaven. It is you alone that I regret," and here his eyes filled with tears; "I hoped to have made you happy. Forgive me now, if ever

Death of  
M. de Le-  
scure.



AP. their fatigues, advanced slowly to Granville, which  
 11. they surrounded with thirty thousand combatants  
 93. Their march had been so much delayed by their  
 royal-incumbrances, that no hope remained of surprising  
 12. the place, and the want of heavy artillery precluded  
 13. the possibility of breaching its ramparts. It was  
 14. therefore resolved to attempt an escalade, for the  
 English succours had not arrived, and the circum-  
 stances of the army rendered immediate success in-  
 dispensable. Soon scaling-ladders were prepared,  
 and the Royalists, after having in vain summoned the  
 place, advanced to the assault. Such was the ardour  
 of the soldiers that they not only made themselves  
 masters of the suburbs, but rushed into the outworks,  
 and some of the bravest even mounted the rampart,  
 supplying the want of scaling-ladders by their bayo-  
 nets, which they stuck into the crevices of the walls.  
 The garrison, panic-struck, were flying from the  
 top, when a deserter exclaimed—"Treason! we are  
 betrayed!" and the impetuous crowd, yielding to the  
 impulse, precipitated themselves back into the ditch.  
 The attack continued, but not having been preceded  
 by any reconnoissance, and carried on in utter igno-  
 rance of the works, it took place on the least accessible  
 front, and where the assailants were exposed to a  
 severe flanking fire from the armed vessels in the  
 harbour. Notwithstanding the most heroic exertions,  
 the Vendéans were repulsed; and the Republican  
 commander, seeing no other way of driving them  
 out of the suburbs, set fire to them himself, and the  
 conflagration being aided by a high wind, soon re-  
 duced them to ashes. The peasants at the earnest  
 entreaty of their leaders, returned a second time to  
 the assault over the smoking ruins of the suburbs;  
 but this attack was again unsuccessful. Their priests

ed their courage, by marching at their head CHAP. XII.  
 the crucifix in their hands ; the officers led 1793.  
 columns, and over the smoking ruins of the  
 the ardent troops rushed forward, regardless  
 storm of musketry and grape which showered  
 upon them from the rampart, and a severe  
 g fire from the gun-boats in the harbour. The  
 es were broken down, the ditch crossed, and in  
 laces even the rampart scaled ; but the resist-  
 ' the Republicans was as brave as the assault ; 1 Laroche. 286-288. Jom. iv.  
 er a murderous conflict of six-and-thirty hours,  
 de Larochejaquelein was reluctantly compel- 332. Beauch. ii.  
 order a retreat, after sustaining a loss of 168-170.  
 n hundred men.<sup>1</sup>

check proved extremely hurtful to the Ven-  
 ause. Larochejaquelein and Stofflet deter- Their re-  
 to advance to Caen, where a strong Royalist treat to-  
 was known to exist ; and they had already set wards the Loire.  
 the head of the cavalry for that purpose, when  
 t broke out among the troops. The autho-  
 the chiefs was immediately disregarded ; the  
 of Talmont, accused of a design to escape to  
 was seized by the mutineers, and with diffi-  
 scued from instant death. Larochejaquelein's



CHAP. soldiers, who declared that they would secure  
XII. sage at Angers though its walls were made of i

1793.

They de-  
feat the  
Republi-  
cans at  
Pontorson  
and at Dol.  
Nov. 19.

The army, on its return homewards, took the  
of Pontorson. Rossignol, having collected a br  
eighteen thousand men, endeavoured to defend  
town, and a furious conflict took place in the str  
but the attack of the Royalists, who felt that  
must force their way sword in hand to La Ve  
was irresistible; the Republicans were driven  
point of the bayonet through the streets, their  
noniers cut down at their guns, and the whole  
defeated with the loss of all their baggage and  
lery. Rossignol fell back to Dol, where having rec  
considerable reinforcements, and been joined b  
other Republican army, which raised his for  
thirty-five thousand men, he endeavoured to  
head against the enemy, and bar their return  
Vendée. On the approach of the Royalists, how  
he evacuated the town, and its single and spe  
street was crowded by carriages, artillery, and  
gage-waggons, and above sixty thousand person  
encumbered the army. At midnight, the action  
menced by a vigorous attack of the Republica  
the advanced guard of the Royalists drawn up in  
of the town; the alarm was immediately given  
the troops hastily sprung to their arms, amid  
prayers and tears of their wives and children, wh  
no possible escape but in their valour. The ra  
of the artillery, the cries of the soldiers, the gle  
of the sabres in torchlight as the horsemen shook  
in the air when advancing to the charge, the fl  
illumination of the shells which burst on all  
filled the helpless multitude with terror and agita  
The first attack of the Royalists was entirely su  
ful, the Republicans were driven back two le

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
292.  
Beauch. ii.  
184.



ft wing and reserve having been suddenly  
 en disordered by success, by Rossignol's  
 thrown into confusion, and driven back  
 loss to the town.

fusion there soon became indescribable ;  
 s broke their way through the unarmed  
 e the horsemen trampled under foot men,  
 l children in their flight ; and the street  
 l with wounded and dying victims, implo-  
 ountrymen not to dssert them in their dis-  
 is extremity the chiefs were in such despair  
 ught death ; Henri de Larochejaquelein  
 everal minutes with his arms across in  
 attery, while Autichamp, Marigny, and  
 eaders, exerted themselves to the utmost  
 fugitives, and Stofflet, who had at first  
 d away by the torrent, made the most vigo-  
 to check it. The women even snatched  
 from the soldiers, and discharged them  
 y ; and the priests, with the cross in their  
 orted them to return to the combat. The  
 articular, of Santa Maria de Re, from an  
 arangued the men in the most energetic  
 My children," said he, " I will march at

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

Their des-  
 perate  
 situation  
 and ulti-  
 mate vic-  
 tory.  
 Nov. 19.



HAP. contending parties, that they seized each other,  
 XII. tore their bodies with their hands when their am-  
 793. nition was exhausted; so completely were the re-  
 intermingled, that frequently the Vendéans and  
 publicans were served with ammunition from  
 same tumbrils. At length the valour of the Roya-  
 prevailed; the battalions of volunteers in the  
 publican army began to fall into confusion, and  
 the rout became general; the whole army disban-  
 and fled, some to Rennes and others to Foug-  
 leaving six thousand killed and wounded on the  
 of battle; while the Royalists, headed by t  
 priests, returned to Dol, and hastened to the chur-  
 to return thanks to Heaven for their unhop-  
 escape from so desperate a situation.<sup>1</sup>

aroch.  
 1-305.  
 n. iv.  
 1, 337.  
 auch.  
 7, 198.

The Republicans were repulsed, but not defe-  
 They retired to a position which they had stro-  
 fortified around the town of Antrain, and there  
 barred the line of the Royalists' march. At noon  
 were attacked at all points by the Vendéans, he-  
 by Larochejaquelein, who was fearful to allow  
 first moments of enthusiasm, consequent on t  
 victory, to pass away without achieving decisive  
 cess. For long the obstinacy of the Republican  
 rested the furious onset of the Vendéans, but at le-  
 their intrenchments were carried, and they fle-  
 all sides. The victors entered Antrain pell-mell  
 the fugitives, and a scene of matchless horror en-  
 in the crowded streets of that town. In the co-  
 sion of the flight, the soldiers, the camp follow-  
 and the wounded, were crowded amidst the arti-  
 and baggage-waggons; the whole fell together  
 the hands of the Royalists, and there was great  
 ger that an indiscriminate massacre would ensue  
 the troops, now wrought up by the cruelties of

eir glo-  
 us vic-  
 y and  
 narity  
 Antrain.  
 v. 20.

Republicans to the highest pitch of exasperation. CHAP. XII.  
 But their leaders interposed, and signalized their triumph by an extraordinary act of humanity. The 1793.  
 wounded who had been taken were not only treated and clothed with the same care as their own soldiers, but they were all sent back, without exchange, to Rennes, with a letter to the Republican authorities there, in which, after recounting the atrocious cruelty of their troops in La Vendée, they<sup>1</sup> Beauch. ii. 200—  
 added, “but it is by acts of humanity that the royal<sup>203.</sup>  
 army avenge the massacre of its enemies.”<sup>1</sup>

These great victories again restored the Royalist affairs; for, during the first confusion following their defeat, the Republicans were in no condition to have prevented them, either from reaching the bridge of Cé or Saumur, or even making themselves masters of Nantes or Granville, from which the garrison had now been withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> After long deliberation, the generals determined to march back to that place, which now would become an easy prey, and where they might both disencumber themselves of their followers, and open a communication with England. But no sooner was this determination known than the troops again broke out into open revolt; and so vehement was the tumult, that it could only be appeased by an immediate change of the destination of

Their great difficulties notwithstanding these victories.  
Jom. iv. 338.

CHAP. tiges of our altars, and some remains of our  
XII. where we may find shelter, or in the last ex

1793. be allowed to repose in unmolested grave: corpses will not there, as here, become the vultures and beasts of prey. What do we from the Bretons? Do they not treat us like dering brigands? Let us, therefore, hasten gain La Vendée; Charette is still redoubtable in its woods; let us rally our standards to his, may yet lead us to victory." These discourses flamed the minds of the people to such a degree that all efforts to sway them became fruitless. vain the colours were displayed on the road in person, and the chiefs made every effort to induce the soldiers to follow them; a mutiny more than that at Granville arose on all sides, and the leaders were reluctantly obliged to take to the Loire. Thither, accordingly, they marched. Fougères, Ernée, and Laval, without being forced by the enemy; but the courage of the people was much abated by the spectacles of horror which met them in revisiting those towns which they had formerly occupied. Every where the sick, the aged, the children who had been left behind, had been massacred by the Republicans, and their bodies lay unburied in the streets; even the owners of the houses who had given them shelter, had been seized by the sword with merciless severity. Every one who approached Angers with the conviction that he would later, in the progress of this terrible war, be obliged to perish in the field or on the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch. 309. Jom. iv. 338. Beauch. ii. 207, 208.

Angers, surrounded by an old wall, and covered by vast fauxbourgs, was defended only by a small garrison, and, on the approach of the republicans, General Danican had thrown himself

They are repulsed at Angers. Nov. 30.

with his brigade, less in the hope of making good the place, than of securing for it terms of capitulation ; and if the troops had known how to conduct a *coup-de-main*, it would have fallen an easy prey, and the whole measures of the Convention would have been defeated. But the attack was not conducted with more skill than that of Granville, and the troops, worn out by fatigue and suffering, did not display their wonted bravery ; for long they confined themselves to a distant cannonade ; but at length, after thirty hours of a murderous conflict, they had reached the rampart, and were commencing the escalade, when their rear was assailed by the Republican cavalry, who had been detached by Rossignol to harass the besiegers. The attack was quickly repulsed by M. Forestier with the Vendéan horse ; nevertheless, such was the confusion produced by this unforeseen alarm, that a sudden panic instantly seized the army ; they left the walls, and began to file off in confusion, without orders, towards Beaugé. The chiefs did their utmost to bring them back to the assault, but in vain ; they even went so far as to promise them the pillage of the town if they were successful ; but such was the virtue of these simple people, even amidst all their sufferings, that

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.<sup>340,</sup>  
Laroch.

1310

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

Dec. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.  
313, 317.  
Jom. iv.  
340, 342.  
Beauch. ii.  
223-225.

Defeated  
with great  
loss at  
Mans.  
Dec. 10.

The sick multiplied with frightful rapidity; the cries of the wounded, who were abandoned on the march, harrowed up every heart; the severity of the weather, the dreadful roads, the famine which began to prevail, the weeping crowd who surrounded the soldiers, unnerved the strongest hearts. The chiefs knew not what to do; the men were in despair. In this extremity, the firmness of M. de Larochejaquelein did not desert him, and after carefully weighing every consideration, it was resolved to alter the destination of the army, and move by La Flèche upon Mans. The retreat was protected by a strong rearguard; but no danger was apprehended in front. Great, then, was the consternation of the troops when, on arriving at La Flèche, they found the bridge broken down, and five thousand men occupying the opposite bank of the river, while their rear was vehemently assailed. But the presence of mind of the general saved them from apparent ruin. Ordering the rearguard to keep firm, he took three hundred of his boldest horsemen, and put a grenadier behind each *en croupe*; with this he crossed the stream at a ford a short distance further up at nightfall, and attacked the Republicans in the dark. A panic instantly seized their troops, who dispersed and fled in all directions, while Larochejaquelein re-established the bridge, and gave a day's repose to his wearied army, after which they continued their march without opposition to Mans.<sup>1</sup>

This town was destined to witness the ruin of the Royalist cause. The troops arrived there in such a state of fatigue, depression, and suffering, that it was easy to foresee that they would be unable to withstand a vigorous attack; six months of incessant marches and combats had weakened their resolution, as well as exhausted their strength. They were in the state

necessary ; and this gave time to the Repub-  
licans to concert measures for their destruc-  
tion. Forces were accumulating on all sides ; Mar- Dec. 12.  
Westerman, and Kleber, had assembled forty  
thousand men, with which they assailed the exhausted  
Republican army, who were in no condition to resist an

They made, nevertheless, a heroic defence,  
and only twelve thousand could be collected in a  
position fit to face the enemy. Larochejaquelein  
was the bravest of his troops in a fir wood, from  
which they kept up so heavy a fire as long held in  
the left of the Republicans ; but Kleber having  
driven back the division of Stofflet from its position,  
the whole army was borne backwards like a torrent  
into the town. There, however, they resisted in the  
most obstinate manner. Larochejaquelein pointed  
cannon down all the streets leading to the great  
square, and filled the whole houses in the streets with  
ammunition ; a terrible fire arose on all sides, and in-  
creased the horrors of a nocturnal combat. But after  
a fruitless night of carnage, the Republican columns,  
driven from the ground in every quarter ; Larochejaque-  
lein and two horses killed under him : and, in spite

Jom. iv.

343, 344.

Laroch.

320. 321.

CHAP. advance of the victorious columns; he was v  
XII. and overturned in the tumult, his band di

1793. and the Republicans commenced an indisc  
carnage on the shrieking fugitives. Ten t  
soldiers, and an equal number of women :  
dren, perished under their relentless sword:  
almost all their artillery, and an incalculab  
tity of baggage, fell into the hands of the  
Such as survived owed their escape chiefl  
heroism of the Chevalier Duhoux, and  
Scepeaux, who, with eight hundred bra  
maintained their ground to the very last, a  
their own hands, discharged the guns of a  
which covered the rearguard, after all t  
noniers had fallen by their side. The pit  
publicans massacred the women and chil  
thousands; youth, grace, rank, and beau  
alike disregarded; and the vast crowd wh  
flocked together to avoid destruction, perish  
the incessant discharges of grape-shot, or  
toons of the musketry, before the eyes of t  
missioners of the Convention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
343, 344.  
Laroch.  
320-322.  
Lac. xi.  
167, 168.  
Beauch. ii.  
230-238.  
Dec. 16.

Their  
hopeless  
state. He-  
roic con-  
duct of  
Henri de  
Laroche-  
Jaquelin.

Such of the Royalists as had escaped the  
reassembled at Laval two days afterwards  
was resolved to move to Ancenis, with the  
again attempting the passage of the Loire.  
boat alone was found in that town; but fo  
vessels, laden with hay, were on the oppos  
which was guarded by patrols of the enemy  
de Larochejaquelein finding that no one had  
to attempt their seizure, himself leapt into t  
while another, which had been brought in  
bore M. de Langerie and eighteen soldier  
river, swollen with winter rains, was flowin  
impetuous torrent, and all eyes were fixed v



nizing anxiety on the frail barks on which the safety of the whole depended. At length they reached the opposite shore, and the peasants began with ardour to work at unloading the vessels of their cargoes, when a detachment of Republicans appeared on the coast, where they had landed, and attacked and dispersed the soldiers of Larochejaquelein, who was compelled to seek refuge in a neighbouring forest. At the same time, a gun-boat of the enemy appeared in the river, and, by a few discharges, sunk all the rafts, which, with eager haste, the peasants had been forming to transport themselves over, while the advanced guard of Westerman assailed the rear. Thus, at the very moment when his skill was most required, the army found itself deprived of its leader.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroche.

332, 333.

Jom. iv.

345, 346.

Beauch. ii.

243-245.

Despair now seized upon the troops, who fled in confusion, without either provisions or leaders, to Niort, and from thence, through a heavy fall of snow, to Savenay. The soldiers melted away on all sides; the sick and wounded were abandoned, the most intrepid straggled in detached parties to the banks of the Loire, and above one thousand were ferried over in the night, and formed the nucleus

Final rout

at Savenay.

Dec. 22.

Dec. 23.

from whence these intrepid bands of Chouans were

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

wounded who could sit on horseback were led out to the fight, and even young women and boys seized the muskets of their fathers and brothers and joined the array. Long, and with heroic resolution, they held the immense columns of the Republicans in check; and when at length they were obliged to retire, they fell back in good order, with the women in front, and the few pieces of artillery they had left facing about in the rear till the last cartridge and cannon-shot in the army was expended. Even after they could no longer discharge their pieces, the rearguard continued to fight with unshaken bravery with their swords and bayonets, till they all fell under the fire of the Republicans. "I examined their bodies," said the Republican general in his despatch to Merlin de Thionville, "and recognized the stern expression, the invincible resolution of Cholet and Laval. The men who could conquer such enemies, have nothing to fear from other nations. That war, so often styled in ridicule a contest with brigands and peasants has been the severest trial of the Republic; I now feel that we shall have children's play with our other enemies."<sup>1</sup>

Dec. 23.  
<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
345-349.  
Jom. iv.  
348, 349.  
Lac. xi.  
168, 169.  
Beauch. ii.  
250-259.

Total ruin  
of the Ven-  
déans.

This defeat was a mortal stroke to the Vendéan cause; of eighty thousand souls who had crossed the Loire six weeks before, scarce three thousand got back in detached bodies to La Vendée. Concealed by the courageous hospitality of the peasants, numbers were saved from the savage cruelty of their pursuers, among whom were Mesdames de Larochejaquelein and Bonchamps, who escaped unparalleled dangers, and lived to fascinate the world by the splendid story of their husbands' virtues, and their own misfortunes.<sup>2</sup> Others, less fortunate, fell into the hands of the Republicans, who hunted them

<sup>2</sup> Jom. iv.  
349.  
Laroch.  
350-361.

down night and day during the dreadful winter of 1794, and led to prison and the scaffold the noblest blood in France.

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

In war every thing depends upon rapidity of execution and an accurate attention to time; the moment of success, once allowed to escape, never returns. Hardly had the Royalist standards disappeared from the shores of Brittany, when the tardy English succours, commanded by Lord Moira, who had exerted himself to the utmost to accelerate the preparations, appeared on the coast of Cherbourg, having on board eight English battalions, four thousand Hanoverians, and two thousand emigrants—in all ten thousand men. They looked out in vain for the expected signals, and after remaining on the coast for some days, and receiving intelligence of the defeat of the Royalists at Granville, returned to Guernsey, where the expedition was broken up. Had the succour arrived on the coast a fortnight sooner, had even a few English frigates appeared off Granville during the assault, to intimidate the Republicans, and encourage the Royalists, the town would have been taken, the junction of the English troops with the Royalists effected, and the united forces marched

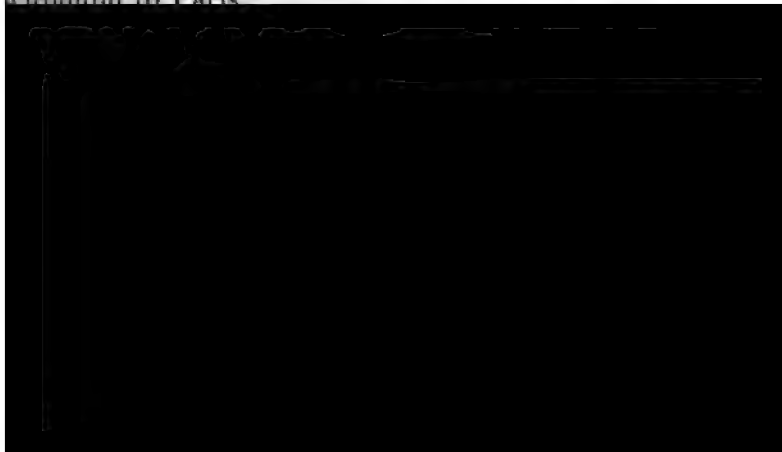
Tardy  
movements  
of the  
English to  
support  
the insur-  
gents.  
Dec. 2.

Jom. iv.

351.

Beauch. ii.  
178, 181.

in triumph to Paris.



CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

which exerts them. Never was a fairer opportunity of co-operating with effect with the continental Royalists than on this occasion. The expedition beyond the Loire, unaided as it was by British succour, was doubtless ruinous to the cause of La Vendée; and yet never did an army so situated achieve such triumphs as it did before its fatal termination. Before it fell, that host, without magazines or provisions, at the distance of forty leagues from its home, and surrounded by three hostile armies, marched one hundred and seventy leagues in sixty days, took twelve cities, gained seven battles, killed twenty thousand of the Republicans, and took from them one hundred pieces of cannon, trophies greater than were gained by the vast allied armies in Flanders during the whole campaign. Can there be a doubt, then, that if ten thousand English soldiers had joined them at Granville, they would have borne down all opposition, and marched in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants of the west, to Paris?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beauch.  
ii. 260.

Operations  
of Cha-  
rette.

While the great bulk of the Vendéan forces were engaged in this perilous and fatal expedition, Charette, with a few thousand men who adhered to his standard, made himself master of the Isle of Noirmoutiers, where the Republicans had left but a slender garrison. He immediately began fortifying it with care, with the design of making a dépôt for his sick, wounded, and stores. From this place of security, he made various expeditions into the adjoining province during the winter of 1793-4, with various success, until the return of the wreck of the Grand Army from its expedition beyond the Loire. Frequently the Republican general wrote to the mayor of a village, that if the inhabitants would remain they should suffer no violence, and having prevailed

on them by this deceitful pledge not to fly, surrounded it with soldiers, and put every living soul to death. General Thurreau was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the West, and he found himself nominally at the head of fifty thousand men, but one-half of whom alone were fit for active service, the remainder being sick, wounded, or exhausted in the hospitals. Thurreau commenced his operations by a descent on the Island of Noirmoutiers, of which he easily made himself master, in the absence of Charette. He there found D'Elbée covered with wounds, who had been removed to that place of security after the battle of Cholet. When the soldiers entered his room, where he was unable to rise from his bed, they exclaimed,—“Here then is D'Elbée at last.”—“Yes,” he replied, “Here is your greatest enemy: if I had been able to wield a sword you should never have taken Noirmoutiers.” He underwent a long interrogatory, which he answered with equal firmness and good faith; and met death with unshaken constancy sitting in his chair, from which his wounds disabled him from rising. His last words were raised to save an innocent man who was led out for execution by his side. The officer who presided at the execution named after D'Elbée

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.



CHAP. both evinced in their last moments the same courage  
XII. which had been displayed by the murdered general.

1793. Numbers of other Royalists were shot at the same time, among whom were the two young sons of Maignan de l'Ecorce, who had followed their father to battle with a courage beyond their years.

Henri de Larochejaquelein did not long survive his brave commander. After his separation from the army at the rout of Mans, he took refuge in the Forest of Visins, near the Loire, from whence he made frequent incursions upon the Republican posts with such success, that his little party daily increased, and proved a source of unceasing disquietude to the Republicans. In one of his incursions he made prisoner an adjutant-general, bearing an order to proclaim an amnesty to the peasants, and massacre them after they submitted, a discovery which contributed in a powerful manner to perpetuate the war, by taking away all hope from the vanquished.

Death of  
Henri de  
Larocheja-  
quelein.

March 4,  
1794.

He fell at length, the victim of his humanity; approaching two Republican grenadiers upon whom his party was preparing to fall, he ran forward, exclaiming, "Surrender; I give you quarter." Hardly were the words uttered when the men shot him dead on the spot. He was aged only twenty-one years. When his soldiers had buried him where he fell, they exclaimed:—"Now the Convention may indeed say that La Vendée no longer exists!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.  
178.  
Beauch. ii.  
374, 375.  
Laroche.  
406.

And the  
Prince de  
Talmont.  
Unheard-  
of cruelties  
of the Re-  
publicans.

The Prince de Talmont about the same time fell a victim to the Republican revenge. He was made prisoner near Laval, and after being led about in triumph from city to city for a considerable time, was executed in the court of his own chateau. When brought before his judges, he said, "Descended from the Latremouilles, the son of the Lord of Laval, I

was in duty bound to serve the King; and I will show in my last moments that I was worthy to defend the throne. Sixty-eight combats with the Republicans have rendered me familiar with death.”—“ You are an aristocrat, and I am a patriot,” said the judge.—“ Work out your trade,” replied he, “ I have performed my duty.” His faithful servant was offered his life, but he refused to survive his master, and followed him to the scaffold. The execution of these gallant chiefs put an end to the first period of the Vendéan war. It might then have been terminated, had the Republicans made a humane use of their victory, and sheathed the sword of conquest after it had destroyed its enemies in the field. But the darkest period of the tragedy was approaching, and in the rear of their armies came those fiends in human form, who exceeded even the horrors of Marat and Robespierre, and have left a darker stain on French history than the tyranny of Nero, or the massacre of Bartholomew. Their atrocities took all hope from the vanquished; and in despair and revenge sprung up a new set of CHOUAN bands, who, under Charette, Stofflet, and Tinteniac, long maintained the Royalist cause in the western provinces, and proved more fatal to the Republicans than all the armies of Germany.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.

398.

Beauch. ii.

262, 263.

Thurreau was the first who commenced against the Vendéans a systematic war of extermination. He formed twelve corps, aptly denominated *infernal columns*, whose orders were to traverse the country in every direction, isolate it from all communication with the rest of the world, carry off or destroy all the grain and cattle, murder all the inhabitants, and burn down all the houses. These orders were too faithfully executed; the infernal columns pierced the country in every direction; men and women

<sup>1</sup> Thurreau

and the

infernal

columns.

CHAP. were burned alive; infants tossed from bayonet  
XII. to bayonet. Their path might be traced by the  
1793. conflagration of villages, their footsteps known by  
the corpses of the inhabitants. A contemporary  
Republican writer has left this character of their  
exploits:—"It seemed as if the Vendéans were  
no longer regarded as men; the pregnant woman,  
the child in the cradle, even the beasts of the field,  
the very stones, the houses, the soil itself, appeared  
to the Republicans enemies worthy of a total exter-  
mination."<sup>1</sup> \* But from this atrocious warfare arose  
new difficulties to the invaders. From the conse-  
quences of their ravages, provisions failed equally to  
them as their enemies; and the Chouan bands were  
swelled by multitudes who were driven to despair by  
the conflagration of their dwellings, and the massacre  
of their relations. Strengthened by such recruits,  
the unconquerable Charette maintained the contest,  
and often took a bloody revenge on his enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
199.  
Beauch. ii.  
369.

\* "Il entre dans mes projets, et ce sont les ordres de la Convention Nationale, d'enlever toutes les subsistances, les denrées, les fourrages—tout, en un mot, de ce maudit pays: de livrer aux flammes tous les bâtimens, d'en exterminer tous les habitans; car je vais à l'instant t'en faire passer l'ordre, et ils voudraient encore affamer les patriotes après les avoir fait périr par milliers. Oppose-toi de toutes tes forces à ce que la Vendée prenne ou garde une seul grainetière, les delivrer aux commissaires du département à Nantes. Je te donne l'ordre le plus précis, le plus impératif: tu t'en garantis dès ce moment l'exécution: en un mot—se laissez rien dans ce pays de proscription; que les subsistances, denrées, fourrages—tout, absolument tout, se transporte à Nantes."—CARRIER au GENERAL HAXO, 23 Frimain; No. 12, *Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire—Procès de CARRIER*.

Nor was the execution of these orders unworthy of their conception. They are thus described by an eyewitness on the trial of Carrier. "J'ai vu brûler vifs des hommes, des femmes, des vieillards infirmes, dans leurs maisons: j'ai vu 150 soldats violer des femmes, des filles de 14 à 15 ans, les massacrer ensuite, et jeter de bayonettes en bayonettes de tendres enfans qui étaient à côté de leurs mères étendues sur le carreau: c'étaient les héros de 500 livres qui se livraient à ces atrocités, et on n'osait encore rien dire."—*Déposition de THOMAS—Procès de CARRIER*, No. 12, *Nouvelle Série*.



Acquainted with every road and ambuscade in the country, capable of enduring the extremities of hunger, serene in danger, cheerful in misfortune, affable with his soldiers, inexhaustible in resources, invincible in resolution, he displayed in that guerilla warfare the talents of a consummate general. In vain Thurreau sent against him General Haxo, one of the ablest of the Republican commanders; his indefatigable opponent retired before him till he arrived at a favourable place for the attack, and then turning to his men, and ordering them to halt: "We have retired far enough," said he, "now is the time to show the Convention that La Vendée still exists." With that they precipitated themselves with such fury upon their pursuers, that the column was broken, and put to flight, and General Haxo himself slain, while bravely endeavouring to restore the combat.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v.  
266, 272,  
273. Lac.  
xi. 174,  
176.  
Beauch. ii.  
369, 371,  
410-418.  
Laroch.  
414.

While Thurreau was pursuing with varied success the system of extermination in La Vendée, the scaffold was erected at Nantes, and those infernal executions commenced, which have affixed a stain upon the French Revolution, unequalled since the beginning of the world. A Revolutionary Tribunal was formed there under the direction of Carrier, and it soon outstripped even the rapid march of Danton and Robespierre. "Their principle," says the Republican his-

Execu-  
tions at  
Nantes.  
Legions of  
Marat.



CHAP. fresh supply of captives was wanted, the alarm was  
XII. spread of a counter-revolution, the *générale* beat, the  
1793. cannon planted; and this was immediately followed

by innumerable arrests. Nor were they long in disposing of the captives. The miserable wretches were either slain with poniards in the prisons, or carried out in a vessel and drowned by wholesale in the Loire. On one occasion, a hundred 'fanatical priests,' as they were termed, were taken out together, stripped of their clothes, and precipitated into the waves. The same vessel served for many of these Noyades; and the horror expressed by many of the citizens for that mode of execution formed the ground for fresh arrests, and increased murders. Women, big with child; infants, eight, nine, and ten years of age, were thrown together into the stream, on the sides of which, men, armed with sabres, were placed to cut off their hands, if the waves should throw them undrowned on the shore. The citizens, with loud shrieks, implored the lives of the little innocents, and numbers offered to adopt them as their own; but, though a few were granted to their urgent entreaty, the greater part were doomed to destruction. Thus were consigned to the grave whole generations at once—the ornament of the present, the hope of the future." So immense were the numbers of those who were cut off by the guillotine or mowed down by fusillades, that three hundred men were occupied for six weeks in covering with earth the vast multitude of corpses which filled the trenches which had been cut in the place of the department at Nantes to receive the dead bodies. Ten thousand died of disease, pestilence, and horror, in the prisons of that department alone.

<sup>1</sup> Bull. du Trib. Rév. No. 19, p. 74. Procès de Carrier. Toul. v. 103, 104. Bonch. ii. 279—281. Th. vi. 374. Prudhomme, vi. 339.

On one occasion, by orders of Carrier, twenty-three of the Royalists, on another, twenty-four, were guil-

lotined together, without any trial. The executioner remonstrated, but in vain. Among them were many children of seven or eight years of age, and seven women; the executioner died two or three days after with horror at what he himself had done. At another time, one hundred and forty women, incarcerated as suspected, were drowned together, though actively engaged in making bandages and shirts for the Republican soldiers. So great was the multitude of captives who were brought in on all sides, that the executioners, as well as the company of Marat, declared themselves exhausted with fatigue; and a new method of disposing of them was adopted, borrowed from Nero, but improved on the plan of that tyrant. A hundred, or a hundred and fifty victims, for the most part women and children, were crowded together in a boat, with a concealed trapdoor in the bottom, which was conducted into the middle of the Loire; at a signal given, the crew leapt into another boat, the bolts were withdrawn, and the shrieking victims precipitated into the waves, amidst the laughter of the company of Marat, who stood on the banks, to cut down any who approached the shore. This was what Carrier called his *Republican Bap-*

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

Carrier's  
Republican  
baptisms  
and mar-  
riages.

CHAP. of the sabre. It was ascertained, by authentic documents, that six hundred children had, on one occasion

1793. alone, perished by that inhuman species of death. The *noyades* at Nantes alone amounted to twenty-five, on each of which occasions from eighty to a hundred and fifty persons perished; and such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire that the water of that river was infected so as

render a public ordinance necessary, forbidding the use of it to the inhabitants. No less than eighty thousand perished in these ways or by the guillotine in Nantes alone, during the administration of Carrier;\* and the mariners, when they heaved the anchors, frequently brought up boats charged with corpses. Birds of prey flocked to the shores, and fed on human flesh; while the very fish became poisonous, as to induce an order of the municipality of Nantes, prohibiting them to be taken by the fishermen.<sup>1</sup>

Dreadful scenes in the prisons.

The scenes in the prisons which preceded the horrid executions exceeded all that romance has figured of the terrible. Many women died of terror the moment a man entered their cells, conceiving that they were about to be led out to the Noyades; the floors were covered with the bodies of their infants, numbers of whom were yet quivering in the agonies of death. On one occasion, the inspector entered the prison to seek for a child, where the evening before he had left above three hundred infants; they were all gone in the morning, having been drowned the preceding night. To every representation

“18,000 hommes étaient périssés par la guillotine, et 10,000 étaient incarcérés dans l'entrepôt; et c'était Carrier qui commandait à toutes ces atrocités.”—*Déposition* d'ALTAROCHE, *Administrateur du Département du Cantal*; *Bulletin du Trib. Rév.* No. 19, p. 74.

the citizens in favour of these innocent victims, Carrier answered, "They are all vipers; let them be stifled." Three hundred young women of Nantes were drowned by him in one night; so far from having had any share in political discussions, they were of the unfortunate class who live by the pleasures of others. Several hundred persons were thrown every night, for some months, into the river: their shrieks at being led out of the entrepôt on board the barks, wakened all the inhabitants of the town, and froze every heart with horror. Early in the Noyades, Lamberty, at a party at Carrier's, pointing to the Loire, said, "it has already passed two thousand eight hundred." "Yes," replied Carrier; "they are in the national bath." Fouquet boasted that he had dispatched nine thousand in other quarters on the same river. From Saumur to Nantes, a distance of sixty miles, the Loire was, for several weeks, red with human blood; and the multitude of corpses it bore to the ocean so prodigious, that the adjacent coast was strewn with them, when a violent west wind and high tide having brought part of them back to Nantes, followed by a train of sharks and marine animals of prey, attracted by so prodigious an accumulation of human bodies, they were thrown ashore in vast numbers. Fifteen thousand persons perished there under the hands of the executioner, or of diseases in prison, in one month; the total victims of the Reign of Terror at that place exceeded thirty thousand.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
119, 120.  
Laroch.  
394.  
Beauch. ii.  
284, 285.  
Th. vi.  
374. Prud-  
homme  
Vict. de la  
Révolu-  
tion, vi.  
337, 339.  
Chateaubriand,  
Etud. Hist.  
i. Pref. 45.

The spectacles of horror which ensued when the reflux of the tide and the force of the west wind brought the corpses in numbers back to Nantes, were of the most appalling description. Crowds of the peasants hastened from the adjoining country, in the pious hope of recovering the

Scenes of  
horror on  
recovering  
the bodies  
from the  
Loire.

CHAP. XII. body of a dear and lost relative from the waves, and giving it a decent sepulture; but though they

1793. in some instances were successful, yet it was only with great difficulty, and often after a severe contest with the monsters of the deep. Huge sea-snakes and enormous eels twenty or thirty feet long, fierce sharks and other marine animals of prey, followed the blood-stained waves, and contended with vultures and ospreys for the mangled corpses with which they were charged. Inexpressible were the scenes of tenderness which these piteous remains brought to light. Children were found with their lips affixed to those of their dead mothers, locked in so close an embrace, that even the struggles of drowning and the action of the waves had been unable to separate them. Mothers with their infants yet at the breast were found floating together in the waves. Often a voracious fish had eat out the entrails of the young infant without being able to dissolve the close embrace; and the dead remains, yet locked in each other's arms, were disputed fiercely by a shark and a vulture, each striving for the tender spoil.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, *Victimes de la Révolution*, vi. 337, 339.

Courage of the peasants in their last moments. The peasants, both men and women, of La Vendée, met death in general with the most heroic courage; they perished boldly avowing their opinions, and exclaiming, "Vive le Roi! Nous allons en Paradis." Innumerable instances of heroism occurred, especially among the female sufferers. Madame de Jourdain was led out to be drowned, with her three daughters; a soldier wished to save the youngest, who was very beautiful; she threw herself into the water to share the fate of her mother, but falling on a heap of dead, could not sink. "Push me in," she exclaimed, "the water is not deep enough!" and sunk beneath his thrust. Mademoiselle Cuissan, aged sixteen, of still

greater beauty, excited the most vehement admiration in a young officer of hussars, who spent three hours at her feet entreating her to allow him to save her; but as he could not undertake to free an aged parent, the partner of her captivity, she refused life, and threw herself into the Loire along with her mother.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
392, 393.

Agatha Larochejaquelein escaped in the most extraordinary manner. She had left an asylum, in a cottage at Brittany, in consequence of one of the deceitful amnesties which the Republicans published to lure their victims from their places of concealment, and was seized and brought before Lamberty, one of the ferocious satellites of Carrier. Her beauty excited his admiration. "Are you afraid, brigand?" said he. "No, General," replied the worthy inheritrix of her name. "When you feel fear," said he, "send for Lamberty." When brought to the entrepôt, seeing death approaching, she recollected his words, and sent for the general. He took her out alone at night into a little boat on the Loire, with a concealed trap, which Carrier had given him for his private murders, and wished to sacrifice her to his desires; she resisted, upon which he threatened to drown her, but she, anticipating him, flew to the side to throw herself into the river. The Re-

Adven-  
tures of  
Agatha  
Laroche-  
jaquelein.

CHAP.  
XII.

1793.

mitted on his own brother, whom he had denounced as a Vendéan to the Republican authorities. The intelligence, however, of his humanity got wind, and Lamberty was accused some time afterwards of having saved some women from the Noyades. To prevent the evidence of this in Agatha's case, she was seized by a friend of Lamberty of the name of Robin, who carried her into a boat, where he was proceeding to poniard her, in order to extinguish any trace of his having facilitated her escape, when her beauty again subdued the ruthless murderer. She threw herself at his feet, and prevailed on him to save her life. She was again arrested, however, in the place where he had concealed her, and would certainly have been guillotined, had not the fall of Robespierre suspended the executions, and ultimately restored her to liberty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
394--396.

And Ma-  
dame de  
Bon-  
champs.

The fate of Madame de Bonchamps was not less remarkable. After the rout at Mans, she lived, like all the other wives of the officers and generals, on the charity of the peasants in Brittany, whose courage and devotion no misfortunes could diminish. They at once told their names and connexions; the faithful people received them with tears of joy, and not only concealed them in their dwellings, but stinted themselves in their meals to furnish them with provisions. For several days, when the pursuit was hottest, she was concealed, with her infant child, in the thick foliage of an oak-tree, at the foot of which the Republican soldiers were frequently passing; a cough or a cry from the infant would have betrayed them both, but the little creature, though suffering under a painful malady, never uttered a groan; and both mother and child frequently slept in peace for hours, when the bayonets of their pursuers were visible through



the openings of the leaves. At night, when the enemy were asleep, the little children of the cottagers brought them provisions ; and occasionally some old soldiers of her husband's army hazarded their lives to render them assistance. She was at length arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Nantes ; the recollection of the five thousand captives, whose lives the dying hero had saved, could not save his widow from an unanimous condemnation. The atrocious cruelty of this proceeding, however, excited so much commiseration among the numerous survivors who had been saved by his clemency, that the vehemence of their remonstrances obtained a reprieve from the judges ; during which the peasants who had protected her little girl sent her to the prison, and the mother had the delight of hearing her infant pray every night and morning at her bedside for her health and deliverance. At length, after a long captivity, she obtained her liberation ; her daughter was intrusted with presenting the petition to the court ; and even the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal could not withstand the touching appeal made to them by the little child in behalf of its captive parent. ! \*

CHAP.  
XII.  
1793.

"The poor people" says Larochejaquelein "in



*lent of the artisans*, many of whom came from towns besides Nantes ;" words of vast political portance, as designating the class in whom revolutionary fervour is ever most violent, and by which its principal atrocities are committed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroch.  
391, 392.

Heroic benevolence of the country peasants.

But if humanity has cause to blush for the atrocious cruelty of the tradesmen in the towns of Brittany, it may dwell with unalloyed delight on the generous hospitality of the peasants in the country. The experience they had acquired in concealing priests, and the young men required for the constitution, rendered them exceedingly expert at eluding the search of their enemies. Numbers were wont to give an asylum to the Vendéans ; but not even this could check their courageous humanity. Men, women, and children, displayed unbounded goodness and inexhaustible resources. A poor deaf and dumb, had been made to comprehend the dangers of the Royalists, and incessantly warned them by signs when their enemies were approaching. Neither menaces of death, nor offers of gold, could

n had contracted an aversion to the Repub- CHAP.  
 ho always used them harshly ; they barked XII.  
 ly at their approach, and were thus the 1793.  
 of saving great numbers. On the other  
 ey never uttered a sound when the Royalist  
 were to be seen, taught by the peasants,  
 nced by their own feelings to those who  
 r were friends, to do nothing that could  
 them. There was not a cottage in the  
 untry where a fugitive might not present  
 at any hour with perfect security ; if they  
 at conceal them, they gave them food and  
 them on their road. For none of these  
 services would they accept any reward ; Laroch.  
 e even seriously offended if any was offered. 350, 351.  
 1207, 268. Beauch. ii.  
 viewing the history of this melancholy war,  
 is so remarkable as the prodigious victories  
 by the peasants in so sequestered a district, Reflections  
 on the ex-  
 traordi-  
 nary suc-  
 cesses of  
 the Ven-  
 déans.  
 near approach they made to the re-establish-  
 the monarchy, contrasted with the feeble  
 and comparatively bloodless actions of the  
 ilitary powers which combated on the fron-  
 Without the aid of mountains, fortresses, or  
 he ordinary resources of war, undisciplined  
 xperienced, destitute of cavalry, artillery, or

CHAP. the loss of ten and fifteen thousand men to the  
XII. Republicans, made them masters of vast parks of

1793. artillery ; and but for the inability of the chiefs to  
keep the peasants to their colours after any great

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
400.

success, would, by the admission of the Republicans  
themselves, have re-established the throne.<sup>1</sup> We  
pass at once in the same year, from the battles of  
Famars and Kayerslautern to the triumphs of Ma-  
rengo and Hohenlinden. Such were the astonishing  
results of the enthusiastic valour which the strong  
feelings of religion and loyalty produced in this  
gallant people ; such the magnitude of the result,  
when, instead of cold calculation, vehement passion  
was brought into action.

And the  
cause of  
their dis-  
asters.

On the other hand, the ultimate result of this  
contest, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the peo-  
santry, is the strongest proof of the inability of mere  
valour, unaided by discipline, experience, and military  
resources, to contend permanently with a regular go-  
vernment. No future insurrection can be expected  
to display greater bravery, none to be animated with  
a stronger spirit, none to gain more glorious suc-  
cesses, than that of La Vendée. Yet all was un-  
availing. This great example should always be kept  
in mind in calculating on the probable results of  
popular enthusiasm, when opposed to the systematic  
efforts of discipline and organization. It was the  
want of these, joined to the culpable supineness of  
the English government, in forwarding an expedi-  
tion which might have given it to them, which  
proved fatal to the Vendéans. Had they possessed  
two or three fortified towns, they might have repair-  
ed, under their shelter, all their disasters ; had they  
been masters of a regular army, they might have im-  
proved their victories into lasting conquests. The

ant of these two things rendered their triumphs CHAP.  
XII.  
 unproductive of real advantages, and their defeats  
 the forerunner of irreparable ruin. The war at a 1793.  
 subsequent period, in Tyrol and Spain, demon-  
 strated the same truth; while the durable successes  
 of the Portuguese and Russian campaigns showed  
 the vast results which arise from engrafting the vi-  
 gour of popular enthusiasm on the steady courage of  
 regular forces. The conclusion to be drawn from  
 this is, not that popular feeling can effect no lasting  
 achievement, and that every thing in war depends  
 on a military organization, but that it is the combina-  
 tion of the two which is requisite to permanent suc-  
 cess. In 1793, the discipline of Austria and Rus-  
 sia on the Rhine could effect nothing, because it  
 was not animated by a vehement spirit; while the  
 enthusiasm of La Vendée withered, because it  
 was unsupported by regular organization. In 1812,  
 the Russians combined both to resist the attack of  
 an enemy tenfold greater, and the campaign of Mos-  
 cow was the consequence.

But though La Vendée fell, her blood was not  
 shed in vain. The sword of the conqueror subdues Vendéan  
 the bodies, but it is often the heroism of the van- war finally  
 quished which subjugates the minds of men, and commits  
the Revo-



HAP. war with that of religion ; the friends of real free-  
XII. dom may thank it for permanently enlisting on their  
793. side a power which will never be subdued. From  
the atrocious severities of the Republican sway, in  
this devoted province, has arisen the profound hatred  
of all the believers in the Christian faith at their  
rule, and the stubborn spirit which was every where  
roused to resist it; the desolation of the Bocage wa  
avenged by the charnel-house of Spain ; the horror  
of the Loire have been forgotten in the passage of th  
Berezina. Periods of suffering are in the end sel  
dom lost either to the cause of truth or the mora  
discipline of nations; it is the sunshine of prosperit  
which spreads the fatal corruption. Christianit  
withered under the titled hierarchy ; but she shon  
forth in spotless purity from the revolutionary agonie  
of France ; and that celestial origin which had been  
obscured by the splendour of a prosperous, was  
revealed in the virtues of a suffering age.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

## ARGUMENT.

ice of all Wars betwixt France and England—Great divi-  
 sion on the French Revolution in Great Britain—Arguments  
 for War by the Whigs; and for it by the Tories—Argu-  
 ment of Parliament on the same subject—Real motives which led to  
 the undertaking—Parliamentary Reform—Arguments by which the  
 measure was supported; and the Arguments against it—It is rejected  
 by the House of Commons—Traitorous Correspondence Act passed, and  
 the Act for Sedition and Treason—Preparations for War by Great  
 Britain and the Allies—Effect of the Death of Louis at London and St  
 Petersburg—Treaty between England and Russia, and with Sardinia,  
 the Emperor, Naples, and Spain—Secret Views of Russia—Divi-  
 sion between the Prussians and Austrians—Forces on both sides—  
 state of the French Armies—Prince Coburg, Generalissimo—  
 of France—Designs of Dumourier; and of the Allied Generals  
 as Charles joins the Army—Repeated Disasters of the Republic-  
 it sensation produced by them in Flanders—Efforts of Du-  
 mourier at Nerwinde—Defeat of the French—Disorganization of  
 the Army—Retreat of Dumourier—Conferences with Prince Coburg—

CHAP.  
 XIII.  
 1793.



CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Its ruinous Consequences—They march to Dunkirk, and the Imperialists to Queanoy—Quesnoy falls ; but the Siege of Dunkirk is protracted—Vast efforts of the French to raise the Siege, and Slow Steps of the English—The former accumulate forces there from the Rhine and Moselle—Designs of Carnot, and operations of Houchard—The Siege is raised—Bad Consequences of this Disaster—The Republicans do not follow up their success with vigour, and Houchard is arrested—Mauberge is besieged—Jourdan takes the command of the Army—Firm Conduct of the Convention—Jourdan approaches to raise the Siege—Battle of Watignies—Retreat of the Allies, and raising of the Siege—Conclusion of the Campaign in Flanders—Both parties go into Winter Quarters—Pichegru appointed to the command of the Republicans—Campaign on the Rhine—Inactivity of the Prussians—French defeated at Pirmasenz, and their lines are Stormed at Weissenberg with a total Rout—Leads to no results—Fort Vauban taken, and Landau blockaded by the Allies—Cruel Revenge of the French in Alsace—Secession of the Prussians from the Alliance—Divisions between the Prussians and Austrians—Able Measures of the French : they drive the Allies over the Rhine, and raise the Blockade of Landau—Campaign on the Spanish frontier—On the Bidassoa—And Eastern Pyrenees—Invasion of Roussillon by the Spaniards—They are defeated—Battle of Truellas, and Defeat of the French—Second Rout of the French, who fall back to Perpignan—Campaign in the Maritime Alps—Feeble Irruption of the Piedmontese on the side of Chambery—Great Discontents in the South of France—Abortive Insurrection at Marseilles—Revolt at Toulon, which opens its Gates to the English—Revolt and Siege of Lyons—Great Efforts of the Republicans for its Reduction—Bombardment of the City, and Cruelty of the Besiegers—Dreadful Sufferings of the Inhabitants—Their heroic Efforts—Preycy forces his way through the Besiegers' Line—Town Capitulates—Sanguinary Measures of the Convention to the Inhabitants—Collet d'Herbois, and Fouché—Terrible Measures of the Revolutionary Tribunal there—Metrillades of the Prisoners—Vast Numbers who thus perished—Siege of Toulon—Allies assemble for its Defence—Napoleon obtains the direction of the Artillery—Progress of the Siege—His first Action—Decisive Measures of Napoleon—Capture of the Fort Equillete, and of the Exterior Forts—Despair of the Inhabitants—Burning of the Arsenal and Fleet—Horrors of the Evacuation—Dreadful Cruelty of the Republicans—Atrocious decree of the Convention against Toulon—General Reflections on the Issue of the Campaign—Immense Talent developed in France by the Revolution—Ease with which France might have been conquered in the outset of the Campaign—Causes which occasioned its Failure—Ruinous Effect of reduction of England's Military Force—Causes to which it is owing.

A CONTEST between France and England has, in every age, been the greatest source of excitement to the people in both countries ; but at no former period were these passions so strongly roused as at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Not only was

Vehe-  
mence of  
all wars  
between  
France and  
England.



rivalry, the growth of centuries, revived, CHAP. XIII.  
 and fiercer passions arose from the civil 1793.  
 which were brought into collision. The  
 party in England regarded the war with  
 not merely as a contest with a rival power,  
 glory or conquest was to be won, but as a  
 for existence, in which their lives, their  
 and their country, were at stake. The  
 Republicans looked upon the accession of  
 to the league of their enemies, as the signal  
 y combat with the principles of freedom;  
 cipated from defeat not only national humili-  
 out individual ruin. The English nobility  
 the conquests of the Republicans the dis-  
 on of the principles of revolution and anarchy,  
 and of infidelity, the reign of the guillotine;  
 ch Jacobins saw in the victories of the Allies  
 approach of moral retribution, the revenge  
 , the empire of the sword.

ords can convey an adequate idea of the bit-  
 of party feeling which divided this country Great divi-  
 breaking out of the war in 1793. "War sion of opi-  
 palace, and peace to the cottage," was the nion on the  
 of the French Revolution. Its proclamation French  
Revolution  
 in Great  
 Britain.



CHAP. as well as France, had talent impatient of obscurity;  
 XIII. ardour, which demanded employment; ambition,  
 1793. which sought distinction; passion, which required  
 excitation. To such men, the whole body of the  
 aristocracy became an object of uncontrollable jea-  
 lousy; and nothing short of the equality proclaimed  
 by the French rulers seemed the fit destiny of society.  
 Hence the division of the country into Aristocrats  
 and Democrats; the introduction of political hatred  
 into the bosom of families, and the dissolution of  
 many friendships which all the misfortunes of life  
 could never have severed. Time heals almost all  
 other sorrows, absence softens the worst causes of  
 irritation; but experience has proved, that the poli-  
 tical divisions of 1793 never were forgotten by those  
 who were of an age to feel their influence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scott's  
 Napoleon,  
 i. 280.

Argu-  
 ments  
 against the  
 war by  
 the Whigs.

The breaking out of the war furnished a new sub-  
 ject of discord between the contending parties. On  
 the part of the opposition it was argued, that to  
 plunge into a desperate war, for so inconsiderable an  
 object as the opening of the Scheldt, was to incur a  
 certain and heavy loss on account of a most trifling  
 cause of complaint: that the whole trade with the  
 United Provinces was not worth one year's expense of  
 the contest; and that, while it was easy to see what  
 England had to lose, it was difficult to conceive what  
 she could possibly gain from the conflict she had so  
 unnecessarily provoked: that if the spread of revolu-  
 tionary opinions were the evils which, in reality, were  
 dreaded, nothing could be imagined so likely to in-  
 crease the danger as engaging in a war, because it is  
 during its perils that the interchange of opinions is  
 most rapid, and prejudice most certainly yields to the  
 force of necessity: that thoughts are not to be con-  
 fined by walls, nor freedom fenced in by bayonets;

ading its contagion through all the provinces  
empire.

he other hand, the Tories maintained that the  
s both just and expedient; just, because the And for it  
; allies of Britain were threatened with inva- by the  
nd the destruction of rights on which the Tories.  
ce of the Republic depended; expedient, be-  
xperience had proved that such an aggression  
ot be permitted without ruin to the vital inte-  
Britain: that such a violation of neutral rights  
with a peculiarly bad grace from France, that  
having, only ten years before, successfully inter-  
n the footing of ancient treaties, to prevent  
ry act in regard to the Scheldt navigation on  
rt of Austria, which was now attempted by her  
rces; that if Great Britain was to sit by and  
behold the rights of her allies, and of all  
l powers, sacrificed by her ancient rival, there  
soon be an end, not only to her foreign influence,  
her internal security: that it was evident that  
publicans, who had now acquired the govern-  
of France, were actuated by the spirit of uni-  
dominion and would never rest till the

CHAP. the professions of a state, in which no principle was  
XIII. fixed but that of republican ambition : that treaties

1793.

were vain with a government subject to such sudden changes as the French Republic, and in which each successive party which rose to the head of affairs, disregarding the faith of ancient engagements, sought only to gain a short-lived popularity by new and dazzling schemes of foreign aggression : that the Convention had already given the clearest indication of their resolution to shake themselves loose of all former obligations, by their remarkable declaration, that "Treaties made by despots could never bind the free and enlightened inhabitants of Belgium:" that in all ages republics had been the most ambitious, and the most warlike of states, in consequence of the restless and insatiable spirit which their institutions tended to nourish among the mass of the citizens, and the necessity which their rulers felt themselves under of signalizing their short-lived power by some acts calculated to dazzle the multitude : that the French Republic had already given ample proof that they were not destined to form any exception to the general rule, and if their leaders were so inclined, the suffering and ambition of the people would soon drive them into action : that history proved both that France was too powerful for Europe when her territory was advanced to the Rhine, and that the moment her influence became predominant, it would all be directed with inveterate hostility against this country : that in this way the contest would sooner or later approach our own shores, and if so, how much better to anticipate the evil, when it might be done with comparative ease, and crush the growing Republic before it wielded the forces of Europe at its will.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
Hist. xxx.  
p. 79—128.  
Annual  
Register,  
1793, p. 15.

Such were the arguments urged in the country

generally on the policy of this great undertaking : those advanced in Parliament related, as is usual with debates in that assembly, less to the general policy of the measure, or the principles involved in it on both sides, than the immediate causes which had led to a rupture.

On the part of the opposition, it was contended by Mr Fox and Mr Grey, "that the causes of war with France were in no respect different now from what they were under the government of Louis XIV. or Louis XVI. What, then, were those causes? Not an insult or aggression, but a refusal of satisfaction when specifically demanded. What instance had ministers produced of such demand and of such refusal? It may be admitted that the decree of November 19th entitled this country to require an explanation; but even of this they could not show that any clear and specific explanation had been demanded. Security that the French would not act upon that decree was, indeed, mentioned in one of Lord Grenville's letters, but what kind of security was neither specified nor even named. The same might be said with respect to the opening of the Scheldt, and their conquests of Brabant. We complained of an attack on the rights of our ally; we remonstrated against an accession of territory alarming to Europe, but we proposed nothing that would be admitted as satisfaction for the injury; we pointed out nothing that would remove our alarm. The same argument applied to their conquest of Savoy from the King of Sardinia, with whom, in his opinion, they were at war as much as with the Emperor. Can it be said, that it was our business only to complain, and theirs to propose satisfaction? Common sense would see that this was too much for one independent power

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Argu-  
ments i  
Parliament  
on the  
same sub-  
ject.

CHAP. to expect of another. By what clue could they dis-  
 XIII. cover that which would satisfy those who did not  
 1793. choose to tell with what they would be satisfied  
 How could they judge of the too little, or the too  
 much? And was it not natural for them to suppose  
 that complaints, for which nothing was stated as  
 adequate satisfaction, there was no disposition to  
 withdraw? Yet on this the whole question of ag-  
 gression hinged; for that the refusal of satisfaction,  
 and not the insult, was the justifiable cause of war,  
 was not merely his opinion, but the opinion of all the  
 writers on the law of nations, and how could that  
 be said to have been refused which was never asked?  
 Of the death of the King, none could ever speak  
 but with grief and detestation. But was the expres-  
 sion of our sorrow all? Was not the atrocious  
 event made the subject of a message from his Ma-  
 jesty to both Houses of Parliament? And now they  
 would ask the few more candid men who owned that  
 they thought this event alone a sufficient cause of  
 war, what end could be gained by further negotia-  
 tions with Chauvelin, with Marat, or Dumourier?  
 Did ministers mean to barter the blood of this ill-  
 fated monarch for any of the points in dispute? to  
 say that the evacuation of Brabant shall atone for  
 so much, the evacuation of Savoy for so much more?  
 Of this they would accuse no man; but on their  
 principle, when the crime was committed negotia-  
 tion must cease. It might be admitted, however  
 with the right honourable gentleman, that this crime  
 was no cause of war; but if it were admitted to  
 be so, it was surely not decent that the subject of  
 war should never be even mentioned without re-  
 verting to the death of the King. When the attack  
 on France was called the cause of kings, it was

not only a very witty, but a sufficient reply, that opposing it might be called the cause of subjects. CHAP. XIII.  
 It is fortunate that the public abhorrence of a war 1793.  
 on such a motive was so great, that the right honourable gentleman felt himself called upon to disclaim it at great length. But how had ministers acted? They had taken advantage of the folly of the French; they had negotiated without proposing specific terms, and then broken off the negotiation. At home they had alarmed the people that their own constitution was in danger, and they had made use of a melancholy event, which, however it might affect us as men, did not concern us as a nation, to inflame our passions and impel us to war; and now that we were at war, they durst not avow the causes of it, nor<sup>1</sup> tell us on what terms peace might have been pre-<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist. xxx. 370, 378.  
 served.”<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt and Mr Burke, that, “whatever temptations might have existed to this country from ancient enmity and rivalry, paltry motives indeed! or whatever opportunity might have been afforded by the tumultuous and distracted state of France, or whatever sentiments might be excited by the transactions which had taken place in that nation, his Majesty had uniformly abstained from all interference in its internal

Reply by  
Mr Burke  
and Mr  
Pitt.

CHAP. not to pursue any system of aggrandizement, or make  
XIII. any additions to their dominions, but to confine

1793. themselves at the conclusion of the war within their own territories. These conditions they had all grossly violated, and had adopted a system of ambitious and destructive policy, fatal to the peace and security of every government, and which, in its consequences, had shaken Europe itself to its foundations. Their decree of the 19th of November, which had been so much talked of, offering fraternity and affiance to all people who wished to recover their liberty, was a decree not levelled against particular nations, but against every country where there was any form of government established; a decree not hostile to individuals, but to the human race; which was calculated every where to sow the seeds of rebellion and civil contention, and to spread war from one end of Europe to the other, from one end of the globe to the other. While they were bound to this country by these obligations, they had showed no intention to exempt it from the consequences of this decree. Not only had they showed no inclination to fulfil their engagements, but they had even put it out of their own power, by taking the first opportunity to make additions to their territory, in contradiction to their own express stipulations. By express resolutions for the destruction of the existing government of all invaded countries, by the means of Jacobin societies, by orders given to their generals, by the whole system adopted in this respect by the National Assembly, and by the actual connexion of the whole country of Savoy, they had marked their determination to add to the dominions of France, and to provide means, through the medium of every new conquest, to carry their principles over Europe. Their conduct was such,



that in every instance it had militated against the  
 dearest and most valuable interests of this country. CHAP.  
 XIII.  
 The catastrophe of the French Monarch they ought 1793.  
 all to feel deeply ; and, consistently with that im-  
 pression, be led more firmly to resist those principles  
 from which an event of so black and atrocious a na-  
 ture had proceeded ; principles which, if not oppos-  
 ed, might be expected in their progress to lead to the  
 commission of similar crimes ; but, notwithstanding  
 all this, although government had been obliged to  
 decline all communication which tended to acknow-  
 ledge the authority of the Convention, still they had  
 not open the means of accommodation, nor could that  
 mode of conduct which they had pursued be stated as  
 affording any ground of hostility.”<sup>1</sup>

The event has at length enabled the historian to  
 decide which of these views is the most reasonable ;  
 for we know the evil we have incurred, and we can  
 figure the peril we have escaped, by engaging in the  
 contest. In truth, the arguments urged by govern-  
 ment were not the only motives for commencing the  
 war ; the danger they apprehended lay nearer home  
 than the conquests of the republicans ; it was not  
 foreign subjugation so much as domestic revolution,  
 which was dreaded, if a pacific intercourse were any

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
 Hist. xxx.  
 345, 362.

Real mo-  
 tives for  
 the war.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

the institutions of the country were threatened with an overthrow, as violent as that which had recently taken place in the French monarchy. In these circumstances, the only mode of checking the evil was by engaging in a foreign contest, by drawing off the ardent spirits into active service, and, in lieu of the modern desire for innovation, rousing the ancient gallantry of the British people. When passion, whether in the political body or in the individual, is once roused, it is in vain, during the paroxysm, to combat it with the weapons of reason. A man in love is proverbially inaccessible to argument, and a nation heated in the pursuit of political power is as incapable of listening either to the deductions of the understanding, or the lessons of experience. The only way in such times of averting the evil, is by presenting some new object of pursuit, which is not only attractive to the thinking few, but to the unthinking many; by counteracting one passion by the growth of another, and summoning to the support of truth not only the armour of reason, but the fire of imagination. Great as has been the burden, enormous the waste, prodigal the expenditure of the war, the evils thence arising are trifling in comparison of what would have ensued had a revolution taken place. Such an event its advocates themselves confess, can only benefit future generations by the destruction of the present; its horrors, in a country such as England, where three-fourths of the whole population depend upon the wages of labour, and

<sup>1</sup> Segur, iii. 251. Ann. Reg. 1793, 172. tion of capital, would have exceeded any thing yet experienced in modern times.<sup>1</sup>

Another question, which strongly agitated the English people at this juncture, was that of reform

in Parliament, which the popular party deemed it a favourable opportunity to urge, when a considerable part of the nation was so vehemently excited by the triumph of revolution in France.

In the House of Commons, it was argued by Mr Grey and Mr Erskine, "That the state of the national representation, especially in Scotland and Cornwall, was so unequal, that no rational argument could be advanced in support of it. A majority of the House of Commons is thus returned by less than fifteen thousand electors, which is not more than a two-hundredth part of the male adults of the kingdom: the franchise, limited as it is, legally recurs only once in seven years: the total representation for Scotland was only one greater than that for Cornwall alone: twenty members were returned by thirty-five places where the right of voting was vested in burgage or similar tenures, and the elections were notoriously a matter of mere form: ninety more are chosen by forty-six places, where the right of voting is confined to less than fifty persons each: thirty-seven by nineteen places, in which the number of voters is under one hundred; fifty-two by twenty-two places, in none of which the voters exceed two hundred: thirty in Scotland, by counties having

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.  
Debate in  
Parliament  
on Parlia-  
mentary  
Reform.



CHAP. XIII. 1793. ation. Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote in all Papists, and in thirty boroughs Protestant dissenters are, by the Test and Corporation laws, excluded from the franchise; copyholders, how wealthy soever, are universally excluded; and from the recent returns, it appears that no less than 939,000 householders in England alone had no voice in the representation. In Scotland, matters are still worse, the great mass of the people being altogether excluded from any voice in the legislature, and the members chosen by twenty-five hundred persons, great part of whom have only fictitious or parchment votes. In fine, one hundred and fifty-four powerful and wealthy individuals can determine the returns in no less than three hundred and seven seats, being a majority of the whole Commons of England.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist. xxx. 789, 796.

“We are always told, when this question is brought forward, that the present juncture is not the proper season for bringing forward the measure. Nothing, however, can be more obvious, than that this excuse is now totally unfounded. The burst of loyalty on the breaking out of the war, of which the Government so loudly boast, demonstrates the groundless nature of any such apprehension at this time. If ever there was any danger to this country from the propagation of French principles, that danger unquestionably is at an end; for no set of men who have not actually lost their senses, would ever propose the French Revolution for a model of imitation. No argument from the present situation of France, therefore, can be drawn against the adoption of a rational reform in this country. The greatest statesmen whom this country has ever produced, have advocated the cause which we now bring forward.

been supported by Mr Locke, Sir William CHAP.  
me, Sir George Saville, and the present XIII.  
baron and Chief Justice. It had the coun- 1793.  
in his earlier years, of Mr Pitt himself; it  
advocated by the Duke of Richmond; and  
thority greater than either, that of the King  
in his speech 24th May 1784, wherein he  
says, 'that he should ever be ready to con-  
supporting, in their just balance, the rights  
ileges of every branch of the Legislature.'

present state of the representation is so  
ns, that it cannot, on general principles, be  
d by any rational man. Who can defend  
which enables one English county to send  
members as the whole kingdom of Scotland?  
ws representatives to be sent from many  
here hardly a house now remains? If there  
one principle more strongly inculcated than  
at the Revolution, it was, that the election  
house of Commons should be free. One of  
nds assigned at that period for the dethrone-  
James was, that he had violated the freedom  
on; another, that a man ought not to be  
l by laws, in the framing of which he had  
vice, or to pay taxes to which he had not

CHAP. round a table ten or twelve of his master's depen-  
 XIII. dents, secures the return. Mr Pitt had brought  
 1793. forward a motion for an addition of one hundred to  
 the county members; and in the commencement of  
 every session, it is entered on the journals of the  
 House, 'That it is a high infringement of the liberties  
 and privileges of the Commons of England for any  
 Lord of Parliament, or Lord-Lieutenant, to concern  
 themselves in the election of members for Parliament.'  
 Better far at once to repeal such resolutions, and  
 openly proclaim our servility, than allow them to  
 remain there, when the practice was so totally at  
 variance with them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
 Hist. xxx.  
 799, 807.

To this it was replied by Mr Pitt, Mr Burke, and  
 Answers of Mr Jenkinson—"The liberty of a country depends  
 Mr Pitt, on its government, and very little experience must  
 Mr Burke, be sufficient to demonstrate that different countries  
 and Mr require different institutions. The real test of their  
 Jenkinson. practical influence is to be found in their effects.  
 Judging by this standard, what opinion must we  
 form of the British constitution? Is not property  
 secured? Is not the administration of justice pure?  
 Have we not arrived at a pitch of prosperity under  
 it, unparalleled in any other age or country? And  
 what have been the fruits of the speculations of those  
 who, disregarding the lessons of experience, have  
 aimed at the establishment of institutions framed  
 with a view to theoretical perfection? The turbu-  
 lent faction and unsettled despotism of democracy.  
 The spots of the sun do not diminish its splendour.  
 In considering the merits of the constitution, its  
 working upon the whole is to be considered: the  
 question is not, whether certain parts of it, if they  
 stood alone, are defensible, but whether the whole  
 machine is not admirable: not whether defects exist,

ether experience has not proved that these  
so far counteract each other, as to render it  
ast degree perilous to interfere with the ven-  
abric.

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

Myself," said Mr Pitt, "once brought forward  
n for reform, and I am desirous of stating the  
which induce me now to oppose it. I did so  
a period of profound peace, when no speck  
d in the political horizon, and when the op-  
ty appeared favourable for amending our in-  
is, with a view to their preservation. Now  
is totally different. The French Revolution  
rely changed, not only the expedience of such  
re, but the class of men by whom, and the  
for which, it is supported. Since that great  
ion arose, I have observed arising in this  
a small, but not contemptible party, whose  
s very different from moderate reform: who  
o nothing less than to introduce the French  
es with all their horrors. In such circum-  
all the practical good to be expected from  
has disappeared, and the dangers to be ap-  
ed from the adoption of any considerable  
have augmented tenfold. Upon this ground,  
d I rated as high as ever the advantages of

CHAP. not destroy our institutions? No; they all come  
 XIII. from the societies affiliated in this country for the  
 1793. purpose of spreading the Jacobin principles; from  
 the avowed and ardent admirers of the French Re-  
 public; from the correspondents and imitators of  
 the National Assembly; from men in whom all the  
 horrors which they have engendered, and all the  
 blood they have caused to flow, cannot awaken any  
 distrust of their principles. We must be blind, in-  
 deed, if we do not perceive what is the real object of  
 innovation supported by such a party. In France,  
 at the same time, they invariably mention Parlia-  
 mentary reform as the medium by which all their  
 revolutionary projects are to be forwarded in this  
 country; and a change in our representation, as but  
 a step to the formation of a British convention, and  
 the total destruction of all our civil and religious in-  
 stitutions.

“Is it, then, to a party small in number, but dan-  
 gerous from character, that we are to concede the first  
 step on the ladder of innovation? Are we to disre-  
 gard entirely the immense majority of loyal citizens,  
 who are too sensible of the blessings they enjoy, to  
 risk them by such a change? What is the question  
 really at issue? It is not whether the constituencies  
 of Cornwall and Scotland are really such as ideal per-  
 fection would approve: it is the same which is now  
 at issue with the whole of Europe, who are contend-  
 ing for the cause of order, justice, humanity, and  
 religion, in opposition to anarchy, injustice, cruelty,  
 and infidelity. The undue ascendancy given to  
 property in these districts, is the check to the other-  
 wise perilous influence of numbers in the larger  
 boroughs. Are we at such a moment, in order to  
 please a few individuals, to incur perils such as those



now witnessing? This would, indeed, resemble the conduct of those who, at the moment when Jerusalem was besieged, should proceed to the discussion of points of difference, instead of providing means of defence.

There is no probability at this time of a temperate reform. I see no guarantee for it either in the temper of the times, or the character, habits, or views of the people to whom it is supported. So far from satisfying them, it would only produce a craving for further reforms: they desire not the reform which they advocate for itself, but as a stepping-stone to objects which they dare not avow, till their carrying them into effect is by this first step secured. Knowing what these ulterior reforms are: seeing the unspeakable horrors which have been introduced in that country where they have been carried into full effect, it is our duty to resist to the uttermost the first steps in the progress. The government which acts otherwise ceases to be a government; it unties the bands which knit together the nation; it forfeits the reverence and obedience of the people; it gives up those whom it ought to protect from the daggers of the Marsellaise, and the assassins of Paris. The government of the multitude, to

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

CHAP. Fortunately for England, and for the cause of free  
XIII. dom throughout the world, these arguments prevailed  
1793.

Stanley, and Lord Advocate Jeffrey, as an instructive proof of the progress of the human mind during the intervening period.

On the popular side, it was urged that the British constitution had gradually departed from the principles on which it was originally established, and on which alone stability could be expected for it in future: that by the decline of the population in some boroughs, and the vast increase of inhabitants in once rural districts, a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons had come to be returned by a few great families, while the great majority of the people were totally unrepresented: that such a state of things was an insupportable grievance to the bulk of the citizens, and could not fail, while it continued, to nourish a perpetual discord between the holders of political influence and all the other classes of society: that an oligarchy, at all times an invidious form of government, was peculiarly so at the present time, when the public mind was inflamed by the extension of the elective suffrage to the whole citizens in France: that, by admitting a larger number into a share of political rights, the foundations of government would be laid on a broader basis, and a phalanx secured who would at all times resist the extension of their privileges to a lower class, and be found the firmest supporters of social order: that it was altogether chimerical to suppose that their could be the slightest danger in extending the elective suffrage to a numerous body of voters, as the people were so habituated to political rights, and so enlightened by education, that they were as capable of exercising such franchises as their superiors: that unless political institutions were enlarged with the increase of those who shared their protection, they would be outgrown by the multitude, and burst from the expansive force of intelligence and numbers: that the true and legitimate influence of property could never be extinguished, and would only receive a wider sphere for its exertions by the increase of the circle to which the franchise was extended: that all revolutions had been occasioned by the obstinate adherence to old institutions, at a time when the state of society required their alteration: that timely concession was the only way to prevent convulsion, and in the present excited state of the public mind, if it was any longer delayed, the barriers of authority would be broken, and all the horrors of the French Revolution brought upon the state.

On the other hand, it was contended by the aristocratic party, that the present was not a motion for the reform of a real grievance, which was at all times entitled to the most serious attention, but for an increase of political power by the lower orders, which was to be conceded or resisted according to its obvious tendency to preserve or subvert the balance of the constitution: that it was totally different from Mr Pitt's previous proposals of reform, which went to remove an admitted evil

ed since the Revolution, which went rather to enlarge than  
he liberty of the subject : that any further concession, there-  
ld necessarily have the effect of overloading the balance on the  
ide, and endangering the monarchical institutions of the state :  
as in vain to refer to early times for a precedent in support of  
extension of the elective franchise, since the state of society  
essentially different from what it now is : that the power of  
l was then vested in the feudal barons, and the country was  
d with their armed retainers ; whereas now, the progress of  
nd the invention of fire-arms, had destroyed this formidable  
hile the increase of manufactures had augmented to a very  
ree the power of the middle ranks, and the diffusion of know-  
l increased tenfold their practical influence : that it might be  
e to require representatives from all the boroughs, when the  
were a humble class in the state, and began their petitions  
words, " For God's sake, and as an act of mercy," while it  
highly dangerous to adopt a similar course, when the numbers  
ass exceeded that of the agriculturists, and their wealth over-  
that of all the other orders in the state : that the example of  
Parliament sufficiently demonstrated that concession to popu-  
urs only led to fresh demands, and conducted, by an irresis-  
gress, to anarchy and revolution ; that the fatal consequences  
id recently attended the duplication of the Tiers Etat, the  
utary reform of France, was a signal example of the effects of  
ession to democratic ambition, which was now so loudly called  
the King there yielded up all the prerogatives of his crown,  
nobles had made a voluntary surrender of their whole titles,  
nd privileges, and the consequence was, that the commons  
irresistible, and the one was brought to an ignominious death,  
rewarded by exile, confiscation, and the scaffold : that the  
he so much the object of imitation, was in truth the

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

It is re-  
jected by  
the House  
of Com-  
mons.

majority of 282 to 41. The threats of revolution immediately subsided; the threatened convulsions disappeared; and a measure, which it was confidently predicted, would for ever alienate the higher from the lower orders, was succeeded by a degree of unanimity between them, in the most difficult times, such as had never before been witnessed in the British empire. And thus, at the very time that the French nobility, by yielding to the demand for concession, and surrendering all their privileges, brought on the Revolution in that country, the British aristocracy, by

of the people into the mere supporters of separate interests: that it was in vain to expect, in the present period of excitement, and with the example of successful revolt in France, that wealth could permanently influence the lower orders, or maintain its ground, if deprived of this constitutional channel in the House of Commons: that reform, therefore, would necessarily lead to revolution, and what revolution led to, need not be told to those who had witnessed the Reign of Terror: that the hope of attaching a large portion of the lower orders, by the extension of the elective franchise, however specious in theory, would prove fallacious in practice, because they would soon find that their votes, from their great multiplication, were of no value: that they had been deceived by the name of a privilege of no real service, and that the only way to obtain any practical benefit from their exertions, was to league with the inferior classes for a general spoliation of the higher: that this was the natural tendency of the lower orders in all wealthy states, because union with the higher afforded no immediate advantage, whereas a league with the lower gave the prospect of a division of property, and liberation from burdens, and was, in an especial manner, to be apprehended in Britain at this time, both because the public burdens were so excessive, property so unequally divided, and the example of a successful division of estates in France so recent: that a reform in Parliament, unlike all other ameliorations, was to the last degree dangerous, because it was the voluntary surrender of legislative power to the lower orders, which could never be recovered, and a false step once taken, was irretrievable: that, supposing there were some defects in the constitution indefensible in theory, it could not be disputed that, in practice, it had proved the best protection to the rights and interests of all classes that had ever existed in the world; that, least of all, could the manufacturing or commercial bodies complain that their interests were not duly attended to in Parliament, since the whole policy of the State, for above a century, had been directed

steadily resisting innovation, prevented it in theirs: a memorable example to succeeding ages, of the effect of firmness and decision on the part of Parliament in stilling the violence of popular agitation, and checking the growth of democratic ambition; and a proof how different the clamour of the press, of public meetings, and popular orators, is from the sober judgment of a really free people.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Ann.

Reg. 1793,

p. 153—

165. Parl.

Hist. xxx.

p. 787.

923—925.

As the agitation of the Jacobin Clubs, however, still continued, and societies, in imitation of the Parent Institution in Paris, were rapidly forming in all

perhaps too exclusively, to their advantage: that the representation which the great colonial, commercial, and shipping interests, now obtained by means of the purchase of close boroughs, would be annihilated if this mode of entering Parliament were closed: that thus, the real effect of reform would be to vest the supreme power in the mob of England, to the exclusion of all the great and varied interests which had risen up over the whole globe in the British dependencies: that such a state of things had proved fatal to all former republics, and could not fail speedily to lead to the dismemberment of the British empire: that if corruption were the evil that was really apprehended, no mode of increasing it could be so effectual as diminishing the close, where it existed from the paucity of inhabitants on the smallest, and increasing the middling boroughs, where experience had proved bribery was practised on the most extensive scale: that any reform would thus diminish the private to increase the venal boroughs: that, as it was evident wealth could maintain its ground in the contest with numbers only, by means of the expenditure of money, it was incomparably better that this necessary influence should be exerted in the decent retirement of antiquated boroughs, than in the shameless prostitution of great cities: that the danger of revolution, so strongly urged on the other side, in

CHAP. XIII. the great towns of the kingdom, a bill against correspondence with France was passed by Parliament,

1793. notwithstanding the utmost resistance by the opposi-

tion, and persecutions commenced both in Scotland and England against the most violent of the demagogues. Some of them were clearly necessary; the expedience of others, especially in Scotland, was more than doubtful. Those vindictive measures on the part of government are seldom really beneficial, which excite the sympathy of the humane as well as the turbulent, and convert the transient ebullition of popular feeling into the lasting bitterness of political hatred. The true course in periods of public excitement, is firmness without severity; steady defiance of revolutionary intimidation, but cautious consideration of real evils; decided resistance to needless innovation, but cautious abstinence from individual oppression.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Debates, xxx. p. 615, 620.

Preparations for war by Great Britain and the Allies.

20th April 1793.

24th Feb.

The internal tranquillity of the British empire being thus provided for, the government took the most vigorous measures which the limited extent of their military resources would permit, to strengthen the Grand Army on the Continent. A corps, consisting of twenty thousand English, was embarked, and landed in Holland, under the command of the Duke of York, and being united to ten thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, formed a total of thirty thousand men in the British pay. The French Convention, early in the year, had ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men; but these troops could not come into action till April. The present forces of the Allies consisted of three hundred and sixty-five thousand men, acting on the whole circumference of France, from Calais to Bayonne, while those of the Republicans amounted to two hundred and seventy

for the most part of inferior quality, but the advantages of unity of language, government and public feeling, besides the importance of acting in an interior and concentric which enabled one corps rapidly to communicate and support another, while the troops of France, scattered over a much larger circumference, were deprived of that advantage.<sup>1\*</sup> Difficulty was experienced by government in parliament to agree to any measures which

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

Jom. vi.  
49, 52.

tive strength of the forces on opposite sides in July 1793, as:—

ALLIES.				
troops in Belgium,	.	.	.	50,000
troops on the Rhine,	.	.	.	40,000
troops on the Meuse,	.	.	.	33,000
troops in Belgium,	.	.	.	12,000
troops and Saxons on the Rhine,	.	.	.	65,000
troops	.	.	.	20,000
Hanoverians, and Hessians,	.	.	.	30,000
troops and Piedmontese, in Piedmont,	.	.	.	45,000
troops,	.	.	.	50,000
troops of the Empire and Emigrants,	.	.	.	20,000
Total,	.	.	.	365,000

FRENCH.				
troops in Flanders and Holland,	.	.	.	30,000
troops in the West and in the Limbourg	.	.	.	70,000



CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Vast effect of the execution of Louis in England.

were deemed necessary to avert from the British shores the scourge of revolutionary overthrow. The execution of Louis produced a profound and universal impression in great Britain. Nothing, since the time when the head of Charles I. fell under the axe of the Long Parliament, had ever produced so general and mournful a feeling. It was hard to say whether the sturdy old Tories or the ardent Liberals of the new school, received the intelligence with most consternation. The former beheld in this event the clearest confirmation of their dismal forebodings, and the realization of their worst predictions: the latter, the overthrow of long-cherished hopes, the blasting of impassioned and sanguine expectations. It was impossible any longer to represent the popular cause in France as that of justice and philanthropy, when the first sacrifice to which it had led had been that of their upright and beneficent monarch, whose only fault had been an imprudent zeal for the public good, and only weakness an unconquerable aversion to the shedding of blood. It was now apparent that the boasted regeneration of society had purified it of none of its vices; and that the philanthropic movement of the philosophers was to terminate in the usual atrocities of bloodshed, massacre, and confiscation. Indescribable was the effect which this impression produced in all classes in the British Isles, from the throne to the cottage. By a spontaneous feeling, the House of Commons, on the night on which the melancholy intelligence was discussed in Parliament, on occasion of the royal message for an augmentation of the forces, assembled in mourning. One or two alone appeared in coloured dress, who afterwards bore a conspicuous part in English history, as the leaders of the great

Feb. 1.



movement which terminated in the Revolution of 1792. CHAP.  
XIII.

The impression made at St Petersburg by the execution of Louis was fully as vivid as at London: ready it was evident that those two capitals were the centres of the great contest which was approaching. No sooner did the melancholy intelligence reach the Empress Catharine, than she instantly took the most decisive measures: all Frenchmen were ordered to quit her territories within three weeks, if they did not renounce the principles of the Revolution, and all correspondence with their relations in that country: and it was publicly announced, that the great fleet of Cronstadt, with forty thousand men on board, should, early in spring, unite itself to the British navy, to pursue measures in common against the enemies of humanity. The efforts of the Czarine had been incessant and energetic to organize an alliance capable of restraining the progress of revolutionary principles; with that view she had restrained the uplifted arm of conquest over Gustavus III. of Sweden in 1790; and hardly were her troops disengaged from their Turkish enemies on the banks of the Danube, by the peace of Jassy in 1792, than she made arrangements for

1793.

Effect of  
the death  
of Louis at  
St Peters-  
burg.



CHAP. don on the 25th March. By this convention, which  
 XIII. laid the basis of the grand alliance which afterwards  
 1793. brought the war to a glorious termination, it was  
 provided that the two powers should "employ their  
 respective forces, as far as circumstances shall per-  
 mit, in carrying on the just and necessary war in  
 which they find themselves engaged against France;  
 and they reciprocally engage not to lay down their  
 arms without restitution of all the conquests which  
 France may have made upon either of the respective  
 powers, or upon such other states or allies to whom,  
 by common consent, they shall extend the benefit of  
 this treaty." They agreed, also, to shut their ports  
 against France, and not permit the export of any  
 naval stores to that power, "and to unite all their  
 efforts to prevent other powers not implicated in this  
 war from giving, on this occasion of common con-  
 cern to every civilized state, any protection whatever,  
 in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce  
 or property of the French, on the sea, or in the ports  
 of France." The existing commercial treaties were,  
 at the same time, by a separate convention, ratified  
 and confirmed between the two powers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
 Hist. xxx.  
 1082, and  
 Hard. ii.  
 198. Mar-  
 tens, v.  
 433, 439.

Shortly after, a similar convention was entered  
 into between Great Britain and Sardinia, by which  
 the latter power was to receive an annual subsidy of  
 L.200,000 during the whole continuance of the war,  
 and the former to keep on foot an army of fifty thou-  
 sand men; and the English government engaged to  
 procure for it entire restitution of its dominions as  
 they stood at the commencement of the war, and  
 by another convention, with the cabinet of Madrid,  
 signed at Aranjuez on the 25th of May, they en-  
 gaged not to make peace till they had obtained full  
 restitution for the Spaniards "of all places, towns,

And with  
 Sardinia,  
 Prussia,  
 Naples, and  
 Spain.  
 25th April  
 1793.

and territories which belonged to them at the commencement of the war, and which the enemy may have taken during its continuance." A like treaty was formed with the court of the two Sicilies, and with Prussia, in which the clauses, prohibiting all exportation to France, and preventing the trade of neutrals with it, are the same as in the Russian treaty. Treaties of the same tenor were concluded in the course of the summer with the Emperor of Germany and the King of Portugal. Thus was all Europe arrayed in a great league against France, and thus did the regicides of that country, as the first-fruits of their cruel triumph, find themselves excluded from the pale of civilized nations. It will appear in the sequel, how many, and what unheard-of disasters broke up this great confederacy: how courageous some were in adhering to their engagements; how weak and dastardly others were in deserting them; and how firmly and nobly Great Britain alone persevered to the end, and never laid down her arms till she had accomplished all the objects of the war, and fulfilled to the very letter all the obligations she had contracted to any, even the humblest, of the allied powers.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

12th July.

14th July.

30th Aug.

26th Sept.

<sup>1</sup> Martens,

v. 469, 473,

483, 519.

Parl.

Hist. xxx.

1032, 1034,

1048, 1058.

But while all Europe thus resounded with the note of military preparation against France, Russia had other and more interested designs in view. Amidst the general consternation at the triumphs of the French republicans, Catharine conceived that she would be permitted to pursue, without molestation, her ambitious designs against Poland. She constantly represented the disturbances in that kingdom as the fruit of revolutionary propagandism, which it was indispensable to crush in the first instance; and it was easy to see that it was for the banks of

Secret de-

signs of

Russia.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

the Vistula, not the Seine, that her military preparations were, in the outset at least, directed. The ambitious views of Prussia were also, as will fully appear in the sequel, strongly turned in the same direction; and thus in the very commencement of a war which required the concentrated effort of all Europe, and might by such an effort have been speedily brought to a successful termination, were the principal powers already distracted by separate interests, and unjustifiable projects of individual aggrandizement.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
198, 199.

Divisions  
between  
the Prus-  
sians and  
Austrians.

Nor was it only the ambitious projects of Russia and Prussia against the independence of Poland, which already gave a gloomy augury as to the issue of the war. Its issue was more immediately affected by the jealousy of Austria and Prussia, which now broke out in the most undisguised manner, and occasioned such a division of the allied forces as effectually prevented any cordial or effective co-operation existing between them. The Prussian cabinet, mortified at the lead which the Imperial generals took in the common operations, insisted upon the formation of two independent German armies; one composed of Prussians, the other of Austrians, to one or other of which the forces of all the minor states should be joined: those of Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse being grouped round the standards of Prussia; those of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Swabia, the Palatinate, and Franconia, following the double-headed eagles of Austria. By this means, all unity of action between the two grand allied armies was broken up, at the very time when it was most required to meet the desperate and concentrated energy of a revolutionary power; while the zeal of all the subordinate nations was irretrievably cooled at finding themselves thus parcelled out be-

tween the two great military powers, whose pre-eminence already gave them so much disquietude, and compelled against their will to serve under the standards of empires from whom many of them apprehended greater danger than from the common enemy.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Hard. ii.  
200, 202.

But though such deeds of weakness existed among the allied powers, the immediate danger was to all appearance much greater to France. Though their armies in Flanders were, in the commencement of the campaign, superior to those of the Allies, they were in the most deplorable state of insubordination, and miserably deficient in every species of equipment. The artillery horses had in great part perished during the severity of a winter campaign; the clothing of the soldiers was worn out; their spirit had disappeared during the license of Republican conquest. The disorganization was complete in every department; the artillery stores, the commissariat, the cavalry horses, were deficient; discipline was wanting among the soldiers, concord among the chiefs. France then experienced the weakness arising from revolutionary license, and which is common to all really democratic states. She regained her strength under the stern despotism of the Reign of Terror, when the Committee of Public Safety wielded a power, tenfold greater than Louis XIV. had ever enjoyed, and enforced with a rigour unknown to Caligula or Nero.<sup>2</sup>

Wretched  
state of the  
French.

Toul. iii.  
239. Jo-  
mini, iii.  
49, 52.

Prince Cobourg was appointed generalissimo of the Allied armies from the Rhine to the German Ocean. The great abilities displayed by Clairfait in repairing the disasters of the preceding campaign, pleaded in vain for his continuance in the command at a court not yet taught by disaster to disregard influence and promote only merit. His successor had served under

Prince  
Cobourg  
generalis-  
simo.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
62. Hard.  
ii. 204,  
206.

Vast  
efforts of  
France.

the vast army placed at his disposal, and per-  
the fairest opportunity ever offered, of striking  
cative blow against the rising Republic, to pass  
without any important event. He belonged  
old methodical school of Lacey; was destitute  
either decision or character; and, from the tardiness  
of his operations, was the general of all other  
qualified to combat the fire and energy of a  
tion.<sup>1</sup>

To support the prodigious expense of a war  
their frontiers, and on so great a scale, would  
have exceeded the ordinary and legitimate  
of the French government. But, contrary to  
precedent and anticipation, they derived from  
miseries and convulsions of the Revolution the  
of new and unparalleled resources. The ordin-  
ary expenditure of 1792, covered by taxes, the  
of ecclesiastical property and patriotic gifts, amount-  
ed to 958,000,000 francs, or about L.40,000,000  
sterling; but so immensely had the charges been  
augmented the national embarrassments, that  
the expense of the last period of the year was at  
least of 200,000,000 francs, or L.8,000,000  
sterling. On the day on which war was declared, and

all exigencies the inexhaustible mine of assignats, CHAP. XIII. possessing a forced circulation, and issued on the credit of the national domains, proved sufficient. 1793. When any want was felt in the treasury, the demands were paid by a fresh issue of paper; and this fictitious currency, the source of boundless private ruin in France, sustained singly, during the first years of the revolutionary wars, the public credit. In his Finance Report for 1793, Cambon declared that the expenses of that year could admit of no exact calculation, but that the nation must rise superior to its financial, as it had already risen above its military difficulties; and therefore he proposed the immediate issue of 800,000,000 francs, or upwards of L.33,000,000, in assignats, on the security of the national domains, which was immediately agreed to. These domains he valued at eight milliards, or about L.350,000,000 sterling; of which three milliards, or L.130,000,000, had been consumed or impledged by previous issues—an extraordinary proof of the length to which the confiscation of private property had already been carried under the revolutionary government.<sup>1</sup>

To meet the exigencies of the year in the British Parliament, Mr Pitt proposed a loan of L. 4,500,000, at five per cent.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iii.  
248, 250.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxiv. 132,  
137.

eliminated the Jacobins from the general. The consequences of this misunderstanding were important upon the future fate of the campaign. Dumas's plan, which he had been meditating during the winter, was to commence operations by an invasion of Holland; to revolutionize that country, with the provinces of Flanders, as was done in 1814, raise an army of eighty thousand men with this force move upon Paris, and, without aid of any other power, dictate laws to the Convention, and restore tranquillity to France. It is one of the most extraordinary signs of those days of revolution and confusion, that so wild a project should have been seriously undertaken by a man of his understanding. On the other hand, the project of the Allies was to drive the Republicans beyond the Meuse, and disengage the important fortress of Maestricht; next invest and regain the city of Mentz, the key of the Rhine, and then unite their victorious forces for the deliverance of France. The design, in general, was well conceived; but the details prescribed for the recovery of the Low



1. Shortly after his troops entered the Dutch CHAP. XIII.  
 story, and established themselves between Breda  
 Bergen-op-zoom. At first his efforts were 1793.  
 ended with unlooked-for success; after a siege of Feb. 17.  
 e days, and when the French were on the point  
 tiring for want of ammunition, Breda, with a gar-  
 n of twenty-five hundred men, capitulated. This  
 ntage was speedily followed by the reduction of  
 Bruydenberg, after a trifling resistance; and siege  
 immediately laid to Williamstadt. The French March 3.  
 s, encamped in straw huts on the shores of the  
 ch of the sea called the Brisboes, were only wait-  
 for the collection of boats sufficient to convey  
 s the troops, in order to undertake the siege of  
 t, when information was received by the general, <sup>1 Jom. iii.</sup>  
 he night of the 8th March, of events in other <sup>64, 85.</sup>  
 ters of Flanders, which immediately led to the <sup>Toul. iii.</sup>  
 donment of this ill-conceived enterprize.<sup>1</sup> <sup>262. Dum.</sup>  
 While Dumourier was absent with part of his forces <sup>iv. 4, 14.</sup>  
 Holland, Miranda was prosecuting the siege of Archduke  
 stricht, though with forces totally inadequate to joins the  
 great an undertaking. But while the French army. Re-  
 s still reposing in fancied security in their can- disaters of  
 ents, the Imperialists were taking active mea- the Repub-  
 s to raise the siege. Fifty-two thousand men- licans.



possession of the soldiers ; whole battalions in confusion into France ; officers quitted their troops ; soldiers disbanded from their officers ; the siege of Maestricht was raised, the heavy artillery sent in haste towards Brussels, and the army driven into disorder beyond the Meuse, with the loss of thousands of men killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 4th March, the Republicans were routed near Liege, and a large portion of the artillery abandoned under that city ; a few days later Tongres was carried by the Archduke Charles with the head of twelve thousand men ; and the 6th March the army fell back upon Tirlemont, and thence to March 8. vain, where Dumourier arrived from the frontier, and resumed the command. The Imperialists then desisted from the pursuit, satisfied with their first success, and not deeming themselves sufficiently strong to force the united corps of the French army in that city.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iii. 270. Jom. iii. 86, 94, 99. Ib. iii. 96, 99.

The intelligence of these repeated disasters created the utmost sensation in the whole of Fl

The Republican party, already disgusted with the exactions and plunder of the French commissioners, now found themselves threatened with the immediate vengeance of their sovereign, and chastisement from the allied forces. The decree of the Convention, uniting the Flemish provinces to the French Republic, had excited the utmost discontent in the whole country; the spoliation of the churches, forced requisitions, imprisonments, and abuses of every kind, which had gone on during the winter, had roused such an universal spirit of resistance, that a general insurrection was hourly expected, and a body of ten thousand peasants had already assembled in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and defeated the detachments of the garrison of that city which had been sent against them. To endeavour to remedy these disorders, and restore the shaken attachment of the Flemings, was the first care of Dumourier. For this purpose he had a conference at Louvain, shortly after his arrival, with Camus, and the other Commissioners of the Convention; but it ended in nothing but mutual recriminations. Dumourier reproached them with having authorized and permitted the exactions and disorders which had caused such a ferment in the conquered provinces; and they retaliated by accusing him of entertaining designs subversive of the liberty of the

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

Great sensation produced by them in Flanders, and efforts of Dumourier.

CHAP. XIII. at Namur, and five thousand in another direction,  
was still forty-five thousand strong, including four

1793. thousand five hundred cavalry, in the utmost state  
of disorganization; the confusion of defeat hav-  
ing been superadded to that of Republican license.  
He immediately reorganized it in a different manner,  
and, in order to restore the confidence of the soldiers,  
resolved to commence offensive operations. In a few  
days, the French advanced guard defeated the Aus-  
trians near Tirlemont, with the loss of twelve hun-  
dred men; an event which immediately restored con-

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iv. 66, 67, 80, 81. Toul. iii. 272. fidence to the whole army, and confirmed the General  
in his resolution to risk a general action.<sup>1</sup>

The Imperialists had thirty-nine thousand men, of  
whom nine thousand were horse, posted near Tirle-  
mont. Resolved not to decline a combat, they con-  
centrated their forces along a position, about two  
leagues in length, near the village of NERWINDE.

The left, commanded by the Archduke Charles, was  
posted across the *chaussée* leading to Tirlemont; the  
right, under the orders of Clairfait, extended towards  
Landau; the centre, in two lines, was under the  
command of General Colloredo and the Prince of

March 18. Wirtemberg. On the other hand, the French army  
was divided into eight columns; three of which,  
under Valence, were destined to attack the right;  
two, under the Duke of Chartres, to force the centre;  
and three, under Miranda, to overwhelm the left.  
The action began by an attack on the Austrian left,  
by the troops under the command of Miranda, which

<sup>2</sup> Prince Cobourg's Despatch, Dum. iv. 88, 97. Jom. iii. 105, 110. Toul. iii. 279. advanced in dense columns, and at first succeeded in  
carrying the villages immediately in front of their  
position; <sup>2</sup> but the Austrians having directed a severe  
and concentric fire of artillery on that point, the ad-  
vance of the masses was checked, and disorder and

irresolution introduced into their ranks. Meanwhile, the village of Nerwinde was occupied by the Republicans in the centre, but shortly after regained by the Austrians, and after being frequently taken and retaken, it was finally evacuated by the French, who were unable to sustain the severe and incessant fire of the Imperial artillery.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Damourier, upon this, formed his line a hundred yards in rear of the village, when the Austrians immediately pushed on and assailed the infantry by two columns of cuirassiers: but the first was repulsed by the murderous fire of grape from the French artillery; and the second checked, after a severe engagement, by the Republican cavalry. The combat now ceased on the right and centre; but on the left affairs had taken a very different turn. The French, under Miranda, there endeavoured in vain to debouch from the villages which they had occupied; the heads of their columns, as fast as they presented themselves, were swept off by the fire of the Austrian artillery, placed on the heights immediately behind; and shortly after, the Archduke Charles, at the head of two battalions, stormed the villages; and Prince Cobourg, perceiving this to be the important point, attacked the

Defeat of  
the French.



CHAP. XIII. difficulty, the ground they had occupied before the engagement. In this battle, the Austrians lost two

1793. thousand men, and the French two thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and fifteen hundred prisoners; but it decided the fate of the campaign. Dumourier, aided by the young Duke of Chartres, conducted the retreat in the evening with much ability, and in good order, without being seriously disquieted by their enemies. A few days after the Austrians advanced, and on the 22d, under cover of a thick mist, made an unexpected attack on the French rearguard; but they were repulsed, after a trifling success, with loss.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iv. 88, 90, 97, 101. Jom. iii. 105, 111, 113, 117. Toul. iii. 279, 288, 290, 293.

Disorgani-  
zation of  
the French  
army, and  
retreat of  
Dumou-  
rier.

The position of the French commander, however, was now extremely critical. To conduct a long retreat with discouraged troops, in the face of a victorious enemy, is at all times dangerous; but it was in an especial manner so at that juncture, in consequence of the undisciplined state of a large part of his forces, and the undisguised manner in which the volunteers left their colours upon the first serious reverses. The National Guards openly declared that they had taken up arms to save their country, not to get themselves massacred in Belgium; and whole companies and battalions, with their arms and baggage, went off in a body towards the French frontier. To such a height did the discouragement arrive, that within a few days after the battle, six thousand men had left their colours, and disbanded, spreading dismay over all the roads leading to France. Naturally brave and active, the French troops are the best in the world to advance and gain conquests; but they have not, till inured by discipline and experience, the steadiness requisite to preserve them; and by the threatened defection

volunteer corps, Dumourier was exposed to  
 of more than half his army, while the open CHAP.  
XIII.  
 Flanders, now destitute of fortified places, 1793.  
 no points of defence capable of arresting  
 press of a victorious army. Influenced by  
 considerations, the French general every  
 prepared for a retreat. Orders were dis-  
 to General Harville to throw a garrison  
 thousand men into the citadel of Namur,  
 with the remainder of his corps, consisting  
 thousand men, towards Brussels, while the  
 vanced, by the imprudent invasion of Hol-  
 lar as Gertruydenberg and Breda, were di-  
 retire upon Antwerp and Mechlin. Prince  
 in vain urged the Dutch and Prussian troops  
 at their retreat; contenting themselves with <sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
121, 125.  
 Breda and Gertruydenberg, they remained, Dum. iv.  
98, 104,  
 orce of thirty thousand men, in a state of 105, 115.  
 action.<sup>1</sup>

y after conferences were opened between  
 er and the Austrian generals, in virtue of Confe-  
rences with  
 was agreed that the French should retire Prince  
 Brussels, without being disquieted in their Cobourg.

It soon appeared how essential such an ar-  
 at was to the Republican arms. On the fol-



CHAP. special manner, of the danger of trusting to levies  
XIII. got together during the fervour of a revolution.

1793. Dumourier himself has confessed, that his troops were in such a state of disorder, that, if vigorously pressed, they must have been totally annihilated in the long retreat which lay before them, before they regained the French frontiers; and yet so ignorant was the Austrian commander of the condition of his adversary, that he was unaware of a state of debility, confusion, and weakness, which was notorious to every peasant who beheld his retreating columns. In virtue of the convention, the

March 25  
and 26.

French army, without further delay, evacuated Brussels and Mechlin, and retired in good order, by Halle, Mons, and Ath, towards the French frontier. At the same time, the Republicans retired along the whole line from Gertruydenberg to Namur, and withdrew the garrison from the citadel of the latter place.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iii.  
296. Dum.  
iv. 109,  
111. Jom.  
iii. 126,  
127. Hard.  
ii. 241, 251.

Political  
designs,  
failure,  
and flight  
of Dumou-  
rier.

But it soon appeared that in these movements Dumourier had more than mere military objects in view. It was at Ath, on the 27th March, that the first conference of a political nature took place, and it was verbally agreed between the French commander and Colonel Mack, on the part of the Imperialists, "That the French army should repose a little at Mons and Tournay, without being disquieted, and that Dumourier, who was to judge of the proper time for marching to Paris, should regulate the movements of the Austrians, who were to act only as auxiliaries; that if he could not, by his single forces, effect the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, he should fix upon the amount of the Allied Forces which he would require: and that the fortress of Condé should be placed in the hands of the Imperialists as a guaran-



to be restored to France after a general peace. Having thus embarked in the perilous undertaking of overturning the republican and establishing a monarchical government, Dumourier's first care was to secure the fortresses, upon which the success of his enterprise depended. But here his ill fortune began. The officer whom he dispatched to take possession of one, suffered himself to be made the dupe of the commander of that place, and led a prisoner into the streets; the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes successfully resisted his attempts to bring them over to the constitutional party; and the Convention taking the alarm, dispatched Camus, and three other commissioners, with the minister at war, Bournonville, with orders to the General to appear at the bar of the Convention, and answer for his conduct. After an angry discussion, Dumourier arrested the deputies, and delivered them over to the Austrians; but he was speedily deserted by his own soldiers, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by a detachment of grenadiers faithful to the Convention, commanded by Davoust, and obliged to fly from his camp at Amand, and take refuge, with fifteen hundred followers, in the Austrian lines. Restrained either by a sense of honour arising from the recent con-

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

CHAP. and revive the spirit which so many disasters had  
XIII. severely weakened among the soldiers.

1793.

Congress  
at Ant-  
werp to  
decide on  
the mea-  
sures for  
the war.

A congress was assembled at Antwerp of the ministers of the allied powers, which was attended by Counts Metternich\* and Stahrenberg on the part of Austria, Lord Auckland on that of England, and Count Keller on that of Prussia. Such was the confidence inspired by recent events, that these ministers all imagined that the last days of the Convention were at hand: and in truth they were so, if they had communicated a little more vigour and unanimity into the military operations. Inspired by these ideas, and irritated at the total failure of Dumourier's attempt to subvert the anarchical rule in that country, the plenipotentiaries came to the resolution of totally altering the object of the war, and the necessity was now openly announced of providing *indemnities and securities* for the allied powers; in other words, partitioning the frontier territories of France among the invading states. The effect of this resolution was immediately conspicuous in a proclamation which Prince Cobourg issued to the French people, in which he openly disavowed, on the part of his government, those resolutions to abstain from all aggrandizements which he had announced only a few days before, and declared that he was ordered to prosecute the contest by force of arms with all the forces at his disposal.† The

\* Father of the great statesman of the same name, who rose to such eminence during the Revolutionary war.

† In his first proclamation on 5th April, composed during the conferences with Dumourier, Cobourg declared, "Desirous only of securing the prosperity and glory of a country torn by so many convulsions, I declare that I shall support, with all the forces at my disposal, the generous and beneficent intentions of General Dumourier and his brave army. I declare that our only object is to restore to France its consti-

this unhappy resolution were soon appa- CHAP.  
 Then Valenciennes and Condé were taken, XIII.  
 lard, not of Louis XVII., but of Austria, 1793.  
 ted on the walls, and the allied ministers, <sup>Hard. li.</sup>  
 talked openly of indemnities for the past, 238, 241.  
 cities for the future.<sup>1</sup>

up in the early stages of the war was ever  
 with more unfortunate consequences: it at <sup>Its disas-</sup>  
 aged the character of the contest: converted <sup>trous ef-</sup>  
 ne of liberation into one of aggrandizement, <sup>fects.</sup>  
 the Jacobins of Paris too good reason for  
 ortion, that the dismemberment of the coun-  
 intended, and that all true citizens must  
 t and hand in resisting the common enemy.

arch, with the means of rectifying such experienced abuses  
 , and to give to France, as to Europe, peace, confidence, tran-  
 happiness. In conformity with these principles, I declare  
 of honour, that I enter on the French territory without any  
 making conquests, but solely and entirely for the above-  
 purposes. I declare also on my word of honour, that, if  
 rations should lead to any place of strength being placed in  
 shall regard it in no other light than as a *sacred deposit*; and  
 if in the most solemn manner to restore it to the govern-  
 may be established in France, or as soon as the brave gene-  
 om I make common cause shall demand it." These are the  
 'the true anti-revolutionary war: but they were strangely  
 m in the proclamation issued a few days later by the same  
 r the determination of the Congress at Antwerp had been

CHAP. The true principle to have adopted would have been  
XIII. that so strongly recommended by Mr Burke, and

1793. which afterwards proved so successful in the hands  
of Alexander and Wellington, viz. to have separated  
distinctly and emphatically the cause of France from  
that of the Jacobin faction who had enthralled it:  
to have guaranteed the integrity of the former, and  
denounced implacable hostility only against the  
latter, and thus afforded the means to the great  
body of patriotic citizens who were adverse to the  
sanguinary rule of the Convention, of extricating  
themselves at once from domestic tyranny and fo-  
reign subjugation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
238, 241.  
Burke,  
Reg.  
Peace.

Force of  
the Allies  
in Flan-  
ders, and  
defensive  
measures  
of the Con-  
vention.

The British contingent, twenty thousand strong,  
having landed at Rotterdam, the Allied army in  
Flanders, under Cobourg, was raised to above ninety  
thousand men, besides a detached corps of thirty  
thousand Austrians, stationed at Namur, Luxem-  
bourg, and Treves, to keep the communication with  
the Prussian army destined to act against Mayence.  
Alarmed at the great peril they had sustained by  
the defection of Dumourier, and this vast accumu-  
lation of force, the Convention took the most vigorous  
measures to provide for the public safety. A camp  
of forty thousand men was ordered to form a reserve  
for the army; the levy of three hundred thousand  
men, ordered by the decree of 24th February, was  
directed to be hastened, and sixty representatives of  
the Convention named, to serve as viceroys over the  
generals in all the armies. No less than twelve  
of these haughty Republicans were commanded to  
proceed to the army of the North. No limit existed  
to their authority; armed with the despotic power  
of the Committee of Public Safety, supported by  
Republican and mutinous soldiery, they, with equi-

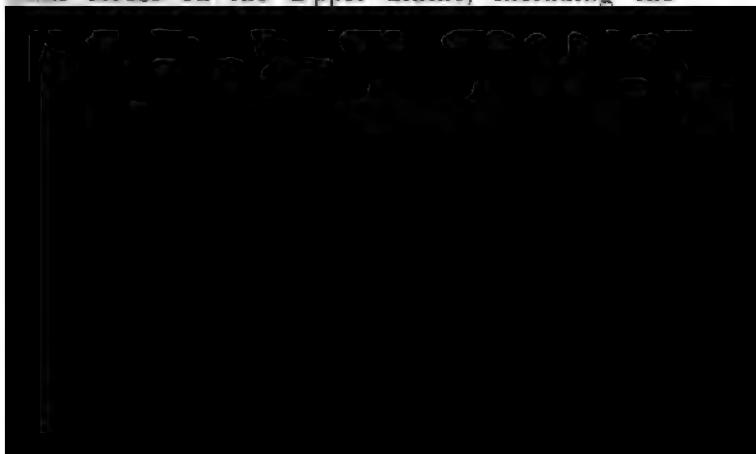
facility, placed the generals on a triumphal car, or dispatched them to the scaffold. Disposing with absolute sway of the lives and arms of several millions of Frenchmen, they were staggered by no losses, intimidated by no difficulties ; to press on, and bear down opposition by the force of numbers, was the system on which they invariably acted, and disposing with an unsparing hand of the blood of a nation in arms, they found resources for the maintenance of such a murderous system of warfare, which never could have been commanded by any regular government.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
146, 151.  
Toul. iv. 4.

While these disastrous events were occurring on the northern, fortune was not more propitious to the arms of the Republic on its eastern frontier. The forces of the French in that quarter, at the opening of the campaign, were greatly overmatched by those of the Allies ; between the Prussians and Austrians, there were not less than seventy-five thousand men on the Rhine in February, besides twenty thousand between Treves and the Meuse ; while Custine had only forty-five thousand in the field, including twenty-two thousand under his immediate command, the remainder being stationed on the Meuse ; and the whole forces on the Upper Rhine, including the

Defeats on  
the Rhine  
of Cus-  
tine's pro-  
jects.

CHAP. Lauter, and took post in the famous lines of Weis-  
XIII. senberg. Mentz was now left to its own resources.

1793. with a great train of heavy artillery, and a garri-

March 31. son of twenty thousand men ; while Custine, whose  
force was augmented by the garrisons in Alsace to  
thirty-five thousand men, remained strictly on the  
defensive in the Vosges mountains and his fortified  
position.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iii.  
322, 325.  
Jom. iii.  
187, 202,  
205.

Siege of  
Mayence,  
and defeat  
of the at-  
tack on the  
covering  
army.

The Allies immediately made preparations for the  
reduction of this great fortress ; but, by an inconceiv-  
able fatuity, the superb siege equipage, which was on  
the road from Austria, was sent on to Valenciennes,  
while the supplies requisite for the attack on May-  
ence were brought from Holland, an exchange which  
occasioned great delays in both undertakings, and  
proved extremely injurious to the future progress of  
the allied arms. The garrison, though so numerous,  
were not furnished with the whole artillery requisite  
for arming the extensive works ; but their spirit  
was excellent, and the most vigorous resistance was  
to be anticipated. Little progress took place in the  
operations during the first two months, and on the  
17th May, a general attack was made on the cover-  
ing force by Custine's army, supported by fourteen  
thousand men from the corps of the Moselle, under  
General Houchard ; but the movements of the troops  
were ill combined, part of them were seized with a  
disgraceful panic, and the attack proved entirely  
abortive. After this failure, Custine was removed  
to the command of the Army of the North, now  
severely pressed by the allied forces near Valen-  
ciennes ; and the forces in the lines of Weissenberg  
remained under the order of Beauharnais, without  
attempting any thing of importance till a later period  
of the campaign.<sup>1</sup> The inactivity and irresolution of

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv.  
15, 16.  
Jom. iii.  
209, 213,  
225. Hard.  
ii. 257, 258,  
259, 298.

Allies in these operations, and the little advantage CHAP. XIII.  
 which they derived from their superiority of force, 1793.  
 the wretched condition of their opponents, proves  
 grievously they stood in need of a leader capable  
 conducting such a contest.

At length the operations of the siege, long de-  
 layed from the tardiness in the approach of the Fall of  
 army train, were pushed with activity. Trenches Mayence.  
 had been regularly constructed, fifteen batteries  
 were armed on the 1st July, and a heavy fire from July 1.  
 more than two hundred pieces of cannon opened upon the  
 fort of the place, the garrison of which, after a block-  
 ade of two months, began to be severely straitened  
 for provisions. On the 16th a great magazine of  
 powder took fire, and was consumed ; and the destruc-  
 tion of several mills augmented the difficulties of the  
 besieged, who now found their great numbers the  
 principal difficulty with which they had to contend.  
 Capitulation, therefore, by which the garrison  
 should be withdrawn to some quarter where their  
 services might be of more value to the Republic,  
 was agreed to, and the 22d July fixed on as the day  
 for its accomplishment. While this was going on  
 within the city, the army of Beauharnais, urged by  
 repeated orders from the Convention, was at length

CHAP. XIII. with more daring adversaries, would have been full of peril, accorded favourable terms to the garrison;

1793. they were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage on condition of not serving against the Allies for a year; a stipulation of ruinous consequences to the Royalist party, as it disengaged seventeen thousand veteran soldiers, who were forthwith sent against the insurgents in La Vendée. The Republicans, finding the city taken, fell back in disorder, and regained the lines of Weissenberg in such confusion as indicated rather a total rout than an indecisive offensive movement.<sup>1\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
296, 319.  
Jom. iii.  
235, 252.

Congress  
at Antwerp  
to decide  
on the  
campaign.  
French  
forced  
back to  
Famars.

April 25.

While these events were taking place on the Rhine, the war was gradually assuming a more decisive character on the Flemish frontier. The congress having been held at Antwerp for arranging the plan of the campaign, having at length resolved upon the operations which were to be pursued; and the British contingents having joined the line at the end of April, the Archduke Charles entered in triumph into Brussels, the people of which, with the usual inconstancy of the multitude, gave him as flattering a reception as had attended the entrance of the Republicans a few months before. The Allied generals, however, were far from improving the advantages afforded by the defection of Dumourier, and the extreme dejection of the French army; their forces were not put in motion till the beginning

\* Already it had become evident that the Prussians were secretly inclined towards the French, and that, after the capture of Mayence, they would withdraw as soon as they could from the contest. During the siege, a negotiation for the exchange of prisoners was established between "the *French Republic* and the King of Prussia;" and such was the temper of the officers, that when the fortress was taken, they caused the *Marsellaise* hymn to be sung in the hotels where they lodged.—See HARDENBERG, ii. 303–319.



of May, before which the French had so far recovered from their consternation as to have actually resumed the offensive. Disposing of a splendid army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, Cobourg did nothing to disquiet the retreat of thirty thousand Republicans, disordered and dejected, to their own frontiers, and allowed them by his extreme tardiness to be reinforced by numerous levies from the interior before he attempted to follow up his successes. On the 1st May, a general attack was made by General Dampierre on the Allied position; but the Republicans were driven back to their camp at Famars, with the loss of two thousand men and a large quantity of artillery. On the 8th, a more serious action took place; the French attacked the Allies along their whole line, extending to nine leagues, with forces greatly inferior; but they were every where unsuccessful except at the wood of Vicogne, where the Prussians were forced back, until the arrival of the English Guards changed the face of affairs. These gallant corps drove back the French with the loss of four thousand men, and re-established the Allies in their position. In this action the brave General Dampierre was killed. This was the first time that the English and French soldiers were brought into collision in the war; little did either party contemplate the terrible contest which awaited them, before it was terminated, within a few miles of the same place on the plain of Waterloo.<sup>1</sup>

These repeated disasters convinced the Republicans of the necessity of remaining on the defensive, and striving only to prevent the siege of those great towns which had been fortified for the protection of the frontier. But the Allies, having now accumulated eighty thousand men in front of Valenciennes,

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

May 1.

May 8.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iii.  
149, 160,  
163. Ann.  
Reg. 1793,  
p. 169.  
Toul. iv.  
6. Hard.  
ii. 240, 251.

Storming  
of the camp  
at Famars.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

resolved to make a general attack on the intrenched camp which covered that important city. The assault was fixed for the 23d, and was conducted by two grand columns, seconded by several partial demonstrations. The first column consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the Duke of York, the second, of eleven thousand men, was placed under the orders of General Ferrari. A thick fog at first concealed the hostile armies from each other, but soon after day-break it rose like a curtain, and discovered the Republican lines posted in front of their intrenchments, and defended by a numerous artillery. The English troops under Abercromby, forming part of Ferrari's corps, advanced along with the Germans under Walmoden, crossed the Ronelle, and carried some of the redoubts of the camp, notwithstanding a vehement fire from the French artillery. The attack of the Duke of York having also been followed by the capture of three redoubts, and the whole Allied army encamped close to the intrenchments, the French resolved not to wait the issue of an assault on the following day, but evacuated their position during the night, and fell back to the famous camp of Cæsar, leaving Valenciennes to its fate. The Allies on this occasion lost the most favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a termination. Cobourg had eighty thousand men in the field: the French had not fifty thousand: had he acted with vigour, and followed up his advantage, he might have destroyed the Republican army, and marched at the head of an irresistible force to Paris. But at that period, neither the allied cabinets nor generals were capable of such a resolution: the former looked only to a war of conquest and acquisition against France, in which the great object was to secure their advantages:<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
286—7.  
Toul. iv.  
10, 13.  
Jom. iii.  
165, 170.  
Ann. Reg.  
1793, 163.

to a slow methodical campaign, similar to that  
 in ordinary times against a regular govern-  
 CHAP. XIII.  
 1793.

as immediately determined by the Allies to  
 the siege of Valenciennes and Condé. The  
 observation, thirty thousand strong, encamp-  
 Herinnes, fronting Bouchain, while a corps  
 strength under the Duke of York, was in-  
 taken.

with the conduct of the siege. The garrison,  
 ing of nine thousand men, made a gallant de-  
 but the operations of the besiegers were con-  
 with the greatest activity. On the 14th June 14.

he trenches were opened, and above two hun-  
 and fifty pieces of heavy cannon, with ninety  
 , kept up a vigorous and incessant fire upon  
 ks and the city. Upon the unfortunate inha-  
 , the tempest fell with unmitigated severity,  
 eral parts of the town were speedily in flames ;  
 y bore their sufferings with great resignation,  
 pangs of hunger began to be added to the  
 of the bombardment. Ultimately the ap-  
 s of the besiegers were chiefly supported by  
 subterraneous operations. During the whole  
 , the mines were pushed with the greatest  
 and on the 25th three great globes of com-

CHAP. to maintain their ground from the fire of the place:

XIII.

1793.

28th July.

The outworks, however, being now in great part carried, and the consternation of the citizens having risen to the highest pitch, from the prospect of an approaching assault, the governor, on the 28th, was obliged to capitulate. The garrison, now reduced to seven thousand men, marched out with the honour of war, laid down their arms, and were permitted to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. It was employed, like that of Mayence, in the war against the Royalists in La Vendée and Toulon, and there rendered essential service to the Republican arms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jomini, iv. 171, 174, 181. Toul. iv. 42, 43.

Blockade and capitulation of Condé.

In this siege, the operations on both sides were conducted with great vigour and ability; and the French artillery even surpassed its ancient renown. The Allies threw eighty-four thousand cannon balls, twenty thousand shells, and forty-eight thousand bombs into the town. The governor, General Ferrand, was arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and but for the intervention of a commissioner of the Convention, would have forfeited his life for a defence highly honourable in itself, and which in the end proved the salvation of France, by the time which it afforded for the completion of the armaments in the interior. The siege, or rather blockade of Condé, was less distinguished by remarkable events. After an obstinate resistance, it capitulated a short time before Valenciennes, the garrison having exhausted all their means of subsistence. By this event, 3000 men were made prisoners, and an important fortress gained to the Allied forces.<sup>1</sup>

13th July.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv. 32. Jom. iii. 181.

The capitulation of these two fortresses brought to light the fatal change in the object and policy of the

which had been agreed upon in the Congress of CHAP. XIII.  
 erp. All Europe was in anxious suspense, 1793.  
 ing the official announcement of the intentions  
 e Allies by the use which they made of their And are  
 onsiderable conquests, when the hoisting of the taken po-  
 ian colours on their walls too plainly avowed session of  
 hey were to be retained as permanent acquisi- in name of  
 by the Emperor. This was soon placed beyond a the Empe-  
 by the proclamation issued by Prince Cobourg ror of  
 th July 1793, on entering the town, in which Austria.  
 clared, "I announce by the present proclama-  
 that I take possession in name of His *Imperial*  
*Royal Majesty*, and that I will accord to all the  
 itants of the *conquered* countries security and  
 ction, hereby declaring that I will not exercise  
 over conferred upon me by the *Right of Con-*  
 but for the preservation of the public peace,  
 he protection of individuals." This was immedi-  
 followed by the establishment of an Imperial  
 Royal Junta at Condé, for the administration  
 e conquered provinces, in the name of the Em-  
 r, which commenced its operations by dispos-  
 ing all the revolutionary authorities, restoring  
 religious bodies, checking the circulation of as-  
 ts, and removing the sequestration from the Hard. ii.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

now that Mayence, the bulwark of the north of Germany, was regained, and withdraw as soon as decency would permit from a contest in which success appeared more to be dreaded than defeat. The French emigrants were struck with consternation at so decisive a proof of the intended spoliation of their country; Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., solemnly protested, as guardian for his nephew, Louis XVII., against any dismemberment of his dominions; placards appeared on all the walls of Brussels, calling on all Frenchmen to unite, to save their country from the fate of Poland, to which it was suspected, not without reason, Dumourier was no stranger; while the Convention, turning to the best account this announcement of intended conquest, succeeded in inspiring a degree of unanimity in defence of their country, which they never could have effected had the Allies confined themselves to the original objects of the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
329, 331.

Custine  
takes shelter  
in intrenched  
camps.

Custine, removed from the army of the Rhine, was placed in command of the army in Flanders in the end of May. On his arrival at the camp of Caesar, he found the soldiers in the most deplorable state, both of disorganization and military spirit; a large portion of the older troops had been withdrawn to sustain the war in La Vendée, and their place supplied by young conscripts, almost totally undisciplined, who were shaken by the first appearance of the enemy's squadrons. "He trembled," to use his own words, "at the thought of what might occur, if he followed the example of his predecessors, and made a forward movement before confidence and discipline were re-established among the soldiers." His first care was to issue a severe proclamation, calculated to restore discipline; his next, to use the utmost efforts

revive the spirits of the troops; but, as he was inferior in number to his opponents, he did not venture, notwithstanding the reiterated orders of the convention, to make any movement for the relief of besieged places. Incessantly engaged in teaching conscripts the rudiments of the military art, he was to brave the resentment of government, rather than lead them to certain butchery, and probable defeat. His firmness in discharging this important, and perilous duty, proved fatal to himself, but the salvation of France; it habituated an undisciplined people to the use of arms, and preserved, in a period of extreme peril, the nucleus of an army, on which the preservation of the Republic depended. But the convention, impatient for more splendid achievements, and willing to ascribe every disaster to the fault of the generals, deprived him of the command, and ordered him to Paris to answer for his conduct; 23d July. Here he was soon after delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, condemned, and executed, along with Beauharnais, accused of misconduct, in the attempt to raise the siege of Mayence, whose name the extraordinary fortunes of his widow have rescued from oblivion: cruel and unjust examples, which added to the numerous sins of the Republican go-

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

August 8.

was avowedly unable to keep the field in presence of the Allies. Even this last stronghold they were not long permitted to retain. In the beginning of August, they were attacked and driven from its trenches, with so much ease, that the rout could hardly be called a battle. The Republicans fled in confusion the moment the Allies appeared in sight; so precipitate was their flight, that, as at the battle of the Spurs, three centuries before, hardly a shot was fired or a stroke given, before the whole army was dissolved. After this disaster, the Republicans retreated behind the Scarpe, the last defensible ground in front of Arras; beyond which there remained neither position to take, nor fortified place to defend, on the road to Paris. The Allies in great force were grouped within one hundred and sixty miles of that capital: fifteen days' march would have brought them to its gates. Already Cambray was invested; Chateau Cambresis occupied; a camp formed between Peronne and St Quentin, and the light troops pushed on to Peronne and Bapaume. Irresolution prevailed in the French army, dismay in the capital, every where the Republican authorities were taking to flight: the Austrian generals, encouraged by such extraordinary success, were at length urgent to advance and improve their successes, before the enemy recovered from their consternation; and if they had been permitted to do so, what incalculable disasters would Europe have been spared! We shall see hereafter the deplorable division of interests which prevented this early termination of the war; and how deeply Great Britain has cause to regret the narrow and selfish views which prompted the part she took in the transaction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
348, 349.  
Toul. iv.  
45—49.  
Ann. Reg.  
1793, 191.



But how desperate soever the fortunes of the Republic now appeared, and in reality were had the allies acted with vigour and unanimity, no weakness or faltering appeared in the conduct of the French government. When the invasion had, on every side, pierced the territory of France, and civil war tore its bosom, the government took the most energetic steps to meet the danger. The Convention armed the Committee of Public Safety with a power more terrible than ever had been wielded by eastern conqueror; and the decrees of the Legislature corresponded to the energy of their measures. They felt, in the language of Danton, "That the head of Louis was the terrible gauntlet which they had thrown down to the monarchs of Europe: that life or death was in the struggle." The whole power of France was called forth; ten thousand committees, spread over every part of the country, carried into execution the despotic mandates of the Committee of Public Safety, and its resistless powers sprung not less out of its sufferings than its patriotism the means of successful resistance. No situation could be more perilous than that in which the revolutionary government was now placed. No less than two hundred and eighty thousand men were in

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Vigorous  
measures  
of the go-  
vernment.

CHAP. its walls. The forces of the Republic were not only  
XIII. inferior in number, but their spirit, discipline, and  
1793. equipment were in the most wretched state.

Their ef-  
forts to  
rouse the  
whole po-  
pulation.

3d Aug.

But all these deficiencies in numbers and organization were speedily supplied, by the extraordinary energy and ability which rose to the head of military affairs, after the insurrection of 31st May, and the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety. Barere, on the part of that able body, declared in the Assembly, "Liberty has become the creditor of every citizen; some owe it their industry; others their fortune; some their counsels; others their arms; all their lives. Every native of France, of whatever age or sex, is called to the defence of his country. All moral and physical powers; all political and industrial resources, are at its command. Let every one then occupy his post in the grand national and military movement which is in preparation. The young men will march to the frontiers; the more advanced forge the arms, transport the baggage and artillery, or provide the subsistence requisite for their defence. The women will make the tents, the dresses of the soldiers, and carry their beneficent labours into the interior of the hospitals; even the hands of infancy may be usefully employed; and the aged, imitating the example of ancient virtue, will cause themselves to be transported into the public places, to animate the youth by their exhortations and their example. Let the national edifices be converted into barracks, the public squares into workshops, the cellars into manufactories of saltpetre; let the saddles be furnished for the cavalry, the draught-horses for the artillery; the fowling-pieces, the swords, and pikes, will suffice for the service of the interior. The Republic is a besieged city; all its territory must become a vast camp."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxviii. 467,  
470.  
Th. v. 207.  
Mig. ii.  
286.

These energetic measures were not only adopted by the Assembly, but immediately carried into execution. France became an immense workshop, reminding with the note of military preparation; the lands were covered with conscripts hastening to the distant points of assembly; fourteen armies, and five hundred thousand soldiers, were soon under arms. The whole property of the state, by means of confiscations, and the forced circulation of assignats, was put at the disposal of the government; the insurrectionary population every where threw the better classes into captivity, while bands of revolutionary ruffians, aided by the state, perambulated every village in its territory, and wrung from the terrified inhabitants a qualified submission to the despotic Republic. At the same time, the means of raising supplies were provided with equal energy. All the old claims on the state were converted into a great revolutionary debt, in which the new could not be distinguished from the ancient creditors. A forced tax of a milliard, or £40,000,000 sterling, was instantly ordered to be levied from the rich, which was realized in paper, secured at once on the national domains. As the prices of every article, even those of the first necessities, were altogether deranged by these measures

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Great levy  
of  
1,200,000men ordered  
and  
executed.

CHAP. of income, at a time when purchasers could not be  
 XIII. found; and it must be confessed, that never did a  
 1793. government adopt such vast and energetic measures  
 to attain these objects. Fear became the great  
 engine for filling the ranks: the bayonets of the  
 Allies appeared less formidable than the guillotine  
 of the Convention; and safety, despised of every  
 where else, was found alone in the armies on the  
 frontier. The destruction of property, the ruin of  
 industry, the agonies of millions, appeared as no-  
 thing to men who wielded the engines of the Re-  
 volution; fortune or wealth have no weight with  
 those who are engaged in a struggle of life and  
 death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
 21, 22.  
 Hard. ii.  
 278, 279.  
 Th. v. 207,  
 208.

Effect of  
 general  
 suffering  
 in filling  
 the army.

By a strange combination of circumstances, the  
 ruin of commercial credit, the loss of the colonies,  
 the stagnation of industry, the drying up of the  
 sources of opulence, augmented the present re-  
 sources of the revolutionary government. Ruling  
 an impoverished and bankrupt state, the Conven-  
 tion was for the time the richest power in Europe.  
 Despotism, it is true, extinguishes the sources of  
 future wealth; but it gives a command of present  
 resources which no regular government can obtain.  
 The immense debts of government were paid in  
 paper money, issued at no expense, and bearing a  
 forced circulation; the numerous confiscations gave  
 a shadow of security to its engagements; the ter-  
 rible right of requisition put every remnant of pri-  
 vate wealth at its disposal; the conscription filled  
 the army with all the youth of the state; terror and  
 famine impelled voluntary multitudes into its ranks.  
 Before them was the garden of hope—behind them  
 a howling wilderness.

At the head of the military department was placed

Carnot,\* a man whose extraordinary and unbending character contributed more than any other circumstance to the early success of the Revolutionary

CHAP.

XIII.

1793.

\* Lazare Hippolyte Carnot was born at Nolai in Burgundy, on 13th May 1753, of a respectable and highly esteemed burgher family. His father was an advocate, and as he had eighteen children, and no fortune, he esteemed himself fortunate in getting an entrance for Lazare into the college of Autun, with a view to his entering the ecclesiastical profession. No sooner, however, had young Carnot commenced his studies, than he showed so decided a predilection for mathematical and chemical pursuits, that his father, wisely yielding to an impulse which he could not control, removed him from his ecclesiastical labours, and sent him to one of the military schools of the capital. There, at the expiration of two years, he went through a brilliant examination, and was admitted to the corps of engineers, the only branch of the service which was then open to young men who had not the advantage of aristocratic birth. From thence he was removed to the military school of Mezieres, where he studied for two years under the celebrated Professor Monge. His first employment in active life was in the year 1772, when he was engaged in aiding in the superintendence of considerable additions to the fortifications of Calais. After this occupation ceased, as the continuance of peace left him much leisure time upon his hands, he applied himself to the study of literature and poetry, and the "Almanach des Muses," for some years after, contains several poetical pieces of his composition. In 1784, he was the successful competitor for a prize offered by the Academy of Dijon, for an Eloge on Vauban; and on this occasion he was publicly crowned by the Prince of Condé, who happened to be there at the time, and who took him in so effectual a manner under his protection, that at the age of thirty-two he was captain of engineers and chevalier of the order of St Louis. Though strongly impressed with the genius of Vauban, however, Carnot was not a mere follower of his principles, and constantly maintained in

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

wars. Austere in character, unbending in disposition, republican in principle, he more nearly resembled the stern patriots of antiquity than any other barriers of rank would be thrown down in his own country, and the career of talent be open to all. Soon after, he married the daughter of a rich merchant at St Omer, and this procured for him an entrance into the Legislative Assembly, as deputy for the department of the Pas de Calais, in 1791.

An ardent admirer of the institutions of antiquity, enamoured of the heroes of Plutarch, living much with the mighty dead, hardly at all with the living little—he dreamt of the Sabine farm and the virtues of Fabricius amidst the corruptions of Paris, and soon gave decisive proof that he was resolved to follow up his principles in the government and regeneration of France. His first step in the Assembly was a motion for a decree against Calonne, the Viscount Mirabeau, and the German princes, who were preparing, under the Prince of Condé, to make war on France—a circumstance which not unnaturally led to the remark, that the first use he had made of power was to assail the benefactor whose crowning of him at Dijon had first opened to him the path of distinction. His subsequent career demonstrated at once the violence, austerity, and rigidity of his principles. He was soon made a member of the military committee in the Assembly; the chief object of which was to censure and depreciate the war measures of government—a duty which he executed with equal zeal and ability. Soon after, he brought forward a motion for destroying all citadels of fortified towns, upon the ground that it gave government the means of bombarding the streets, and overawing the inhabitants. He declaimed afterwards, with force and eloquence, against the murderers of General Dillon, who had fallen the victim of a military mutiny; but he warmly supported the disbanding of the constitutional guard of Louis XVI., which necessarily led to the surrender of that monarch to civil assassins. Subsequently he strongly enforced, on the 10th August, the decree for the dethronement of Louis, and took such a lead on that occasion that he was appointed a member of the committee which, on the overthrow of the crown, assumed the supreme direction of affairs.

The duty assigned to Carnot on that occasion was to organize and reduce to obedience the army of the Rhine; and by the vigour and severity of his proceedings, he brought that important body to range itself under the banners of the revolutionary government at Paris. Next he set off to the Pyrenees and accomplished the same with the troops there, as well as put them in a situation to open the campaign with the Spanish forces. In the Convention, he again was elected deputy for the Pas de Calais. In the trial of Louis he voted for his death, observing,—“In my opinion, justice and policy demand his death, but never did duty so weigh upon my heart.” Subsequently he prepared several reports, which were eagerly adopted by the Assembly, on the necessity

statesman in modern times. It was his misfortune to be associated with Robespierre in the Committee of Public Safety, during the whole of the Reign of Terror, and his name, in consequence, stands affixed to many of the worst acts of that sanguinary tyrant; but he has solemnly asserted, and his character entitles the allegation to attention, that in the pressure of business he signed these documents without knowing what they contained; that such was the pressure on him that he would have signed a warrant for his own execution; and that he saved more lives by his entreaties, than his colleagues destroyed by their severity.<sup>1</sup> He was the creator of the new military art in France, which Dumourier was only permitted to sketch, and Napoleon brought of incorporating Flanders and other conquests of the Republic, and was one of the first who, disregarding the declarations against foreign conquest so often made by the Constituent Assembly, openly declared that nature had assigned the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, as the natural limits of the French territory, and that no peace should be concluded which did not secure them to the Great Nation. His appointment as a member of the Committee of Public Safety in August 1793, gave him too fair an opportunity of putting his principles in practice; and thenceforward his biography forms part of the history of France. Carnot published several able works on scientific subjects; but his reputation rests chiefly on his celebrated theory for the defence of strong places, in which, in opposition to Vauban, he strenuously

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Carnot,  
War minister. His  
character.

<sup>1</sup> Carnot's  
Memoirs,  
230.



CHAP. to perfection. Simple in his manners, unostenta-  
 XIII. tious in his habits, incorruptible in his inclinations,

1793. he was alike superior to the love of wealth, the weakness of inferior, and the passion for power, the infirmity of noble minds. When called to the post of danger by the voice of his country, he never declined the peril: disdaining to court Napoleon in the plenitude of his power, and alone voting against his Imperial crown, he fled to his assistance in the hour of distress, and tendered the aid to a falling, which he had refused to a conquering monarch. Intrusted with the dictatorship of the armies, he justified his country's choice by victory; superior even to the triumphs he had won, he resigned with pleasure the

force, and the larger the more certainly. There was, unquestionably, great originality and merit in these conceptions; but Sir Howard Douglas, to whose genius and science British gunnery owes so much, has demonstrated, both on theoretical principles and actual experiments — 1st, That ricochet shot levelled over the summit of the counterscarp will, by the rebound, in three or four hours beat down the strongest wall of that description which can be constructed in the bottom of the ditch. 2d, That the wall, when so battered, will first nod, and at last fall *outwards*, so as to uncover the defending force, and afford rough solid footing for the assailants to rush over. 3d, That though the balls thrown into the air, at an angle of 45 degrees, will *ascend* with great velocity, yet from the effect of the *resistance of the air*, they will descend with little more momentum than that resulting from their own weight, and could not be relied on as adequate to destroy or retard an enterprising enemy. Still there can be no doubt that Carnot's was a much greater step in the science of defence than had been made since the days of Vauban, and possibly may one day make the means of resistance equal to those of attack. In particular, it deserves consideration, whether by making the balls heavier, as six or eight ounces, they might not be rendered as destructive to the besiegers as Carnot supposes. It is not a little remarkable that Carnot's scientific calculations, perfectly accurate if there was no atmosphere, proved erroneous from not taking into account the *resistance of the air*; just as his political speculations proved so destructive from not taking into account the resistance of human wickedness.—See *Mémoires sur CARNOT*, i. 134; *Biographie Universelle, Supplement*, lx. 181, 183; CARNOT, *Sur la Défense des Places Fortifiées*, Paris, 1812; and SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS'S *Reply*, London, 1815; and JONES'S *Sieges*, ii. 164, 167.



a of power, to exercise his understanding  
 abstract sciences, or renovate his heart by  
 sessions of country life. Almost alone of  
 various men of the age, his character has  
 comparatively untainted from the Revolu-  
 aldron; and history has to record, with the  
 to real greatness, that after having wield-  
 stible force, and withstood unfettered power,  
 poor and unbefriended in a foreign land.<sup>1</sup>  
 not," said Napoleon, "has organized vic-  
 t was the maxim of this great man, "That  
 was so easy as to find excellent officers  
 lks, if they were only chosen according to  
 acity and their courage. For this reason,  
 ne utmost pains to make himself acquainted  
 r names and character; and such was the  
 his information, that it was rare for a  
 merit to escape him, even though only a  
 ivate. He deemed it impossible, that an  
 manded by officers chosen exclusively from  
 class of society, could long maintain a con-  
 one led by those chosen with discernment  
 inferior ranks. Such commanders as Tu-  
 l Condé seemed too rare to be calculated

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Thib. i.  
37. Car-  
not, 255.  
Dum. iv.  
5, 6.Carnot's  
principles  
for con-  
ducting the  
war.

CHAP. general called forth. Supposing the abilities of the  
 XIII. higher orders to be equal to those of an equal number  
 1793. in the inferior, it is impossible that they can ever produce as great a mass of talent as will emerge on a free competition from the numerous ranks of their humble competitors. A hundred thousand men can never produce as many energetic characters as ten millions.

Aided by the effects of the Revolution. But this system, powerful as it is in developing talent, would have failed in enabling France to combat the forces of the coalition, had it not been for the extraordinary combination of causes which at this period brought the whole forces, physical and intellectual, of France, into the ranks of the army. The Revolution had at once closed all other careers, and opened unbounded prospects to talent in that path, to all ranks indiscriminately; and as it afforded the means of elevation in a peculiar manner to the most energetic and audacious characters, that dreadful convulsion was eminently favourable to the growth of military prowess. The distress consequent on the ruin of so many branches of industry, the agitation arising from the dissolution of all the bonds of society, the restless habits acquired by successful revolt, all conspired to spread a taste for military exploit, and fill the ranks of the army with needy but ardent adventurers. Such dispositions are always prevalent during civil dissensions, because it is the nature of such conflicts to awaken the passions, and disqualify for the habits of ordinary life. But they were in an especial manner excited by the campaign of 1793, first by the call which resounded through France to defend the state, and next by the thirst for military glory which sprang up by the defeat of the invasion.

Feb. 6.

It was in the extraordinary energy and ability of **CHAP.**  
the Committee of Public Safety,\* joined to the fer- **XIII.**  
ment excited by the total overthrow of society, the 1793.  
despotic power wielded by the Convention, and the **And the**  
extraordinary want of capacity in the allied cabinets **ability of**  
and generals, that the real secret is to be found of **the Com-**  
the successful resistance by France to the formidable **mittee of**  
invasion of 1793. The inability of Napoleon to **Public**  
resist a similar attack in 1815, demonstrates this **Safety.**  
important truth, and should be a warning to future  
ages not to incur the same risk, in the hope of ob-  
taining a similar triumph. Superior in military  
talent, heading a band of veterans, supported by a  
terrible name, he sought in vain to communicate to  
the empire the energy which, under their iron grasp,  
had been brought into action in the Republic. A  
rational being will never succeed in equalling the <sup>1</sup> **Jom. iii.**  
strength which, in a transport of frenzy, a madman <sup>6.</sup> **Hard. ii.**  
can for a brief period exert.<sup>1</sup> 278.

While such extraordinary and unheard-of efforts  
were making in France to resist the invasion with **Retire-**  
which they were menaced, a change, fraught in its **ment of**  
ultimate results with important consequences, took **Kaunitz at**  
place in the Imperial government. Kaunitz, so long **Vienna,**  
at the head of the Austrian cabinet, had survived **and acces-**  
his age; his cautious habits, veteran experience, and **sion of**  
great abilities, were inadequate to supply the want of **Thugut to**  
that practical acquaintance with affairs which arises **the direc-**  
from having grown up under their influence. The **tion of**  
French Revolution had opened up a new era in **Foreign**  
human affairs: the old actors, how distinguished so- **affairs.**  
ever, were unacquainted with the novel machinery,

\* Their names were at first Barere, Delmas, Breard, Cambon, Debry, Danton, Guyton Morveau, Traillard, and Lacroix.—See **HARD.**  
ii. 77.

CHAP. and unfit to play their parts in the mighty drama  
XIII. which was approaching. The veteran Austrian  
1793. diplomatist retired from the helm, full of years, and  
loaded with honours, from a prudent disinclination  
to risk his great reputation in the stormy scenes  
which had already arisen.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded in the  
direction of foreign affairs by THUGUT,\* who long  
kept possession of the situation of prime minister  
during the Revolutionary war. The son of a poor  
boatman at Lintz, he had, by the industry of his  
parents, been early placed at the school of oriental  
languages at Vienna, where his diligence and abili-  
ties attracted the notice of the Empress Maria The-  
resa. She recommended him to the director of the  
college, and at the age of fifteen he was attached, by  
her desire, as interpreter to the Austrian embassy  
at Constantinople, from whence he gradually rose in

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
259, 260.

March 28,  
1793.

\* Thugut's history was very remarkable, and affords a striking instance of the manner in which, in seeking for the diplomatic or military ability of which they stand in need to sustain the fortunes of the state, even the most aristocratic governments on the Continent descend to the very humblest ranks of society. He was born at Lintz in 1750, and was the son of an humble boatman at that place, who, by great exertions, had succeeded in getting him placed at the Oriental School of Vienna, where the ability with which he underwent an examination in the Eastern languages attracted the notice of Maria Theresa, who was present on the occasion, and who directed that, on leaving the academy, he should be attached to the Austrian embassy at Constantinople. In 1764 he commenced his career in that capacity at the Turkish capital at the early age of fifteen; and such was the extraordinary progress he made in Eastern languages, that in three years he was appointed interpreter to the embassy. He continued in that important situation till 1770, and in 1772 was sent as envoy to the Congress of Torkchany, where he executed the delicate duties entrusted to him with such ability, that in 1774 he was made by Maria Theresa a baron, with the dignity of Commander of the Order of St Stephen. In 1777 he performed, by order of the Empress, several journeys in the suite of her daughters, the future Queens of France and Naples. In 1778, when the death of the Elector of Bavaria had rekindled the flames of war between Prussia and Austria, he was sent on a secret mission to endeavour to accommodate

the diplomatic line to the portfolio of foreign affairs. CHAP. XIII.

Though he had long resided at Paris, and was intimately connected with Mirabeau, whose conversion to the court was partly owing to his exertions, he maintained throughout his career an inflexible hostility to Republican principles; and though his combinations were not always crowned with success, his bitterest enemies cannot deny him the credit of a truly patriotic spirit, an energetic character, profound skill in diplomacy, and a fidelity to his engagements, as unusual as it was honourable in those days of weakness and tergiversation. His accession to office was soon followed by an evident increase of vigour in diplomatic measures. Pressing notes to the inferior German powers brought about the equipment of that tardy and inefficient force, the

1793.

His character and first measures.

22d March 1793.

matters with the Great Frederick—who at once divined his astute character. Subsequently he was sent in 1780, as minister of Austria, to the court of Warsaw; and in 1788, when Moldavia and Wallachia were conquered by the united arms of Russia and Austria, he was entrusted jointly by the two powers with the government of those provinces; which important situation he held till the peace of Teschen in 1790. After this he went to Paris, ostensibly to enjoy his fortune, but really as joint ambassador in secret with the Count de Mery, who held that situation, and who was desirous of his aid to observe the progress, and mitigate the disasters of the Revolution. He there had several interviews with Mirabeau, and powerfully contributed to fix that redoubtable orator in the interests of the Court, and the prosecution of those designs in which he was unhappily interrupted by his death. In 1792, the advanced age and increasing infirmities of Kaunitz caused him to be recalled to Vienna, where he soon came to acquire a preponderating influence; and though the former still held the situation of chancellor of state, or prime minister, yet Thugut really had the entire direction of affairs; and on his death, in June 1794, he was appointed in his stead, and entirely directed the imperial diplomacy till June 1801, when Napoleon, after the battle of Marengo, made his retirement a *sine qua non* of any accommodation — deeming any peace insecure as long as so decided an opponent of the Revolution directed the Austrian councils.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xlv. 573, 576, (TURGOT.)

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Germanic contingents ; while a menacing proclamation from the Diet of Ratisbon prohibited all circulation of French assignats or revolutionary writings, and ordered the immediate departure from their territory of all subjects of that country who could not give a sufficient reason for their residence. But though these measures might be well calculated to prevent the inundation of the empire with democratic principles, it was with very different weapons that the formidable army which had grown up out of the agonies of the Republic required to be combated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Univ. xlv. 573. Hard. ii. 259. 260, 274.

Incipient divisions of Prussia and Austria.

At the time, however, that the zeal of Austria was thus warming in the common cause, that of Prussia was rapidly cooling ; and to the lukewarmness and indifference of that power in the contest with France, more than to any other cause, the extraordinary success which for some years attended the Republican arms is to be ascribed. The selfish ambition of the cabinets of Vienna, St Petersburg, and Berlin, was the cause of this unhappy disunion. Hardly was the ink of the treaty of the 14th July with Great Britain dry, when the hoisting of the Austrian flag on the walls of Valenciennes and Condé opened the eyes of the Prussian ministry to the projects of aggrandizement which were entertained by the Imperial cabinet, and which Thugut supported with his whole talents and influence. Irritated and chagrined at this prospect of material accession of power to their dreaded rival, the cabinet of Berlin derived some consolation from the completion of their arrangements with the Empress Catharine for the partition of Poland, in virtue of which the Prussian force had recently taken possession of Dantzic, with its noble harbour and fortifications, besides Thorn, and a large circumjacent

y, to the no small annoyance of Austria, which  
 self excluded from all share in the projected  
 ion. Nor was Russia likely to be a more dis-  
 ted combatant in the common cause; for she,  
 is intent on the work of partition, and had al-  
 inundated the duchy of Warsaw with troops,  
 ie fixed design of rendering it the frontier of  
 uscovite dominions. Thus, at the moment  
 he evident approach of peril to the national  
 ndence was closing those frightful divisions  
 had hitherto paralysed the strength of France,  
 ied powers, intent on separate projects of ag-  
 zement, were rapidly relaxing the bonds of the  
 eracy; and engaging in the most iniquitous  
 on recorded in modern times, at the very time  
 that vast power was arising, which was so  
 destined to make them all tremble for their own  
 sions.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
332, 333.

s stage of the contest was marked by an impor-  
 tep in the maritime relations of Europe, which  
 ards became of the utmost moment in the im-  
 it discussions on neutral rights which took  
 at the close of the century. The Empress  
 rine publicly announced the departure of Rus-

Recogni-  
tion of the  
maritime  
law by the  
Allies.



their hands, at first made some difficulties, yet at length yielded, and all the maritime powers to revert to the usages of war in regard to neutral commerce which had existed prior to the armed Neutrality of 1780.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
334, 341.

By a declaration issued on June 8, the British Government enjoined its naval commanders to allow all neutral vessels bound for France for contraband of war; and Sweden, Denmark

\* M. Bernstorff declared to the Danish cabinet, after giving these instructions: Her Imperial Majesty, in issuing such orders, is not to be supposed to have in the slightest degree deviated from the ancient and constant system which is calculated to secure the interests of neutral commerce in time of war, seeing that it is noways applicable to the present circumstances. The French Revolutionists, after having overturned every thing in their own country, and bathed their impious hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, have, by a public decree, declared themselves the allies of all people who shall commit similar atrocities, and has followed them up by attacking with an armed force all its neighbours. Neutral commerce cannot exist with such a power, except in so far as it may be assumed for political and confidential considerations. Should there be any states whose situation not permit them to make such efficacious efforts as the greatest powers in the common cause, the least that can be required of them is, that they shall make use of such means as are evidently at their disposal.



Prussia, successively adopted the same principles. HAP. XIII.  
 The latter power, in particular, declared, in a note 1793.  
 of Count Bernstorff, intended to obviate the objec-  
 tions of the cabinet of Denmark, "His Majesty the  
 King of Prussia, who has no interest but what is  
 common with the King of Great Britain, can make  
 no objection to the principles which circumstances  
 have caused the court of London to adopt relative to  
 the commerce of neutrals during the present war with  
 France. The undersigned, in acceding absolutely  
 and without limitation to all the demands of the  
 British ambassador, obeys the express injunctions of  
 his court in the most solemn manner, in order to  
 prove to the world the perfect concert which in that,  
 as in all other respects, prevails between the King of  
 Prussia and the King of Great Britain." Thus, how-  
 loudly soever the maritime powers may have demand-  
 ed a new maritime code as a restraint on the hostility  
 of others when they are neutral, they were willing  
 enough to revert to the old usages when they in  
 their turn became the belligerent parties.<sup>1</sup>

Adoption  
 of the same  
 principles  
 by Eng-  
 land, Prus-  
 sia, and  
 Denmark.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
 334. 341.

If the conduct of the Allies had been purposely  
 intended to develop the formidable military strength  
 which had grown up in the French Republic, they  
 would not have adopted measures better calculated to ruin

Absurd  
 policy of  
 the Allies,



CHAP. to the centre of the Republican power, pursue inde-  
 XIII. pendent plans of aggrandizement. The English, with  
 1793. their allies, amounting to above thirty-five thousand  
 men, moved towards Dunkirk, so long the object of  
 their maritime jealousy, while forty-five thousand of  
 the Imperialists sat down before Quesnoy, and the  
 remainder of their vast army was broken into detach-  
 ments to preserve the communications.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
 35. Hard.  
 ii. 401.  
 Th. v.  
 218, 219.  
 11th Aug.

The Eng-  
 lish besiege  
 Dunkirk,  
 the Aus-  
 trians  
 Quesnoy.  
 Ruinous  
 effects of  
 the divi-  
 sion.

From this ruinous division may be dated all the subsequent disasters of the campaign. Had they held together, and pushed on vigorously against the masses of the enemy's forces, now severely weakened and depressed by defeat, there cannot be a doubt that the object of the war would have been gained. The decrees for levying the population *en masse* were not passed by the Convention for some weeks afterwards, and the forces they produced were not organized for three months. The mighty genius of Carnot had not as yet assumed the helm of affairs; the Committee of Public Safety had not hitherto acquired its terrible energy; every thing promised great results to vigorous and simultaneous operations. It was a resolution of the English cabinet, in opposition to the declared and earnest wish of Cobourg and all the Allied generals, which occasioned this fatal division. The impartial historian must confess with a sigh, that it was British interests which here interfered with the great objects of the war, and that, by compelling the English contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England largely contributed to postpone, for twenty years, its glorious termination. Posterity has had ample room to lament the error—a war of twenty years deeply checkered with disaster; the addition of six hundred millions to the public debt;<sup>2</sup> the sacrifice of millions of brave men—may be in a great

<sup>2</sup> Toul. iv.  
 49. Ann.  
 Reg. 1793.  
 377. Jom.  
 iv. 26, 37.  
 Hard. ii.  
 47,

be traced to this unhappy resolution, for the CHAP.  
 tion of which, on selfish grounds, England is XIII.  
 suffering a just punishment. 1793.

The Austrians were successful in their enterprize.

For fifteen days of open trenches, Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. The efforts of the Republicans to raise the siege terminated in nothing. The efforts of the English to raise the siege of Dunkirk is protracted. Nov. 11.

Disaster. Two columns of ten thousand men destined to disquiet the besiegers, were routed, and one of them, a square of three thousand men, and totally destroyed by the Imperial cavalry. But a very different fate awaited the British fighting army. The corps under the command of Duke of York, consisting of twenty thousand British and Hanoverians, was raised, by the junction of twenty thousand Austrians under Alvinzi, to thirty-seven thousand men. This force was inadequate to the enterprize, exposed as it was to attack from the main body of the French army. On the 18th August, the Duke of York arrived in the neighbourhood of Lincolnton, where, after an obstinate engagement, a strong fort was carried by the English guards, and several pieces of cannon taken. At the same time, Dutch troops advanced under Marshal Freytag, driving the enemy from his positions near Dunquerque. The Allies advanced to within a league of the fort, and encamped at Furnes, extending from that place to the sand-hills on the sea shore. The fort was immediately summoned, but the governor refused a determined refusal.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the importance of this stronghold, which, if taken by the English, would have given them an outlet into the heart of France, the Republicans made the most vigorous efforts to raise the siege.

CHAP. "It is not," said Carnot, in a despatch to Hou  
XIII. "merely in a military point of view, that D

1793. is so important: it is far more so, because t

Vigorous  
efforts of  
the French  
for the re-  
lief of the  
fortress,  
and slow  
steps of  
the Eng-  
lish.

tional honour is involved in its relief. Pitt prevent the revolution which is approaching i land, but by gaining that town to indemni country for the expenses of the war. Accur therefore, immense forces in Flanders, and dr enemy from its plains; the decisive point of t test lies there." This was the more necessa cause the works of the place were in the m plorable state when the Allies appeared be and the garrison, consisting only of three th men, was totally insufficient to defend the If the bombarding flotilla had arrived from land at the same time with the besieging there can be no doubt that it would imme have fallen. Immense preparations were 1 at Woolwich for the siege, and eleven new ba had been embarked in the Thames for the be army; but such was the tardiness of their ments, that not a vessel appeared in sight harbour of Dunkirk, and the mistress of t had the mortification to find her land forces s harassed by discharges from the contemptib boats of the enemy. The delays of the Eng these operations proved what novices they v the art of war, and how little they were aware importance of time in military movements.

three weeks were employed in preparations besieging force, a delay which enabled the Fr bring up from the distant frontier of the Mos forces who ultimately raised the siege, and t the fate of the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th.v. 220.  
Jom. iv. 46.  
Ann. Reg.  
1793, 380.  
Hard. ii.  
366.

The French rulers did not discover the s

activity. Following the wise course of accumulating overwhelming forces upon the decisive point, they brought thirty-five thousand men, by forced marches, and in great part by post, from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and placed the army destined to raise the siege, consisting by this addition of nearly fifty thousand men, under the command of General Houchard. The investment not having been completed, he succeeded in throwing ten thousand additional troops, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed, into the garrison; while the covering army, consisting of twenty thousand Dutch and Austrians, under the command of Marshal Freytag, was threatened by an attacking force of nearly double its amount. While the Republicans were thus adopting the system of concentrating their forces, the Allies, by the expansion of theirs, gave it every possible chance of success. A hundred thousand men, dispersed round Quesnoy, and extending from the sea to the Moselle, guarded all the entrances into the Netherlands, and covered a line two hundred miles in length. Thus a hundred and twenty thousand men were charged at once with the covering of two sieges, the maintenance of that immense line, and the protection of all Flanders, from an enterprising enemy, possessing an interior line of communication, and already acting upon the principle of sacrificing all lesser objects to the weight to be given to the decisive blow.<sup>1</sup>

The situation of the allied covering army was such, as to give a vigorous attack, by an imposing mass of assailants, every chance of success. Freytag's corps of observation was, in the end, not posted at Furnes, so as to protect the rear of the besiegers, but a considerable way in front of it, in order to pre-

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

They accumulate forces there from the Rhine to the Moselle.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. 1793, 380. Th. v. 220, 239. Jom. iv. 51.

Design of Carnot, and operations of Houchard.

with forty thousand men, between the three and fall successively on Freytag, the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of York; and Naumach would unquestionably have done so if he had been at the head of the army of Italy, and signified Dunkirk, in all probability, by as decisive a success as Rivoli or Arcola. But that audacious proceeding could not be expected from a second command, the principles on which it was founded were not yet understood, nor were his troops adequate to so bold an enterprise. He contented himself, therefore, with marching against the first Freytag, with a view to throw him back on the besieging force, and raise the siege, instead of posing between them and destroying both. The object to be thus attained was important, and the achievement proved the salvation of France, but he fell very far short of the great success expected by the French government; and the failure of this publican general to enter into the spirit of the orders at length brought him to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. v.  
239, 240.  
Hard. ii.  
370, 371.

ral Houchard on the main body of the Aus- CHAP.  
 consisting of nearly eighteen thousand men, XIII.  
 andscote, in which the latter were defeated 1793.  
 loss of fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile, The siege  
 ion of Dunkirk, acting in concert with the is raised,  
 army, made a vigorous sally on the besiegers, and ruin-  
 ces superior to their own, and exposed them ous conse-  
 most imminent peril. The Duke of York, quence of  
 his flank harassed by the attacks of Houchard this defeat  
 on the whole cam-  
 paign.  
 sequence of the defeat of the covering force,  
 seemed his situation too precarious to risk a  
 stay in the lines, and on the night of the 8th,  
 w his besieging force, leaving fifty-two pieces  
 y artillery, and a large quantity of ammuni-  
 l baggage, to the conquerors. The conse-  
 of this defeat proved ruinous to the whole  
 gn. It excited the most extravagant joy at  
 and elevated the public spirit to a degree  
 proportion to their former depression. The  
 ing of a few thousand men at the extremity  
 line, changed the face of the war from the  
 n to the Mediterranean Sea. The Conven-  
 lieved from the dread of immediate danger,  
 e peril of invasion, got time to mature its<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv.  
 53, 54.



- CHAP. ful for an immediate attack, he resolved to a  
XIII. corps of Dutch who were posted at Menin  
1793. series of actions, with various success, in  
quence ensued between the detached corps  
Allies, which kept up the communication betwe  
Duke of York's army and the main body of th  
Sept. 12. perialists under Prince Cobourg. On the one  
the Dutch, overwhelmed by superior masses  
enemy, were defeated with the loss of two th  
men, and forty pieces of cannon ; while, on the  
General Beaulieu totally routed the army of Hor  
Sept. 15. at Courtray, and drove him behind the Lys.  
did the disaster rest there. The panic commun  
itself to all the camps, all the divisions ; an  
army which had lately raised the siege of Dw  
sought shelter in a promiscuous crowd und  
cannon of Lisle—a striking proof of the unfit  
the Republican levies as yet for field operation  
of the ease with which, by energetic operati  
large masses at that period, the greatest suc  
might have been obtained by the numerous ar  
ciplined armies of the Allies, if acting togethe  
concert, and led by an able commander.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
55, 65, 66.  
Ann. Reg.  
1793, 383.  
Th. v. 246.  
247. Toul.  
iv. 55.  
Hard. ii.  
369.

And Hous-  
chard is  
arrested  
and exe-  
cuted.

This last disaster proved fatal to General Hous-  
already charged with culpable inactivity, in n  
lowing up the advantages at Hondscote, by  
mediate attack upon the British force. Accu  
his own officers, he was brought before the R  
tionary Tribunal at Paris, condemned and exe  
The English had sacrificed Admiral Byng for  
suffered a defeat ; the Romans had condemned  
lius for having fought in disobedience to the  
of the Senate ; but this was the first instance  
tory of a victorious general having been put to  
for gaining a success which proved the salvat



country. The proceedings of the Convention against this unfortunate general, are chiefly interesting from the evidence they afford of the clear perception which those at the head of affairs had obtained of the principles in the military art to which the subsequent successes of the Republican forces were chiefly owing. "For long," said Barere, "the principle established by the great Frederick, has been recognized, the best way to take advantage of the courage of the soldier, is to accumulate the troops in particular points in large masses. Instead of doing this, you have divided them into separate detachments, and the generals entrusted with their command have generally met combat superior forces. The Committee of Public Safety, fully aware of the danger, had sent the most positive instructions to the generals to fight in large masses; you have disregarded their orders, and in consequence, reverses have followed." From these expressions, it is not difficult to recognise the science which the master mind of Carnot had already acquired in the direction of military affairs.

To compensate so many reverses, the Allies at length sat down before Maubeuge; an important fortress, the possession of which would have opened the plains of St. Quintin and the capital to invasion.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Corresp.  
du Com.  
de Salut  
Publique,  
i. 231.Jom. iv.  
69. Toul.  
<sup>1</sup> iv. 130.Maubeuge  
is besieged.  
Jourdan  
takes the

## HISTORY OF EUROPE.

AP. the Committee of Public Safety alone did not despair of the fortunes of the Republic. Trusting with confidence in their own energy, and the immense multitudes of the levies ordered, they took the most vigorous measures for the public defence, and, incessantly urging on the new conscripts, soon raised the forces in the different intrenched camps, on the Flemish frontier, to one hundred and thirty thousand men. Great part, it is true, formed but a motley group; peasants, without arms or uniforms, fiercely debating every question of politics, forming themselves into battalions, and choosing their own officers, presented a force little competent to face, in the open field, the regular forces of Austria and the Confederation. But the possession of so many fortified towns and intrenched camps gave them the means of organizing and disciplining the tumultuous masses, and enabled the regular troops, amounting to a hundred thousand men, to keep the field. At the head of the whole was placed General JOURDAN, a young officer, hitherto untried in separate command, though distinguished in subordinate situations,<sup>1</sup> but who, placed between victory and the sea

al. iv.  
134.  
iv.  
114,  
116.

\* Jean Baptiste Jourdan, one of the first generals of the Revolution who rose to great distinction, and afterwards became Marshal of France, was born at Limoges on the 2d April 1762. His father was an obscure surgeon; and he enlisted at the age of sixteen as a simple private in the regiment of Auxerrois. He served in that capacity in the American War, and having returned to France on the termination of that contest, he obtained his discharge. Soon after he married a *marchande des modes*, and set up a haberdashery shop, but on so humble a scale, that the future marshal of France carried his pack on his back from fair to fair. In autumn 1791, when recruits for the army were enlisted in every part of France, he entered as a volunteer in one of the new battalions; and, as his experience gave him a great advantage over his pacific comrades, he was at once named by acclamation chief of the second battalion of Haute Vienne. At its head he served during the campaign of 1792 under Lafayette; in the whole of which

fold, had sufficient confidence in his own talents to accept the perilous alternative.

CHAP.  
XIII.

At the same time the most energetic measures were taken by the Committee of Public Safety. All France was declared in a state of siege, and the authorities authorized to take all the steps necessary to provide for the public defence in such an emergency. "The revolutionary laws," said Robespierre, "must be executed with rapidity; delay and inactivity have been the cause of our reverses. Henceforward the time allowed for the execution of the laws must be fixed, and delay punished with death," St Just drew a sombre picture of the state of the Republic, and the necessity of striving vigorously against the manifold dangers which surrounded them. Having excited the highest degree of terror in the Assembly, they obtained their consent to the following resolutions:—That the subsistence requisite for each department, should be accurately estimated, and all the superfluity placed at the disposal of the state, and subjected to forced requisitions, either for the armies, the cities, or departments, that stood in need of it: that these requisitions should be exclusively regu-

1793.

Vigorous  
measures  
of the  
Committee  
of Public  
Safety.

Oct. 10.

admirable condition of the battalion, as well as his own courage and skill, attracted general attention. In consequence he was, on 27th May 1793, appointed general of brigade, and two months after general of division, in which last capacity he commanded the advanced guard of Houchard, which defeated the English and raised the siege of Dunkirk. By a singular combination of chances, characteristic of those days of Revolution, the same victory which brought Houchard, the commander-in-chief, to the guillotine, raised Jourdan, who led the advanced guard, to the highest destinies; for he was shortly after appointed by Carnot to the command of the great army destined to raise the siege of Manbeuge. He gained the battle of Fleurus in 1794: but was entirely defeated by the Archduke Charles in Germany in 1796, and by Wellington in Spain in 1813, and was rather a methodical, calm, and intrepid general, than endowed with any great genius for war.—*Biographie Universelle*, lxxviii. 294, 296.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

lated by a commission appointed for that purpose by the Convention : that Paris should be provisioned for a year ; a tribunal instituted for the trial of all those who should commit any offence against these measures, destined to provide for the public subsistence : that the government of France should be declared revolutionary till the conclusion of a general peace, and, until that arrived, a dictatorial power be invested in the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention ; and that a revolutionary army, consisting of six thousand men, and twelve hundred cannoniers, should be established at Paris, and stationed there at the expense of the more opulent among the citizens. It was proposed in the Cordeliers, that to this should be added a provision for the establishment of a moving guillotine, to be attached to every army ; but this was not adopted by the Convention. The revolutionary army was instantly raised, and composed of the most ardent Jacobins ; and the Commission of Subsistence installed in its important and all-powerful sovereignty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxvi. 147, 151. Th. v. 278,

The force of the Allies was still above a hundred and twenty thousand strong ; and displayed a numerous and splendid array of cavalry, to which there was nothing comparable on the side of the Republicans. But after taking into account the blockading and besieging forces, and those stationed at a distance, they could not bring above sixty thousand into the field. This army was, early in October, concentrated between Maubeuge and Avennes, where they awaited the approach of the enemy destined to raise the siege. This measure was now become indispensably necessary, as the condition of the garrison of Maubeuge was daily growing more desperate, and the near approach of the besiegers' batteries had

Vast forces of the Allies, and firmness of the Convention.

spread terror in the city, and discouragement among the soldiers. Imitating the firmness of the Roman Senate, the Convention had sold the estates of the emigrants on which the Allies were encamped, and sent the most peremptory orders to Jourdan, to attack, without delay, the enemy's force, and drive him out of the French territory. The Duke of York, too, hearing of the concentration of the Republican force, was rapidly advancing with above twenty-five thousand men, and unless the attack was speedily made, it was certain that his force would be joined to the allied army.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

Impelled by so many motives, Jourdan approached the Austrian position, the key of which was the village of Wattignies. After some skirmishing on the 14th, a general battle took place on the 15th October, in which, after various success, the Republicans were worsted with the loss of twelve hundred men. Instructed by this failure, that a change of the method of attack was indispensable, Jourdan, in the night, accumulated his forces against the decisive point, and at break of day, on the 16th, assailed Wattignies with three columns, while a concentric fire of artillery shattered the troops who defended it. In the midst of the roar of cannon, which were discharged with uncommon vigour, the Republican airs which rose from the French lines could be distinctly heard by the Austrians. The village was speedily carried by this skilful combination of force, while, at the same time, the appearance of the reserve of Jourdan on the left flank of the Allies completed the discouragement of Cobourg, and induced a general retreat, after sustaining a loss of six thousand men. This resolution was unfortunate and unnecessary, for, on other points, his army had been eminently successful,

Jom. iv.  
118, 121,  
129. Toul.  
iv. 135.

Jourdan  
advances  
to raise the  
siege. Battle of Wattignies.

16th Oct.

retreat of  
the Allies,  
and raising  
of the  
siege.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
406, 409.  
Jom. iv.  
134, 135.  
Th. v.  
328, 330.  
Toul. iv.  
136, 138.

Conclusion  
of the cam-  
paign in  
Flanders:  
both par-  
ties go into  
winter  
quarters,  
and Piche-  
gru is ap-  
pointed to  
the com-  
mand.

and the arrival of the Duke of York, who was within a day's march, would have enabled him to maintain his position, and convert his partial into a total success. It is related in Roman history, that, on one occasion, after a doubtful battle, some god called out in the night, that they had lost one man less than their enemies, and in consequence they kept their ground, and gained all the advantages of a victory: how often does such tenacious firmness convert an incipient disaster into an important advantage!<sup>1</sup>

The raising of the siege, and retreat of the Allies beyond the Sambre, exposed to view the gigantic works which they had constructed for the reduction of the city, and which, with a little more vigour on their part, in concentrating their forces, would undoubtedly have proved successful. As it was, the success of the Republicans on this point counterbalanced the alarming intelligence received from other quarters, and allayed a dangerous ferment which was commencing in the capital. The advantage gained by them in this action proved how incompetent the old and methodical tactics of the Imperialists were to contend with the new and able system which Carnot had introduced into their armies, and which their immense levies enabled them to execute with reckless audacity. Jourdan had nearly sixty thousand men to raise the siege. By leaving only fifteen thousand to man the works, Cobourg might have opposed to him an equal force; and an action, under such circumstances, from the great inferiority of the French in discipline, would infallibly have led to a defeat, which would speedily have brought about the reduction of the town. Instead of which, by leaving thirty-five thousand round the fortress, he exposed himself, with only thirty thousand

men, to the shock of sixty thousand Republic-  
and ultimately was compelled to raise the

CHAP.

XIII.

1793.

Nothing more of importance was undertaken  
and before the close of the campaign; a  
ment of the French, threatening the right of  
lies towards the sea, was not persisted in, and,  
various unimportant changes, both parties went  
winter quarters. The headquarters of Cobourg  
established at Bavay; those of the Republicans  
icé, where a vast intrenched camp was formed  
to protection and disciplining of the Revolu-  
y masses which were daily arriving for the

Insatiable in their expectations of success,  
Committee of Public Safety removed Jourdan  
the supreme command, and conferred it on  
BERU,\* formerly a schoolfellow of Napoleon, an  
distinguished in the campaign on the Rhine, a  
rite of Robespierre and St Just, and possessed of  
alent, activity, and enterprize suited to those  
us times, when the risk was greater to a com-  
er from domestic tyranny than foreign warfare.

Th. v.

328, 332.

Toul. iv.

136, 137.

Jom. iv.

134, 148.

aries Pichegru was born at Arbois, in 1761, of obscure parents.  
ived the rudiments of education in his native town at the col-  
the Minimes, where he early evinced an extraordinary talent  
exact sciences. So much were the worthy monks who presided  
at establishment struck with his abilities in this respect, that  
it him to the military college of Brienne, where he was at the  
napoleon entered it, to whom he was for some years a sort of pre-  
like the monitors in the Lancasterian schools. At the age of  
he enlisted as a private in the 1st regiment of artillery, and  
a the last campaigns of the American war, and studied alike in  
regiment and in the ranks of his enemies the theory and prac-  
tillery. From the English marine service, in particular, to  
he was often opposed, he adopted several important improve-  
the knowledge of which gave him such an advantage over his  
marades, that, on his return, he was made adjutant of his regi-  
high rank he held when the Revolution broke out. Conscious  
ts which had not yet attained their proper sphere of action, he  
taly and vehemently adopted its principles; but from the very

CHAP. XIII. After the capture of Mayence, the Imperialist reinforced by forty thousand excellent troops, which had been employed in the siege of that city, could have assembled one hundred thousand men for offensive operations in the plains of the Palatinate while those of the enemy did not exceed eighty thousand. Every thing promised success to vigorous operations; but the Allies, paralysed by intestine divisions, remained in an inexplicable state of inactivity, and separated their fine army into four corps, which were placed opposite to the lengthened lines of their adversaries. The Prussians were chiefly to blame for this torpor: they had secretly adopted the resolution, now that Mayence, the barrier of Northern Germany, had fallen, to contribute no further efficient aid to the prosecution of the war. For two months they remained there in perfect inactivity, the jealousy of the sovereigns concerning the affairs of Poland being equalled by the rivalry of the generals for the command of the armies. Both monarchies had bitter cause afterwards to lament that

Campaign on the Rhine. Inactivity of the Prussians, but defeated at Permasin.

first abstained from the innumerable crimes which were committed in its name. He frequented the Jacobin clubs which, in imitation of the great one at Paris, had arisen in all the departments, and was proud of that at Bisançon, when, on the formation of a battalion of volunteers in that town in April 1792, he was by acclamation chosen its chief. Pichegru found his men a motley crowd of ardent politicians, who were discussing all subjects, civil and military, with the same license as in the Jacobin club; and it was with no small difficulty, and only by the combined influence of a great character and superior acquaintance with military affairs, that he succeeded in reducing them to some degree of subordination. His first campaign was on the Upper Rhine, at the head of his battalion, in 1792; but in the close of that year he was appointed, from his great abilities, to a situation on the staff, and was rapidly promoted to the rank of general of brigade and of division. In October 1793, he received the command of the army on the Upper Rhine from St Just and Le Bas, the Commissioners of the Convention, and from thenceforward his name became blended with the stream of European history.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xxxiv. 274, 275.



inaction; for never again were their own armies on the Rhine so formidable, or those of the Republicans in such a state of disorganization. Wearied at length

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

with the torpor of their opponents, and pressed by the reiterated orders of the Convention to undertake something decisive, the French general, Moreau, who commanded the army of the Moselle, commenced an attack on the Prussian corps posted at Permasin. Sept. 14. The Republican columns advanced with intrepidity to the attack, but when they reached the Prussian redoubts, a terrible storm of grape arrested their advance; and at the same time their flanks were turned by the Duke of Brunswick, and a heavy fire of artillery carried disorder into their masses, which soon fell back, and precipitated themselves in confusion into the neighbouring ravines. In this affair, the Republicans lost four thousand men, and twenty-two pieces of cannon; a disaster which might have proved fatal to the campaign, had it been as much improved as it was neglected by the allied commanders.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
75, 88, 91.  
Toul. iv.  
138, 140.  
Hard. ii.  
342.

The King of Prussia, a few days after, left the army to repair to Poland, in order to pursue, in concert with Russia, his plans of aggrandizement at the expense of that unhappy country: and the Allies

Their lines  
are storm-  
ed at Weis-



the Austrians, under Prince Waldeck, crossed the Rhine, and turned the right, and Wurmser himself with the main body, endeavoured to force the centre. The attack on the right by Lauterburg, obtained only a momentary success; but Wurmser captured several redoubts in the centre, and soon got possession of Weissenberg; and the left having been defeated and forced back, the whole army retired in confusion and some of the fugitives fled as far as Strasburg. Such was the tardiness of the Allies, that the French lost only one thousand men in this general action, which, if duly improved, might have occasioned the ruin of their whole army.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii. 424, 425.  
Toul. iv. 140, 141, 142. Jom. iv. 96, 97, 104.

But this important success, which once opened the territory of the Republic to a victorious enemy, and spread the utmost consternation throughout the towns of Alsace, led to no results; and the developing the designs of Austria upon this province contributed to widen the breach between that power and her wavering ally. Although, therefore, a powerful reaction commenced among the nobles in A

Leads to no results.  
Capture of Fort Vauban, and cruel revenge of the French in Alsace.

took the most energetic measures to restore the democratic fervour in the shaken districts. A Revolutionary force, under the command of a ferocious leader named Bandet, traversed the province, confiscating without mercy the property of the suspected individuals, and spreading, by the multitude of their arrests, the fear of death before every individual. "Marat," said Bandet, "has only demanded two hundred thousand heads; were they a million we would furnish them." To take advantage of the ferment occasioned by those menaces, Wurmser advanced to the neighbourhood of Strasburg, where the whole constituted authorities offered to surrender it to the Imperialists, in the name of Louis XVII. The Austrian commander, however, fettered by orders from Vienna, which prohibited him from doing any thing which might prejudice their system of methodical conquest, declined to take possession of the city on these terms, and moved the Prussians to Saverne, in order to force back the Republicans who were accumulating on that point. This project proved entirely unsuccessful; the Prussians were driven back; and Wurmser, unable to undertake the siege of Strasburg by force, was obliged to withdraw, and confine his operations to the blockade of Landau

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

CHAP. Convention, and speedily put in force the terrific  
XIII. energy of the Revolution. The blood of the Royalists

1793. immediately flowed in torrents; it was a sufficient  
ground for condemnation, that any inhabitant had  
remained in the village occupied by the Allies; and  
a fourth of the families of the province, decimated  
by the guillotine, fled into the neighbouring districts  
of Switzerland, and were speedily enrolled in the  
tables of proscription.'

The secession of Prussia from the confederacy now  
became daily more and more evident. Wurmser in  
vain endeavoured to rouse them to any combined  
movements; orders from the cabinet constrained the  
Duke of Brunswick to a line of conduct, as prejudi-  
cial to his fame as a commander, as it was injurious  
to the character of his country. On his return to  
Berlin, Frederick William was assailed by so many  
representations from his ministers as to the deplor-  
able state of the finances, and the exhaustion of the  
national strength, in a contest foreign to the real  
interests of the nation, at the very time when the  
affairs of Poland required their undivided attention,  
and the greatest possible display of force in that  
quarter, that he at first adopted the resolution to  
recall all his troops from the Rhine, except the small  
contingent which he was bound to furnish as a prince  
of the empire; and orders to that effect were actually  
transmitted to the Prussian general. The cabinet  
of Vienna, informed of their danger, made the most  
pressing remonstrances against such an untimely  
and ruinous defection, in which they were so well  
seconded by those of London and St Petersburg,  
that this resolution was rescinded, and in considera-  
tion of a large Austrian subsidy, engaged to continue  
the contest. But orders were nevertheless given to

hard. ii.  
5, 426.  
vol. iv.  
3, 144,  
6. Th.  
48, 49.  
m. iv.  
4, 105,  
1, 150.

cession  
Prussia  
in the  
alliance.

the Duke of Brunswick to temporize as much as possible, and engage the Prussian troops in no serious enterprize, or any conquest which might turn to the advantage of the Austrians; the effect of which soon appeared in the removal of the Prussian mortars and cannon from the lines before Landau, at the moment when the bombardment was going on with the greatest prospect of success. Shortly after they withdrew so large a part of the blockading force, that the garrison was enabled to communicate freely with the adjacent country.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
[XIII].  
1793.

Hard. ii.  
425, 431.

Meanwhile the Committee of Public Safety, very different from their tardy and divided opponents, did not confine their views to the subjugation of the Royalists in Alsace. They aspired to the complete deliverance of the Republican territory from the enemy's forces. To raise the blockade of Landau, thirty thousand men from the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, were placed under the orders of Pichegru, who were destined to penetrate the allied lines between the cantonments of the Austrian and Prussian forces; and these were supported by thirty-five thousand under General Hoche, who advanced from the side of La Sarre. After some preparatory movements, various success, and many partial actions, the Republicans attacked the covering army of the Duke of Brunswick, in great force, on the morning of the 26th December, who were in position near the castle of Geisberg, a little in front of Weissenberg. Such was the dissension between the two commanders, in consequence of the evident reluctance of the Prussians to engage, that a warm altercation took place between them, in presence of their respective officers, on the field of battle. The result, as might have been expected, was, that the Allies, vigorously

Disunion  
of the  
Allies, who  
are driven  
over the  
Rhine, and  
the siege  
of Landau  
raised.  
Nov. 17.

Dec. 26.

CHAP. XIII. attacked in their centre, were driven from positions; and after some ineffectual attempt  
 1793. make a stand on the left bank of the Rhine.  
 Dec. 30. whole army, in great confusion, crossed to the bank, at Phillipsberg, after raising the block Landau, leaving their recent conquest of Fort ban to its fate, and completely evacuating its quarter the French territory. Spire and V were speedily reconquered, and Fort Vauban after evacuated. The Republican armies rapidly advancing, appeared before the gates of Manheim Germany, so recently victorious, began to turn for its own frontier. These important results demonstrated the superior military combination was now exerted on the part of the French to the Allies. Forty thousand Prussians and Austrians were in a state of inaction on the other side the Vosges mountains, while the Austrians, overruled by superior and concentrated forces, were driven across the Rhine. The French accumulated from different armies, to break through one very defended point, while the Allies were in such a state of discord, that they could not, even in the extreme peril, render any effectual assistance to each other. It was not difficult to foresee what would be the result of such a contest.†<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii. 439, 441.  
 Jom. iv. 154, 177.  
 Th. vi. 48, 49. Toul. iv. 221, 227.

\* Such was the dissension between the Austrians and Prussians, their respective commanders published mutual recriminations against each other, and fought duels in support of their respective side of the question.—HARD. ii. 442.

† So manifestly were the divisions of the Allies and the defeat of the Prussians, the cause of all the disasters of the campaign on the German frontier, that the Duke of Brunswick himself did not hesitate to ascribe them to that cause. On 24th January 1794, he wrote to Louis of Prussia in these terms: "I have been enveloped in circumstances as distressing as they were extraordinary, which have imposed upon me the painful necessity of acting as I have done. What

as of the military establishment, and enabled <sup>the Span-</sup>  
to put two considerable forces on foot. Two <sup>iards on the</sup>  
were formed, one of thirty thousand men, des- <sup>Bidassoa.</sup>  
to invade Roussillon; the other of twenty-five  
nd, to penetrate by the Bidassoa, on the side  
onne. The Republican army on the western  
ce of the Pyrenees, occupied a line from St  
Pied-de-Port to the mouth of the Bidassoa,  
thened by three intrenched camps, while the  
rds were stationed on the heights of St Mar-  
ie destined theatre of honourable achievement  
r arms in a more glorious war. On the 14th April 14.

hat external and internal dissensions should so frequently have  
l the movement of the armies, at the very time when the great-  
ity was necessary! If after the fall of Mayence they had fallen  
hard, whom they would have beaten, they would have pre-  
be march of troops to the north; and, by consequence, the  
f Dunkirk and Maubeuge; Sarre Louis, ill provisioned and  
at that period of any shelter from a bombardment, would have  
fifteen days. Alsace thus would have been turned by the  
e capture of the lines of Lautern would have been more solid:  
e Republican army of the Rhine had been by that means sepa-  
m that of the Moselle, Landau would infallibly have fallen.

CHAP. April, the Spaniards, from their position, opened a  
XIII. vigorous fire on the French line, and during the con-  
1793. fusion occasioned by it among their opponents, cross-  
ed the Bidassoa, and carried a fort which was soon  
after abandoned. This attack was only the prelude  
of a more decisive one, which took place on the 1st  
May 1. May, when the French were driven from one of their  
camps with the loss of fifteen pieces of cannon; and  
June 6. on the 6th June, they were expelled from another  
camp, and forced into St Jean Pied-de-Port, with  
the loss of all the cannon and ammunition which it  
contained. After these disasters, the Republican  
commander was indefatigable in his endeavours to  
restore the courage and discipline of his troops;  
and deeming them at length sufficiently experienced  
for offensive operations, he made a general attack  
on the 29th August, on the posts which the Spaniards  
had fortified on the French territory, but was re-  
pulsed with considerable loss, and disabled from  
undertaking any movement of consequence for the  
remainder of the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
273, 282.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 396,  
397, 398.

Operations of more importance took place during  
the same campaign on the eastern side. The Span-  
iards, under Don Ricardos, in the middle of April,  
invaded Roussillon; and on the 21st, a small body  
having gained an advantage over an equal number  
of French, this was followed soon after by a general  
attack on the French camp, which ended in the de-  
feat of the Republicans. Soon after the forts of Bel-  
legarde and Villa Franca were taken; and Ricardos,  
pursuing his advantages, on the 29th August attack-  
ed a large body of French at Millas, who were totally  
defeated, with the loss of fifteen pieces of cannon.  
The result of this was, that the invaders passed Per-  
pignan, and interrupted the communication between

And East-  
ern Pyre-  
nees. In-  
vasion of  
Roussillon,  
and defeat  
of the  
French at  
Truillas.  
April 21.  
May 18.

Aug. 29.



Languedoc and Roussillon. But the Convention, CHAP.  
 moved at the rapid progress of the Spaniards, at XIII.  
 which took the most vigorous measures to reinforce 1793.  
 its armies; and the energetic government of the Sept. 17.  
 Committee of Public Safety restored success to the  
 republican standards. Two divisions of the French,  
 of fifteen thousand strong, were directed to move  
 against the Spaniards, under Don Juan Courten, who  
 had not above six thousand men at Peyrestortes; and  
 the attack was combined with so much skill, that  
 the enemy were assailed in front, both flanks, and  
 at the same time. After a gallant defence, the  
 Spaniards were forced to commence a retreat, which,  
 though conducted for some time in good order, at  
 length was converted into a flight, during which  
 they lost one thousand men killed, and fifteen hun-  
 dred prisoners, besides all their artillery and camp  
 baggage. Elated by this success, the Republicans Sept. 22.  
 proposed a general attack upon the Spanish army,  
 which took place at Truellas. Twenty thousand  
 French troops, divided into three columns, advanced  
 against the Spanish camp. After an obstinate re-  
 sistance, that which attacked the centre, under the  
 command of Dagobert, carried the intrenchments,  
 and was on the point of gaining a glorious victory.



- CHAP. XIII. Dagobert was immediately displaced from the  
 1793. preme command for this disaster ; and the Republicans, under Davoust,\* being shortly after reinforced by fifteen thousand men, levied under the decree of the 23d August, Ricardos was constrained, notwithstanding his success, to remain upon the defensive. He retired, therefore, to a strong intrenched camp at Boulon, where he was attacked on the 3d October by the French forces. From that time to the beginning of December, a variety of actions took place without any decisive advantage on either side, without the Spanish troops ever being dislodged from their position. At that period, Ricardos having strongly reinforced, resolved to resume the offensive.
- Dec. 7. Early on the 7th December, he disposed his army in four columns, and having surprised the advanced posts, commenced an unexpected attack upon the French lines. The Republicans, many of whom were inexperienced levies, instantly took to flight, and the whole army was routed, with the loss of four pieces of cannon, and two thousand five hundred men. The Spaniards followed up this success by another expedition against the town of Port Vendre, which they carried, with all the artillery mounted in its defences ; and soon after, Collioure surrendered to their forces, with above eighty pieces of cannon, while the Marquis Amarillas overthrew the French and carried such terror into the inexperienced ranks of the Republicans, that many battalions disbanded themselves and fled into the interior, and the army fell back in confusion under the cannon of Perpignan. By these repeated disasters, the French army was so much discouraged, that almost all the National Guards left their colours, and the General-in-

\* See a biography of Davoust—*Infra*, iii. 353—355.

announced to the Convention, that he was only at the head of eight thousand men. Had the Spanish commander been aware of the state of his opponents, he might, by a vigorous attack, have completed their in before the reinforcements arrived from Toulon, which, in the beginning of the following month, reversed the balance of the contending forces.<sup>1</sup>

More important events took place on the side of the Maritime Alps. In that quarter, at the conclusion of the preceding campaign, the French remained masters of the territory and city of Nice. An expedition, projected by the Republicans against Sarre, totally failed. When the season was so far advanced as to permit operations in the Maritime Alps, the Piedmontese army, consisting of thirty thousand natives and ten thousand Austrians, was posted along their summits, with the centre at Sagio, strongly fortified. In the beginning of June, the Republicans, twenty-five thousand strong, commenced an attack in five columns; but after some partial success, they resumed their positions, and being soon after weakened by detachments for the siege of Toulon, remained on the defensive till the end of July, when they made themselves masters of the Col d'Argentiere and the Col de Sauteron, which

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.

251, 262,

270, 273.

Ann. Reg.

xxxiii. 400.

Campaign  
in the  
Maritime  
Alps.  
Feb. 14.

- CHAP. Italy, and taken advantage of the effervescence  
XIII.  
1793. prevailed in Toulon, Marseilles, and Lyons, the  
sequences might have been incalculable. But  
were the divisions among the Allies, that this opportunity, never to recur, was neglected, and  
court of Turin contented themselves, during  
unhoped for diversion, with merely aiming at  
expulsion of the French from the valleys of the  
and the Isere. This was no difficult matter, as  
Piedmontese troops already were masters of the  
mits of Mont Cenis and the Little St Bernard, and  
French in the valleys beneath were severely weak  
by detachments for the siege of Lyons. In the m  
Aug. 15. of August, the Sardinian columns descended the  
rivers of St Jean de Maurienne and Montiers, and  
the command of General Gordon; and after some  
flying engagements, drove the Republicans from  
narrow and winding valleys, and compelled them  
take refuge under the cannon of Mont Cenis.  
But here terminated the success of their feeb  
vasion. Kellerman, hearing of the advance of  
Sardinians, left the siege of Lyons to General  
Marmont, and hastily returning to Chambery, ordered  
Sept. 11. the National Guard to resist the enemy. At  
moment that they were preparing to follow up  
advantages, the French commander anticipated  
by a brisk attack, and, after a feeble resistance,  
drove them from the whole ground they had gained,  
as the foot of Mont Cenis. Thus a campaign,  
which, if boldly conducted, the liberation of a  
south-east of France might have been expected  
terminated, after an ephemeral success, in ultimate  
disgrace.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> Jom. iv. 195, 206.  
Bot. i. 294, 300—309.  
Th. v. 307, 310.

But while the operations of the Allies in  
vicinity were thus inefficient, the efforts of the French

themselves were of a more decided and glorious CHAP. XIII.  
 character. The insurrection of 31st May, which 1793.  
 subjected the legislature to the mob of Paris, and  
 established the Reign of Terror through all France, Great dis-  
 excited the utmost indignation in the southern content in  
 provinces. Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, openly the south  
 espoused the Girondist party; they were warmly of France.  
 attached to freedom, but it was that regulated free-  
 dom which provides for the protection of all, not that  
 which subjects the better classes to the despotism of  
 the lower. The discontents went on increasing till  
 the middle of July, when Chalier and Riard, the  
 leaders of the Jacobin Club, were put to death. From  
 that moment these cities were declared in a state of  
 insurrection; and the Girondist leaders, perceiving  
 that the Royalist party had gained the ascendancy  
 in the town, withdrew, and Precy was named to the  
 command of the armed force. They immediately Th. v.  
142, 143.  
 began to cast cannon, raise intrenchments, and make Toul. iv,  
55.  
 every preparation for a vigorous defence.<sup>1</sup>

The general discontent first broke into open vio-  
 lence in Marseilles. At the first intelligence, Kel- Abortive  
 sman dispatched General Carteaux to prevent a insurrec-  
 corps of ten thousand men, from that city, from ef- tion at  
 fecting a junction with the volunteers from Lyons Marseilles.



CHAP. rear of the Republican armies, installed in bloody  
XIII. and irresistible sovereignty.

1793.

Revolt at  
Toulon,  
which  
opens its  
gates to  
the Eng-  
lish.

A large proportion of the citizens of Marseilles fled to Toulon, where they spread the most dismal accounts of the sufferings of their fellow-citizens, and the fate which awaited Toulon if it fell into the hands of the Republicans. That rising seaport already possessed a population of twenty-five thousand souls, and was warmly opposed to the Revolution, from the suffering which had involved its population ever since its commencement; and the number of officers connected with the aristocracy who had enjoyed situations in the marine, under the ancient government. In the extremity to which they were reduced, threatened by the near approach of the Republican forces, and destitute of any adequate means of defence, the inhabitants saw no alternative but to open their harbour to the English fleet, which was cruising in the vicinity, and proclaim Louis XVII. as king. The primary Sections were accordingly convoked,

27th Aug.  
1793.

and the proposal was unanimously agreed to; the Dauphin was proclaimed; the English squadrons entered the harbour, and the crews of seven ships of the line, who proved refractory, were allowed to retire, while those of the remainder joined the inhabitants. Shortly afterwards the Spanish squadron arrived, bringing with them a considerable reinforcement of land troops, and the allied forces, eight thousand strong, took possession of all the forts in the city. The conduct of the British on this occasion showed that their government was actuated by very different principles from those which had been agreed to at the conferences of Antwerp, and exemplified at Valenciennes.<sup>1</sup> Admiral Hood engaged in the most solemn manner, in two different proclama-

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
209, 211.  
Toul. iv.  
67, 68.

to take possession of Toulon, solely and exclusively in the name, and for the behoof of, Louis [I., and to restore the fleet to the monarchical government of France on a general peace.\*

CHAP.

XIII.

1793.

arteaux immediately ordered a detachment of his to advance against the insurgents, but the gar- supported by a body of the National Guards ous, marched to meet them, and the Republic- surprised, were obliged to fall back in confusion. check proved the necessity of more energetic sures; a large portion of the army of Italy was lled from the Alps, the National Guards of ighbouring departments called out, new levies red, and the directions of Robespierre immedi- acted upon, that Lyons must be burned and d to the ground, and then the siege of Toulon

Revolt and  
siege of  
Lyons.

the first proclamation, Admiral Hood said, "If the people de- openly in favour of a monarchical government, and they resolve t me in possession of the harbour, they shall receive all the suc- which the squadron under my command can afford.—I declare property and persons shall be held sacred; we wish only to esta- peace. When it is concluded, we shall restore the fleet to France. ably to the inventory which shall be made out." In the second as equally explicit: "Considering that the Sections of Toulon, by ommissioners whom they have sent to me, have made a solemn ration in favour of Louis XVII. and a monarchical government, hat they will use their utmost efforts to break the chains which r their country, and re-establish the constitution, as it was ac- ed by their defunct sovereign in 1789: I repeat, by this present ration, that I take possession of Toulon, and shall keep it solely deposit for Louis XVII., and that only till peace is re-established nce, which I trust is not far distant."—*Proclamation, 28th August* ; *HARD. ii. 357, 359.* These were the true principles of the Anti- tionary war: very different from those proclaimed by the Austrians etaking of Valenciennes and Condé; nor was the subsequent des- ion of the fleet, when Toulon was retaken by the Republicans, departure from good faith in this transaction.—England was bound store the fleet to a monarchical government and Louis XVII., but o hand it over to the Revolutionary government, the most bitter y of both.

CHAP. formed. At the first intelligence of the revolt of  
XIII.

1793. Lyons, Kellerman assembled eight thousand men,  
and a small train of artillery to observe the place.

29th July. But this was totally insufficient even to maintain  
its ground before the armed population of the city,  
which soon amounted to thirty thousand men. A  
military chest was formed ; a paper currency, guar-  
anteed by the principal merchants, issued ; cannon,  
in great numbers, cast at a foundery within the  
walls ; and fortifications, under the direction of an  
able engineer, erected upon all the beautiful heights  
which encircle the city. The troops of the Repub-  
licans, though daily increasing, were for long unable  
to make head against forces so considerable, sup-  
ported by the ardour of a numerous and enthusiastic  
population. During the whole of August, accord-  
ingly, and the beginning of September, the siege  
made little progress, and the batteries of the be-  
siegers were scarcely armed. The besieged, mean-  
while, made proposals for an accommodation ; but  
the Commissaries for the Convention returned for  
answer, "Rebels ! first show yourselves worthy of  
pardon, by acknowledging your crime ; lay down  
your arms ; deliver up the keys of your city, and  
deserve the clemency of the Convention, by a sincere  
repentance." But the inhabitants, well aware of the  
consequence of such submission, returned for answer,

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
186, 187. "Conduct so atrocious as yours proves what we have  
Th. v. 310, to expect from your clemency ; we shall firmly await  
311. Ann. your arrival ; and you will never capture the city but  
Reg. xxxiii. 406. Toul. by marching over ruins and piles of dead."<sup>1</sup>  
iv. 68, 71.

No sooner were the Convention informed of the  
entrance of the English into Toulon, than they re-  
doubled in their ardour for the subjugation of Lyons.  
They indignantly rejected the advice of several of



members, in whose bosom the feelings of huma- CHAP.  
 e not utterly extinct, for an accommodation XIII.  
 inhabitants, and took the most energetic 1793.  
 s for the prosecution of the siege. A hundred Great ef-  
 cannon, drawn from the arsenals of Besan- ferts of the  
 Grenoble, were immediately mounted on the Republi-  
 ; veteran troops selected from the army on cans for its  
 tiers of Piedmont, and four corps formed, reduction,  
 a different sides pressed the outworks of the and cruel  
 a succession of contests in the outer intrench- conduct of  
 he Lyonese evinced the most heroic valour; the be-  
 ough the success was frequently balanced, siegers.  
 s upon the whole had the advantage, and the  
 of war, which they had so strenuously endea-  
 to keep at a distance, at length fell on this  
 city. On the 24th September, a terrible  
 dment and cannonade, with red-hot shot, was  
 ced, which was continued without intermis-  
 a whole week. Night and day the flaming  
 fell on the quarter of St Clair, and speedily  
 d in conflagration the magnificent hotels of  
 alent district, the splendid public buildings  
 had so long adorned the Place Bellecour, and  
 utiful quays of the river. Soon after the  
 blew up with a terrific explosion. At length



CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Dreadful  
sufferings  
of the in-  
habitants.

The ravages of the bombardment, however, increased the sufferings of the inhabitants, without diminishing their means of defence. But soon after, the incessant assaults of the Republicans made them master of the heights of St Croix, which commanded the city from a nearer position; and about the same time, the reinforcements which arrived from the southern departments, now thoroughly roused by the efforts of the Convention, enabled the besiegers to cut off all communication between the inhabitants and the country on which they had hitherto depended for provisions. Before the end of September fifty thousand men were assembled before the walls; and, notwithstanding the most rigid economy in the distribution of food, the pangs of want began to be severely felt. Shortly after, the garrison of Valenciennes arrived, and by their skill in the management of artillery, gave a fatal preponderance to the besieging force, while Couthon came up with twenty-five thousand rude mountaineers from the quarter of Auvergne. The hopes of the inhabitants had been chiefly rested on a diversion from the side of Savoy, where the Piedmontese troops were slowly assembling for offensive operations. But these expectations were cruelly disappointed. After a feeble irruption into the valley of St Jean de Maurienne, and some ephemeral success, the Sardinian army was driven back in disgrace over Mount Cenis, having failed in taking advantage of an opportunity more favourable for the establishment of the Royalist party in the south of France than was ever again to recur. This disaster, coupled with the pressure of famine, now severely weakened the spirits of the besieged. Yet, though deserted by all the world, and assailed by a force which at length amounted to above sixty thousand

Sept 30.

the inhabitants nobly and resolutely maintained defence. In vain the bombardment was continued with unexampled severity, and twenty-seven thousand bombs, five thousand shells, and eleven thousand red-hot shot, thrown into the city; regarded the iron storm, one half of the citizens manned the works, while the other half watched the flight of burning projectiles, and carried water to the towers where the conflagration broke forth.<sup>1</sup> At these efforts, however glorious, could not avert the stroke of fate. The Convention, irritated at the slow progress of the siege, deprived Garman of the command, and ordered him to the Convention to give an account of his conduct, although his talent and energy in repelling Piedmontese invasion had been the salvation of the Republic. The command of the besieging army was given to General Doppet, who received orders instantly to reduce Lyons by fire and sword. To check his operations, the savage Couthon, as Commissioner of the Convention, was invested with a potent authority over the generals, and he instantly resolved to carry Lyons by main force, and employ the storm the whole sixty thousand men who were

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Læc. xi.  
107. Toul.  
iv. 76. Th.  
v. 313.  
Jom. iv.  
191.Their  
heroic de-  
fence.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

last moment of Lyons seemed at hand. But Precy hastened to the scene of danger at the head of a chosen band of citizens; the assailants were encountered and driven back, with the loss of above two thousand men, from the plain of Perrache, though notwithstanding all their efforts, he could not prevent them from maintaining their ground on the bridge and heights of St Foix. But all these heroic efforts could not arrest the progress of a more fatal enemy within the walls. Famine was consuming the strength of the besieged; for long the women had renounced the use of bread, in order to reserve it for the combatants, but even they were soon reduced to half a pound a day of this humble fare. The remainder of the inhabitants lived on a scanty supply of oats, which was daily served out with the most rigid economy from the public magazine. But even these resources were at length exhausted; in the beginning of October, provisions of every kind had failed: and the thirty Sections of Lyons, subdued by stern necessity, were compelled to nominate deputies to proceed to the hostile camp.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.  
104, 108,  
110. Ann.  
Reg.  
xxxiii. 410.  
Jom. iv.  
192. Th.  
v. 314, 315.  
Toul. iv.  
79. Bot.  
i. 247.

Precy  
forces his  
way  
through  
the besie-  
gers' lines.

The brave Precy, however, even in this extremity, disdained to submit. With generous devotion, he resolved to force his way, at the head of a chosen band, through the enemy's lines, and seek in foreign climes that freedom of which France had become unworthy. On the night of the 9th October, the heroic column, consisting of two thousand men, the flower of Lyons, set forth with their wives and children, and what little property they could save from the ruin of their fortunes. They began in two columns their perilous march, guided by the light of their burning habitations, amid the tears and blessings of those friends who remained behind. Scarcely had they set

however, when a bomb fell into an ammunition  
 CHAP. XIII.  
 1793.

men, by the explosion of which great numbers  
 killed. Notwithstanding this disaster, the head  
 column broke the division opposed to it, and  
 its way through the lines of the besiegers; but  
 overwhelming force soon assailed the centre and

As they proceeded, they found themselves en-  
 circled on every side; all the heights were lined with  
 men, and every house filled with soldiers; an in-  
 imitable massacre took place, in which men,  
 women, and infants, alike perished; and of the  
 few who left Lyons, scarcely fifty forced their way  
 into the Swiss territories.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day the Republicans took posses-  
 sion of Lyons. The troops observed strict discipline; Town ca-  
 pitulates, and san-  
 guinary measures  
 of the Con-  
 vention.  
 Oct. 10.  
 were lodged in barracks, or bivouacked on the  
 Bellecour and the Terreaux: the inhabitants  
 felt a fleeting hope, that a feeling of humanity  
 at length touched the bosoms of their conquerors.  
 Little knew the bitterness of Republican hatred:  
 none was not spared; it was only reserved for cold-  
 blooded vengeance. No sooner was the town sub-  
 mitted, than Couthon entered at the head of the au-  
 thorities of the Convention, and instantly reinstated



CHAP. XIII. in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, he announced that Lyons was subdued, "sh

1793. raised a monument to the eternal glory of the  
vention; and on it shall be engraved the inscri  
" *Lyons made war on freedom: Lyons is no*  
The name of the unfortunate city was suppress  
a decree of the Convention; it was termed the '

Oct. 12. mune Affranchie." All the inhabitants were ap  
ed to be disarmed, and the whole city destroyed  
the exception only of the poor's house, the ma  
tories, the great workshops, the hospitals, and  
monuments. A commission of five members v  
pointed to inflict vengeance on the inhabitar  
their head were Couthon and Collot d'Herbois  
former presided over the destruction of the e  
the latter, over the annihilation of the inhabi

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
194. Mo-  
niteur, Oct.  
12, 1793.

The means taken by those worthy procon  
the Convention to carry their measures into  
and work the people up to that pitch of sang  
enthusiasm when they might be the ready  
ments of their utmost atrocities, were founde  
perfect knowledge of human nature, and wh  
every age, have been resorted to by the dem  
tyrants of mankind. The first thing they d  
to re-establish the Jacobin club, formerly pi  
over by Chalier. The most violent speech  
there immediately made, especially by Javoi  
popular demagogue, who had succeeded to  
fluence. Chalier and Riard were represen  
the martyrs of liberty, the heroes of the re  
the only friends of the people. The workme  
told of the shameful slavery in which they  
long been kept by the rich; of the fortunes  
had been wrung from the sweat of their bro  
the penury which they themselves had recei

Means  
taken to  
electrify  
the people.

reward of their toil. Javouignes invited them to CHAP.  
XIII.  
 assume their rights, by rending from the rich their 1793.  
 gotten gains; and when the decree of the Con-  
 vention confiscating the property of all the proprie-  
 rs was promulgated, he had no difficulty in per-<sup>1</sup> Prud-  
 suading them that the demolition of their houses <sup>homme,</sup>  
 was the first step in the division of their effects, and <sup>Crimes de</sup>  
 essential to the establishment of that sacred equality <sup>la Revolu-</sup>  
 which was the only secure basis of real freedom.<sup>1</sup> <sup>tion, vi.</sup>  
 Having worked the people up by these prospects <sup>30, 31.</sup>  
 plunder, to a sufficient degree of revolutionary Com-  
 ergy, the commissioners of the Convention pro-<sup>mence-</sup>  
 ceeded in a regular and systematic manner to carry <sup>ment of</sup>  
 the infernal decree into execution.\* Attended by <sup>the de-</sup>  
 a crowd of satellites, all in the most vehement state <sup>struction of</sup>  
 excitement, Couthon traversed the finest quarters <sup>Lyon.</sup>  
 of the city with a silver hammer; he struck at  
 the door of the devoted houses, exclaiming at the  
 same time—"Rebellious house, I strike you in

\* The following is the tenor of this decree:—

"I.—Tous les habitans de Lyon seront desarmés; leurs armes seront  
 distribuées sur le champ aux défenseurs de la République—une partie  
 sera remise aux patriotes de Lyon, qui ont été opprimés par les riches  
 les contre-révolutionnaires.

"II.—La ville de Lyon sera détruite. Tout ce qui fut habité par le

CHAP. XIII. the name of the law!" Instantly the agents of destruction, of whom twenty thousand were in the pay of the Convention, surrounded the dwelling, and levelled it with the ground. The expense of these demolitions, which continued, without interruption, for six months, was greater than it cost to raise the princely Hotel of the Invalides: it amounted to the enormous sum of L.700,000. The palaces thus destroyed were the finest private buildings in France, three stories in height, adorned with noble columns, and erected in the richest style of the structures of Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi. 116, 117.  
Abbé Guillon, ii. 392.  
Th. v. 317, 318, 356.  
Prudhomme, vi. 63.

Collot d'Herbois and Fouché's infamous proceedings.

But this vengeance on inanimate stones was but a prelude to more bloody executions. Collot d'Herbois, the next proconsul, was animated with an envenomed feeling towards the inhabitants; ten years before he had been hissed off their stage, and the vicissitudes of the Revolution had now placed resistless power in the hands of an indifferent provincial comedian; an emblem of the too frequent tendency of civil convulsions, to elevate whatever is base, and sink whatever is noble among mankind.\* The discarded actor

\* J. M. Collot d'Herbois had a sallow countenance, a profusion of dark hair and eyebrows; his whole aspect was that of a sanguinary conspirator. He had been a comic actor before the Revolution, and often appeared on the boards of Geneva and Lyons, in the latter of which he had been hissed off the stage. When the Revolution commenced, he quitted that humble vocation and entered the Jacobin Club at Paris, where his savage gestures, thundering voice, and impetuous declamation, almost always excited by the fumes of wine, soon brought him into notice. He first was brought into celebrity, however, by gaining the prize proposed by the Jacobin Club for an essay in 1790, "On the advantages which the people would derive from the new order of things." It was won by his pamphlet entitled—"Almanach du Père Gerard." Subsequently he distinguished himself by the lead which he took in supporting, before the Assembly, the pardon of the mutineers of the regiment of Chateaufieux, who had been subdued at Nancy by Bouillé, which that body, as might have been supposed, readily granted; and they were immediately received with



resolved at leisure to gratify a revenge of ten years' duration; innumerable benefits since conferred on him by the people of Lyons, and no small share of their favour, had not been able to extinguish this ancient grudge. Fouché, (of Nantes,\*) afterwards

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

civic honours and presented to the Assembly, who decreed to them "les honneurs de la séance." Collot d'Herbois, in consequence of the lead which he took on this occasion, was made a member of the new municipality installed in power in Paris on the 10th August, which so rapidly consummated the crimes of the Revolution. He was one of the first who moved in the Assembly for the abolition of royalty, and was made a member of the Committee of Public Safety. In the deliberations of that body, and subsequently in the Convention, he advocated the total and entire destruction of all suspected persons. "There must be no transportation," said he, "we must destroy all the conspirators; let the places where they are confined be mined; let the torches be fired to blow them into the air; it is thus alone we can get quit of the suspected." He gave such good proof of his disposition to put in practice these maxims on a mission to the Loiret and Oise, where he speedily filled the prisons with victims, that he was immediately fixed on by the Committee of Public Safety, in November 1793, to wreak their vengeance on the unhappy inhabitants of Lyons.—See *Biographie Universelle*, ix. 277, 279.

\* Joseph Fouché, afterwards Duke of Otranto, was born at Nantes on the 29th May 1763, and proved one of the most remarkable men whom the Revolution brought forth. He was the son of a captain in the merchant service at Nantes, and received the rudiments of education at the college of that town. His talents, however, were slow in developing themselves, and he passed at school for a boy of no capacity. He never could be got to comprehend the rules of grammar, and rebelled constantly against the attention to words, which unhappily forms almost the sole object, in all countries, of elementary education. While he was deemed by all an incorrigible simpleton, he was secretly devouring works of thought and reflection; and what first attracted the notice of his preceptors was the discovery that he was studying the *Pensées de Pascal*. He was originally destined to the merchant service; but the delicacy of his constitution caused that design to be abandoned, and he went to Paris to complete his education, with the view to a learned profession. The theological works first put into his hands excited no attention in his mind; but he fastened with avidity on the *Elements of Euclid*, the *Essays of Nicolle*, and the *Petit Carême of Massillon*. He underwent a distinguished mathematical examination at Arras, and afterwards at Vendôme; and his contemporaries at that period are unanimous in attesting the regularity of his manners, and the kindness of his disposition. At the college of Arras he formed an

when the Revolution broke out in 1789.

Instantly he fastened with his whole heart and soul on the tory doctrines, and, as he had not yet received orders, he went to the bar, and soon became a leading member of the society at Nantes. Without eloquence, he signalized himself the first by the unsparing use of that violence and exaggerated thought and language, which with the multitude is the support to success. In September 1792, he was elected member of the Convention for the department of Loire Inferieure, and at first took no decided part in that Assembly: he lay by and watched the progress of events. His intimacy with Robespierre was revived, but their characters were too dissimilar to enable them to act long together. Robespierre was a sincere and exalted fanatic, who deemed the happiness of hundreds of thousands the necessary prelude to general felicity. Danton, cool and selfish, was led away by none of these delusions, but he first set deliberately to work to make his fortune, *per fas aut contra*, in the Revolution. He attached himself in preference to the Girondists, the profound and selfish immorality of which was more in accordance with his views and objects. From the moment of his arrival at Paris, he was a constant attendant of the Jacobin Club, and closely connected with Marat. At first he acted with Vergniaud and the Girondists; but no sooner did the strife begin between the Girondists and the Jacobins, than with his usual prophetic acuteness he attached himself to the latter, as the party most likely to prevail in the end. Still he shunned the extreme violence of their leaders as likely to ruin themselves; and on one occasion, when Robespierre had violently assailed Vergniaud in the Convention, he said to him, "Such words will assuredly move the passions; but it will neither induce conflict nor success."

red, "that the French people could acknowledge CHAP. XIII.  
 other worship but that of universal morality; no  
 or faith but that of its own sovereignty; that all 1793.  
 gious emblems placed on the roads, on the houses, <sup>1</sup> Prud-  
 homme, vi.  
 39. Moni-  
 teur, p. 18,  
 Oct. 18,  
 1793.  
 Guillon, ii.  
 333, 337.  
 Lac. xi.  
 117.  
 n public places, should be destroyed; that the  
 cloth used at funerals should bear, instead of a  
 gious emblem, a figure of Sleep, and that over the  
 of the cemetery should be written—*Death is an*  
*al sleep.*"<sup>1</sup>

proceeding on these atheistical principles, the first  
 of Collot d'Herbois and Fouché, was to insti-  
 a fête in honour of Chalier, the Republican Their  
 atrocious  
 cruelty.  
 rnor of Lyons, a man of the most execrable  
 acter, who had been put to death on the first  
 rrection, against the rule of the Convention.  
 churches were next closed, the priests abolished,  
 decade established, and every vestige of religion  
 nguished. The bust of Chalier was then carried  
 ough the streets, followed by an immense crowd  
 assassins and prostitutes, exclaiming—"A bas les  
 tocrates! Vive le guillotine!" After them came  
 ss, bearing the gospel, the cross, the communion  
 s, and all the most sacred emblems of the Chris-  
 worship; the procession came to the Place des



revolutionary tribunal, consisting of seven members established, with Parrein for their president. The commission soon gave proofs of its efficiency, condemning two hundred and nine persons to death. A few questions constituted, in general, the trial of the accused :—" What is your name? What is your profession? What did you do during the revolution? Are you denounced?" The slightest confusion, a gesture, a blush, a fit of trembling, a suddenness at answering these questions, were sufficient without any witnesses, to send the accused to the guillotine. Yet, even in these terrible moments the heroism of the persons brought before the tribunal was often such that the judges had no small difficulty in finding a pretext for their condemnation. Adrian, a girl of sixteen, had served a cannon during the siege. " How could you," said the president, " brave the fire and point the gun against your country?" " I did so to defend it," replied the young heroine. She was instantly condemned. Another girl of seventeen was brought before the tribunal because she would not wear the tricolor cockade. " It is not," said she, " that I hate the cockade."

answer, and he was condemned on the spot. Two brothers of the name of Bruyset were imprisoned, both of the very highest character. The elder had signed some bills to raise funds during the siege for defence, and the younger was brought to trial in mistake for his brother. They showed him the bill, and asked him if he knew the signature. "The nature," said he, "is that of Bruyset!" On his generous answer he was sent to death, instead of his brother, who had really signed the instrument, and died cheerfully, recommending his wife and children to the relative whom he had saved.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, vi.  
42, 47.

So vast an accumulation of prisoners soon exceeded all the means of confinement which Lyons could afford; and great numbers of the captives were in consequence shut in two large vaults, formerly used for storing wine, called *La Mauvaise*, et *La Bonne*. Those confined in the former were such as were destined for immediate and certain death: in the latter, those who had any chance of escape. This distinction was so well known, that the prisoners shut to the former knew they had only a few hours to live, and its gloomy walls exhibited inscriptions indicating the feelings of despair which filled the

Mournful  
inscriptions on  
the walls  
of the  
prisons.



caused him to be brought out, deadly pale, an-  
tering in his blood on his mattress, and placed  
the guillotine.<sup>1</sup>

Dreadful  
measures  
of the Re-  
volution-  
ary Tribu-  
nal there. The Revolutionary Tribunal, established  
such auspices, was not slow in consummating  
work of destruction; but rapid as they were  
were far from coming up to the expectation  
desires of the commissioners of the Convention.  
“Convinced, as we are,” said Collot d’Herbois,  
“that there is not an innocent soul in the  
city, but such as was loaded with chains by the  
enemies of the people, we are steeled against  
sentiment of mercy; we are resolved that the  
wrongs of the patriots shall be revenged in a manner  
once prompt and terrible. The decree of the  
Convention for the destruction of Lyons has been passed,  
but hardly any thing has been done for its execution.  
The work of demolition goes on too slowly;  
rapid destruction is required by Republican  
justice. The explosion of the mine, or the roar  
of fire can alone express its omnipotence: it

have undergone punishment, but my impatience insatiable, till all the conspirators have disappeared; popular vengeance calls for the destruction of our whole enemies at one blow; we are preparing thunder." In pursuance of these principles, orders were given to the Revolutionary Tribunal to enable their exertions. "We are dying of famine," said the judges and the executioner to Collot d'Herbois. "Republicans," replied he, "the amount of our labours is nothing to mine; burn with the same ardour as I for your country, and you will soon over your strength."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Guillon, ii.  
402, 405.  
Moniteur,  
Nov. 24,  
1793. Th.  
v. 356.

Deeming the daily execution of fifteen or twenty persons too tardy a display of Republican vengeance, Collot d'Herbois prepared a new and simultaneous mode of punishment. Sixty captives, of both sexes, were led out together, tightly bound in a file, to the Place du Broetteaux; they were arranged in files, with a deep ditch on each side, which was to be their place of sepulchre, while gendarmes, with fixed sabres, threatened with instant death who moved from the position in which they stood. At the extremity of the file, two cannon loaded with grape were so placed as to enfilade the whole; but

Mitrail-  
lade of the  
prisoners.



preparations, and continued singing the psalms of the Lyoneses, till the signal was given the guns were discharged. Few were so fortunate as to obtain death at the first fire; the greater were merely mutilated, and fell uttering piteous cries, and beseeching the soldiers to put a period to their sufferings. Broken limbs, torn off by the bayonets, were scattered in every direction, while the blood flowed in torrents into the ditches on either side of the line. A second and a third discharge were sufficient to complete the work of destruction, and length the gendarmerie, unable to witness such protracted sufferings, rushed in and dispatched the survivors with their sabres. The bodies were collected and thrown into the Rhone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guillon, ii. 417.  
Lac. xi. 118, 121.  
Prudhomme, vi. 50, 51.

Vast numbers who there perished.

On the following day, this bloody scene was renewed on a still greater scale. Two hundred and nine captives, drawn from the prisons of Rouen, were brought before the Revolutionary judges, Hotel de Ville, and, after merely interrogating them as to their names and professions, the lieutenants



alike disregarded. In passing the bridge Morand, the error was discovered, upon the prisoners being counted: it was intimated to Collot d'Herbois, that there were two too many. "What signifies it," said he, "that there are two too many; if they die to-day, they cannot die to-morrow." The whole were brought to the place of execution, a meadow near the granary of Part Dieu, where they were attached to one cord, made fast to trees at stated intervals, with their hands tied behind their backs, and numerous pickets of soldiers disposed so as by one discharge to destroy them all. At a signal given, the fusilade commenced; but few were killed; the greater part had only a jaw or a limb broken, and uttering the most piercing cries, broke loose in their agony from the rope, and were cut down by the gendarmerie in endeavouring to escape. The great numbers who survived the discharge, rendered the work of destruction a most laborious operation, and several were still breathing on the following day, when their bodies were mingled with quicklime,<sup>1</sup> and cast into a common grave. Collot d'Herbois and Fouché were witnesses of this butchery from a distance, by means of telescopes which they directed

CHAP.

XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, vi. 51, 53.

Guillen, ii. 427. Lac.

xi. 121.

CHAP. could make no use of it, and was hurried a  
XIII. the scaffold in a swoon, when the pardon d

1793. out of his pocket. He was taken to the H  
Ville, where he was restored to animation.

I yet alive?" cried he. "Give me back my  
Do you not see that stream of blood? it is o  
ankles: I am falling into that gulf of dead l  
Save me, save me!" The bodies of the slai  
floated in such numbers down the Rhone, th  
waters were poisoned, and the danger of co  
at length obliged Collot d'Herbois to commit t  
the earth. During the course of five months, u  
of six thousand persons suffered death by the  
of the executioners, and more than double the  
ber were driven into exile. Among those who  
ed on the scaffold, were all the noblest and m  
tuous characters of Lyons, all who were disting  
either for generosity, talent, or accomplishmen  
engineer, Morand, who had recently construc  
celebrated bridge over the Rhone, which be  
name, was among the first to suffer, and he w  
ceeded by a generous merchant, whose only cri  
sisted in having declared that he would give 50  
francs to rebuild the Hotel Dieu, the noblest  
ment of charity in Lyons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prud-  
homme, vi.  
56. Lac xi.  
121, 122.  
Guillon, ii.  
317, 427.

Siege of  
Toulon.

These dreadful atrocities excited no feeling  
dignation in the Convention. With disgracel  
mosity, they were envious of any city which pr  
to interfere with the despotism of the Parisian  
lace, and were secretly rejoiced at an excuse  
stroying the wealth, spirit, and intelligence  
had sprung up with the commercial prospe  
Lyons. "The arts and commerce," said Heber  
the greatest enemies of freedom. Paris should  
centre of political authority, no community shc

suffered to exist which can pretend to rival the capital." Barere announced the executions to the Convention in the following words:—"The corpses of the rebellious Lyonese floated down the Rhone, will teach the perfidious citizens of Toulon the fate which awaits them." The troops engaged in the siege of Lyons were immediately moved towards that unhappy city; twelve battalions of the army of Italy were destined to the same service, and soon forty thousand men were assembled under its walls. It presented, nevertheless, great difficulties to be overcome; the more especially as the English government had sent a body of troops from Gibraltar to co-operate in its defence, and a considerable force of Spaniards, Piedmontese, and Neapolitans, had arrived to aid in defending so important a stronghold from the Republican forces.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.  
121. Abbé  
Guillon, ii.  
307, 308.  
Toul. iv.  
81. Ann.  
Reg.  
xxxiii. 419.

On the land side Toulon is backed by a ridge of lofty hills, on which, for above a century past, fortifications had been erected. Though formidable to the attacking force, however, these fortified posts were not less dangerous to the besieged, if once they fell into the hands of the enemy, for the greater part of the city and harbour could be reached by their guns. The mountain of Faron and Hauteur

Descrip-  
tion of  
Toulon,  
and Allies  
assembled  
for its de-  
fence.

CHAP. defence having been unwisely entrusted to a Spanish  
XIII. force, Carteaux assailed it in the beginning of Sep-

1793. tember, with above five thousand men, and after a

Aug. 29. slight resistance, regained the pass. Its occupation being deemed too great a division of the garrison of the town, already much weakened by the defence of the numerous fortified posts in the vicinity of the harbour, no attempt was made to regain the lost ground, and the Republican videttes were pushed up to the external works of Toulon. As a recompense for this important service, Carteaux was deprived of his command by the Convention, and Dugommier invested with the direction of the besieging force. Every exertion was made by the allied troops, and the inhabitants of Toulon, during the respite afforded by the siege of Lyons, to strengthen the defences of the town; but the regular force was too small, and composed of too heterogeneous materials, to inspire any well-grounded confidence in their means of resistance. The English troops did not exceed five thousand men, and little reliance could be placed on the motley crowd of eight thousand Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan soldiers, who composed the remainder of the garrison. The hopes of the inhabitants were principally rested on powerful reinforcements from England and Austria; but their expectations from both these powers were miserably disappointed. They made the utmost efforts, however, to strengthen the defence of the place, and in especial endeavoured to render impregnable the Fort Eguillette, placed at the extremity of the promontory which shuts in the lesser harbour, and which, from its similarity to the position of the great fortress of the same name, they called the Little Gibraltar.'

<sup>1</sup> Th. vi.  
52. Ann.  
Reg.  
xxxiii. 415.  
Toul. iv.  
81.

In the beginning of September Lord Mulgrave arrived and assumed the command of the whole garrison, and the most active operations were immediately commenced for strengthening the outworks on the mountain range behind the city. The heights of Malbousquet, of Cape Brun, and of l'Eguillette, were soon covered with works traced out by the French engineers. No sooner had General Dugommier taken the command, and the whole besieging army assembled, than it was resolved to commence an attack on the hill forts which covered the harbour; and for this purpose, while a false attack was directed against Cape Brun, the principal effort was to be made for the possession of the mountain of Faron, and the Fort Malbousquet. With this view the breaching batteries were placed under the direction of a young officer of artillery, then chief of battalion, destined to outstrip all his predecessors in European history, Napoleon Buonaparte. Under his able superintendence, the works of the fort soon began to be seriously damaged; and to interrupt the operation, a sally was resolved upon from the garrison.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Napoleon obtains the command of the artillery.

Jom. iv.  
219, 220.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 415.

On the 30th November the sally was made by three thousand men from the town, to destroy the works on the heights of Arrennes, from which this annoyance

Progress of the

CHAP. the enemy's works were carried, and their guns  
 XIII. spiked; but the impetuosity of the detachment  
 1793. having led them too far in pursuit of the enemy,  
 they were, in their turn, attacked by fresh troops,  
 headed by NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, who here com-  
 menced his immortal career, and driven back to the

<sup>1</sup>Ann. Reg. city with considerable loss. In this affair General  
 1793, 414. O'Hara, who had recently arrived from England  
 Jom. iv. was wounded, and Dugommier was twice struck  
 220. Toul. with spent balls, though without experiencing any  
 iv. 85. Th. serious injury.<sup>1</sup>  
 vi. 55, 56.  
 Nap. i. 13,  
 15.

The whole force of the besiegers was now directed  
 against the English redoubt, erected in the centre of  
 the works on the neck of land called Eguillette, and  
 regarded as the key of the defence on that quarter.  
 After battering the forts for a considerable time, the  
 fire of the besiegers became quite incessant for the  
 whole of the 16th of December; and at two o'clock  
 on the morning of the 17th, the Republicans advanced  
 to the assault. They were received with a tremen-  
 dous fire of grape and musketry from the works, and  
 soon the ditch was filled with the dead and the dying.  
 The column was driven back, and Dugommier, who  
 headed it, gave all over for lost; but fresh troops con-  
 tinually advancing with great intrepidity, at length  
 overpowered the Spanish soldiers, to whom a part of  
 the line was intrusted, and surrounded the British  
 detachment, nearly three hundred of whom fell while  
 gallantly defending their part of the intrenchments.  
 The possession of this fort by the enemy rendered  
 the further maintenance of the exterior defences im-  
 practicable; and in the night the whole allied troops  
 were withdrawn from the promontory to the city of  
 Toulon. Napoleon had strongly recommended this  
 measure, as the possession of this fort, which com-

Capture of  
 fort Eguil-  
 lette and  
 the exte-  
 rior forts.

Dec. 17.

manded the inner harbour, would render the situa-  
 tion of the fleet extremely perilous, and in all pro-  
 bability lead to the evacuation of the city. While

CHAP.  
 XIII.

1793.

his important success was gained on the side of  
 Fort Eguillette, the Republicans were not less for-  
 tunate on the other extremity of the line. A little  
 before daybreak, and shortly after the firing had ceas-  
 ed on the promontory, a general attack was made by  
 the enemy on the whole extensive range of posts which  
 crowned the mountain of Faron. On the eastern side  
 the Republicans were repulsed; but on the north,  
 where the mountain was nearly eighteen hundred feet  
 in height, steep, rocky, and apparently inaccessible,  
 they succeeded in making good their ascent through  
 paths deemed impracticable. Hardly were the Allies<sup>1</sup>  
 beginning to congratulate themselves on the defeat  
 of what they deemed the main attack, when they  
 beheld the heights above them crowded with glitter-  
 ing battalions, and the tricolor flag displayed from  
 the loftiest summit of the mountain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
 223. Toul.  
 iv. 87, 88.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1793, 415.  
 Th. vi. 56,  
 57. Nap. i.  
 14, 22, 23.

These conquests, which were projected by the  
 genius of Napoleon, were decisive of the fate of the  
 place. The garrison, it is true, still consisted of  
 above ten thousand men, and the works of the town  
 were still in good condition, but the evacuation of the  
 place was inevitable.



i. 110, 115. On board their ships with so much precipitation  
Nap. i. 14. they incurred the derision of the whole garri

But very different were the feelings with  
Despair of the unfortunate inhabitants regarded this ha  
the inhabi- cuation of their city. To them it was the ha  
tants. of confiscation, exile, and death, Republic  
quest, and the reign of the guillotine. With  
eyes they watched the embarkation of the  
sick and wounded on the morning of the 18th  
when the fatal truth could no longer be co  
that they were about to be abandoned, desp  
anguish wrung every heart. The streets we  
in the most frightful state of confusion; in  
the Jacobins, and galley-slaves who had broke  
were already firing on the flying groups of  
and children who were hurrying to the qua  
the sides of the harbour were soon filled with  
ous crowd, entreating, in the name of ever  
that was sacred, to be saved from their imy  
enemies. No time was lost in taking the unfo  
fugitives on board the vessels appointed for th

<sup>2</sup>Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. p.  
416, 418.  
James's  
Naval Hist



the Republicans were fast pressing on the retreating forces of the besieged, and their shot already began to plunge into the harbour. Sir SIDNEY SMITH,\* who here too first appeared in arms against Napoleon, whose destiny he was hereafter so materially to affect, volunteered to conduct the perilous enterprize, and at midnight proceeded to the arsenal to commence the work of destruction. He found the galley-slaves, to the number of six hundred, the greater part of whom were unfettered, disposed to dispute his entrance into the dockyard, but by disposing a British sloop so that its guns enfiladed the quay, he was able to overawe them, and at the same time restrain the Jacobins, who, in great numbers, and with loud shouts, were assembling around its outer palisades. At eight, a fireship was towed into the harbour, and at ten the torches were applied, and the flames arose in every quarter. Notwithstanding the calmness of the night, the fire spread with rapidity, and soon reached the fleet, where, in a short time, fifteen ships of the line, and eight frigates, were consumed or burnt to the water's edge. The volumes of smoke which filled the sky, the flames which burst, as it were, out of the sea, and ascended to the heavens, the red light which illuminated even the most distant mountains, formed, says Napoleon, a sublime and unique spectacle.<sup>11</sup> Nap. i. 25.

About midnight, the Iris frigate, with several thousand barrels of powder, blew up with a terrific explosion, and shortly after the Montreal, fireship, experienced the same fate. The burning embers falling in every direction, and the awful violence of the shocks, quelled for a moment the shouts of the Republican soldiers,<sup>2</sup> who now crowded to the harbour's

CHAP. XIII.  
1793.  
Ann. Reg. xxxiii. 418.  
Jom. iv. 226.  
James, i. 117. Th. vi. 58, 59.  
Nap. i. 25, 26.

\* See a biography of SIR SIDNEY SMITH, *infra*, vol. iii. 541.

CHAP. edge, and beheld, with indignant fury, the resi  
XIII. progress of the conflagration.

1793. No words can do justice to the horrors of the  
Horrors of the eva- which ensued, when the last columns of the  
cuation. troops commenced their embarkation. Cries, scr  
and lamentations, arose in every quarter; the  
tic clamour, heard even across the harbour, an  
ced to the soldiers in the Republican camp th  
last hope of the Royalists was giving way.  
sad remnant of those who had favoured the  
cause, and who had neglected to go off in th  
embarkation, came flying to the beach, and inv  
with tears and prayers, the aid of their British fr  
Mothers, clasping their babes to their bosoms,  
less children and decrepit old men, might b  
stretching their hands towards the harbour, shu  
ing at every sound behind them, and even re  
into the waves to escape the less merciful death  
awaited them from their countrymen. Vast  
bers perished from falling into the sea, or the s  
ing of boats, into which multitudes crowded l  
with their most valuable effects, or bearing the  
rents or children on their shoulders. Such as  
seize upon boats rushed into them with frantic  
mence, pushed from the beach without oars, a  
rected their unsteady and dangerous course to  
their former protectors. Sir Sidney Smith, v  
degree of humanity worthy of his high char  
Joubert's instantly suspended his retreat till not a singl  
Memoirs, p. 75. Ann. instantly suspended his retreat till not a singl  
Reg. 1793, 418. Fon- vidual who claimed his assistance remained c  
veille, 84, strand, though the total number borne away amo  
87, 112. Prudhom- to fourteen thousand eight hundred and se  
me, vi. 149, seven.<sup>1</sup>  
161.

The lukewarmness or timidity of the Spanis  
cers, to whom the destruction of the vessels :

basin before the town had been entrusted, preserved them from destruction, and saved a remnant, consisting of seven ships of the line and eleven frigates, to the Republic. These, with five ships of the line, sent round to Rochefort at the commencement of the siege, were all that remained of thirty-one ships of the line, and twenty-five frigates, which were lying in Toulon at the time it fell into the hands of the Allies. Three ships of the line, and three frigates, were brought away untouched, and taken into the English service; the total number captured, or destroyed, was eighteen ships of the line, nine frigates, and eleven corvettes. The French soldiers beheld, with undescribable anguish, the destruction of their fleet; all thinking men then foresaw that the war lighted up between the rival states, could not be extinguished but by the destruction of one of them.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

Total loss  
in ships to  
the French.<sup>1</sup> Jom. iv.  
255, 226.  
James, i.  
117. Th.  
vi. 60.  
Ann. Reg.  
xxxiii. 420.

The storm which now burst on the heads of the unfortunate Toulonese, was truly dreadful. The infuriated soldiers rushed into the town, and, in their rage, massacred two hundred Jacobins, who had come out to welcome their approach. For twenty-four hours the town was given up to pillage, and the wretched inhabitants were a prey to the brutality of the soldiers, and of the galley-slaves, who were let loose upon the city; and a stop was

Dreadful  
cruelty of  
the Repub-  
licans.

CHAP. and twelve thousand labourers were hired from the  
XIII. surrounding departments, to demolish the buildings  
1793. of the city.\*

Atrocious  
decree of  
the Con-  
vention  
against  
Toulon.

But even the unspeakable anguish thus occasioned could not soften the hearts of the inexorable Convention. On the motion of Barere, it was decreed that the name of Toulon should be changed to that of Port de la Montagne, that the houses should be razed to the foundations, and nothing left but the naval and military establishments. Barras, Freron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute the vengeance of the Revolution on the fallen city. Military commissions were immediately formed, the prisons filled, a Revolutionary Tribunal established, and the guillotine put in permanent activity. The inhuman mitraillades of Lyons were imitated with fearful effect; before many weeks had expired, eight hundred persons had been thus cut off; a prodigious proportion out of a population not now exceeding ten thousand souls. One of the victims was an old merchant of the name of Hughes, eighty-four years of age, deaf, and almost blind. His only crime was the possession of a fortune of L.800,000. He offered all his wealth but 500,000 livres to save his life; the judge, deeming that offer inadequate, sent him to the scaffold, and confiscated the whole. "When I beheld this old man executed," said Napoleon, "I felt as if the end of the world was at hand."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Las Cases,  
i. 166.

Among those struck down in one of the fusillades was a grey haired man, severely, but not mortally wounded. The executioners conceiving him dead, retired from the scene of carnage; the persons who

\* "Tout va bien: j'ai requis douze mille maçons, pour demolir et raser la ville: tous les jours je fais tomber deux cents têtes: et déjà huit cents Toulonnais ont été fusillés."—FRERON *au Comité de Salut Public*. December 24, 1793.—PRUDHOMME, vi. 118.

succeeded them to strip the dead, passed him by, through accident, in the darkness of the night, and had strength enough left to raise himself from the ground, and move from the spot. His foot struck against a body, which gave a groan, and, stooping down, he discovered that it was his own son! After the first transports of joy were over, they crept along the ground, and, favoured by the darkness of the night and the inebriety of the guards, had the good fortune to escape, and lived to recount a tale which would have passed for fiction, if experience had not proved, in innumerable instances, that the horrors and vicissitudes of a revolution exceed any thing which the imagination of romance could have conceived.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Præd-  
homme, vi.  
157. Ann.  
Reg. xxxiii.  
421. Lac.  
xi. 189.

Regarding these mitrallades too slow a method of satisfying their vengeance, Freron and the Commissioners of the Convention issued a general order that all who had taken part in the Rebellion or occupied office under Louis XVIII., should repair to the Champs de Mars under pain of death. Deeming prompt obedience the only chance of escaping the denounced penalty, eight thousand persons assembled at the hour appointed in that place. Fre-

Promiscu-  
ous massa-  
cre in the  
Champs de  
Mars.



charge cut them off also. This frightful scene continued or renewed till two thousand persons perished. Among them were great numbers of country people who had come into Toulon intending to celebrate a fête that had been proclaimed in honour of the Republic, and who had followed the crowd to the Champs de Mars in the belief that it was the place of public festivity. Three persons only escaped from this hideous carnage; a man, a marine officer, and a youth, whose strength of constitution enabled him to crawl away at night, from a multitude of the slain, so great as to render all attempts at burial impossible for some days. Meanwhile Freron continued his labours: the fusillades were several times repeated; and he bore witness in his letters to the Committee of Public Safety that he would continue them till, between the guillotine and the sword, Toulon and its inhabitants were entirely disappeared! Between the fusillades, the guillotine, and the women and children who fled to the sea, in trying to escape to the English ships, a number who perished during and after the

Thus terminated this memorable campaign, the most remarkable in the annals of France, perhaps in the history of the world. From a state of unexampled peril, from the attack of forces which would have crushed Louis XIV., in the plenitude of his power, from civil dissensions which threatened to dismember the state, the Republic emerged triumphant. A revolt

CHAP.  
XIII.

1793.

General  
reflections  
on the  
campaign.

apparently destined to sever the opulent cities of the south from its dominions; a civil war which consumed the vitals of the western provinces; an invasion which had broken through the iron barrier of the northern, and shaken the strength of the eastern frontier, were all defeated. The discomfited English had retired from Toulon, the Prussians in confusion had recrossed the Rhine, the tide of conquest was rolled back in the north, and the valour of the Vendéans irretrievably arrested. For these immense advantages, the Convention were indebted to the energy of their measures, the ability of their councils, and the enthusiasm of their subjects. In the convulsion of society, not only wickedness, but talent had risen to the head of affairs; if history has nothing to show comparable to the crimes which were committed, it has few similar instances of undaunted resolution to overcome them. Impartial justice as



CHAP.  
XIII

1793.

Immense  
talent de-  
veloped in  
France by  
the Revo-  
lution.

In talent, it was evident that the Republicans had, in the close of the campaign, acquired a decided preponderance over their opponents. This was the natural consequence of the concentration of all the ability of France in the military service, and the opening which was afforded to merit in every rank to aspire to the highest situations. Drawn from the fertile mines of the middle classes, the talent which now emerged in every department, from the general to the sentinel, formed the basis of a more energetic and intelligent army than had ever been formed in modern Europe ; while the inexhaustible supplies of men which the conscription afforded, raised it to a numerical amount, beyond any thing hitherto known in the world. After having authorized a levy of three hundred thousand men in spring, the Convention, in the beginning of August, ordered a conscription of twelve hundred thousand more. These immense armaments, which, in ordinary times, could never have been attempted by a regular government, were successively brought into the field during the fervour of a revolution, through the exaltation of spirit which it had produced, and the universal misery which it had engendered. The destruction of commerce, and the closing of all pacific employment, augmented those formidable bands, which issued as from a fiery volcano, to devastate the surrounding states ; and from the annihilation of all the known sources of credit the government derived, in the general confiscation of property, unparalleled resources.

General  
reflections  
on this  
campaign.

As this was a new element, then for the first time introduced into political contests, so all the established governments of Europe were mistaken in the means of resisting it. They were not aware of the magnitude of the power which was thus roused into



action, and hoped to crush it by the same moderate efforts which had been found successful in former wars. While France, accordingly, strained every nerve to recruit its armies, they contented themselves with maintaining their contingents at their former numerical amount; and were astonished when the armies calculated to match two hundred thousand soldiers, failed in subduing a million. Hence the rapid series of successes, which, in every quarter, before the end of the year, signalized the Republican arms; and the explanation of the fact, that the allied forces, which, in the commencement, were every where superior, before the close of the campaign, were on all sides inferior to their opponents. Never was a more memorable year; the events which occurred during its continuance are pregnant with the most important instruction, both to the soldier and the statesman.

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

1. The first reflection which suggests itself, is the remarkable state of debility of the French Republic at an early period of its history, and the facility with which, to all appearance, its forces would have yielded to a vigorous and concentrated attack from the allied forces. Her armies, during the first three months of the campaign, were defeated in every encounter; a single battle, in which the Republican loss did not

Ease with  
which  
France  
might have  
been con-  
quered at  
first.

CHAP. says Dumourier, "had no other resource but the  
XIII. army escaped from the camp of Famars to that of

1793. Cæsar. Had the Duke of York been detached by  
Cobourg against the camp of Cæsar, with half his  
forces, the siege of Valenciennes might have been  
continued with the other half, and the fate of France  
sealed in that position." In the darkest days of

<sup>1</sup> Dum. iv. Louis XIV., France was never placed in such peril  
4. Hard. ii. as after the capture of Valenciennes.<sup>1</sup>  
289.

2. These considerations are calculated to dispel  
the popular illusions as to the capability of an entire  
the popular illusions as to the capability of an entire  
Impossibility of a State with-  
out a powerful army  
resisting an invasion.  
siastic population alone, to withstand the attacks of  
a powerful regular army. Notwithstanding the ardour  
excited by the successful result of the campaign in  
1792, and the conquest of Flanders, the Republican  
levies were, in the beginning of the following  
campaign, in such a state of disorganization and  
weakness, that they were unable to make head against  
the Austrians in any encounter, and at length re-  
mained shut up in intrenched camps, from obvious  
and admitted inability to keep the field. The enemy  
by whom they were attacked, were by no means for-  
midable, either from activity or conduct, and yet  
they were uniformly successful. What would have  
been the result, had the Allies been conducted with  
vigour and ability; by a Blucher, a Paskewitch, or  
a Wellington? By the admission of the Republicans  
themselves, their forces would have been subdued by  
the storming of the camp of Cæsar would have de-  
<sup>2</sup> Dum. iv. cided the fate of Europe.<sup>2</sup>  
4. Jom. iii. 68.

3. Every thing conspires to indicate the ruinous  
effects which followed the resolution taken in the  
Congress at Antwerp to convert the war, heretofore  
undertaken for the overthrow of the Jacobins, into  
one of aggression and conquest of France itself.  
Fatal effects of the conversion of the war into one of conquest.  
The great objects of the Alliance should have been

to have separated the cause of that fearful faction from that of the monarchy, and joined in willing hands, to the standards of the Allies, the heroes of a Vendée and the generous citizens of Lyons. By that resolution they separated them for ever, and at length brought all the hearts of the Republic cordially and sincerely round the tricolor flag. The subsequent disasters of the war, the divisions which analysed the combined powers, the unanimity which strengthened the French, may in a great degree be traced to that unhappy deviation from its original principle. And it is remarkable that victory never again was permanently chained to their standards, till, taught by misfortune, they renounced this selfish policy, and recurred, in the great coalition of 1813, to the generous system which had been renounced at Antwerp twenty years before.

4. The important breathing truce which the time occupied in the siege of Valenciennes and Condé afforded to the French, and the immense advantage which they derived from the new levies which they received, and fresh organization which they acquired during that important period, is a signal proof of the vital importance of fortresses in contributing to national defence. Napoleon has not hesitated to

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

Vast im-  
portance of  
the frontier  
fortresses.

Ease with  
which  
France  
might have  
been con-  
quered if  
the Allies  
had held  
together.

5. The failure of the Allies to take advantage of the debilitated state of their adversaries, is the best proof of the erroneous system on which they then conducted, and the peculiar ignorance prevailed as to the mode of combating a regular army power. To divide a great army into an endless chain of posts, and thereby lose all the benefit from superiority of force, is generally the mode of conducting hostilities; but to do this with antagonists in a state of revolution, is, of all the most absurd. Passion is then predominant in the multitude; and how readily is one passion formed into another—the fervour of ambition into the agonies of fear! By protracting the contest, and conducting the operations on a slow and methodical time is given for the completion of the revolutionary armaments, and the consternation spread among the people by a succession of disasters, allowed to be repeated during the early stages of the war. Repeatedly during the early stages of the war, advantages were gained by the Allies, which, if followed up with tolerable vigour, would have become decisive, and often did subsequent inactivity or caution.

of attack should be suited to the character of the force by which it is opposed; the methodical campaign, indispensable in presence of veteran troops, is the worst that can be adopted with the ardent but steady levies which are brought forward by a Revolutionary State.

CHAP.  
XIII.  
1793.

6. The military establishment of 1792, is the ever-ceasing theme of eulogium with the economical politicians of the present day, and incessant are the efforts to have the forces of the British Empire again reduced to that diminutive standard. The result of the first period of the campaign of 1793, may demonstrate how short-sighted, even in a pecuniary point of view, are such niggardly projects. Had Great Britain, instead of twenty thousand, been able to have sent sixty thousand English soldiers to the Continent at that period, what results might have been anticipated from their exertions? Forty thousand native English broke the military strength of Napoleon at Waterloo; and what was the military power of France at the commencement of the war, compared to what was there wielded by that dreaded commander? What would have been gained to Britain had the successes of 1815 come in 1793; the camp of Cæsar been the

Ruinous  
effect of  
the English  
reduction  
of force.



cradle? If thirty thousand British troops added to the Duke of York's army at the Dunkirk, that important fortress would speedily have fallen, and the advance of the allied army would have been the result of all the efforts of the Convention; if the army had aided the insurgents of La Vendée, the French flag would have been advanced to the Tiber; if it had been sent to Toulon, the constitutional monarchy would have been at once established in the south of France. What countless sanguinary efforts, were required to regain the empire then lost! The affairs of Napoleon in Spain were not so hopeless as those of the Republic have been, if such an addition could have been made at that critical moment to the British fighting force.

This ruinous system of reducing the foreign country upon the conclusion of hostilities is the cause of almost all the discomfitures which have attended the cause of the Revolution, the reputation, and of more than half the debt which now curbs the energies, of Britain. The cause of the Revolution, which is now the cause of a free constitution, has been well expressed by Dr. Tucker: "The revolution is the cause of the Revolution."

Cause to which it is owing.  
The passion for reduction among the people.

prevents such a number of forces by land and sea from being kept up as are necessary for the common safety of the kingdom. The consequence is, when a war breaks out, new levies are half-formed and half-disciplined, squadrons at sea are half-manned, and the officers mere novices in their business. Ignorance, unskilfulness, and confusion, are unavoidable for a time, the necessary result of which is some defeat received, some stain or dishonour cast upon the arms of Britain. Thus the nation is involved in expenses ten times as great, and made to raise forces twenty times as numerous as were complained of before; till peace is made, and schemes of ruinous economy are again called for by a new set of patriots. Thus the patriotic farce goes round, ending in real tragedy to the nation and mankind."<sup>1</sup> It seems<sup>1</sup> Tucker's Essays, i. 72.  
 hopeless to expect that this popular cry for costly economy will ever cease in pacific periods, because, even with the recent proof of its ruinous effect at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, we have seen it so fiercely raised for the reduction of the noble force which brought it to a glorious termination. It seems the melancholy fate of each successive generation to be instructed by its own and never

parliamentary influence make, during the  
lity of peace, to get their connexions and  
dents elevated to situations which they are f  
ly incompetent to fill. During the dang  
excitement of war, governments are both c  
by necessity to select the most worthy to d  
momentous and perilous duties, and enable  
magnitude of their patronage to do so witho  
ating their parliamentary supporters. Bu  
the limited establishment, and with the c  
tively unimportant duties of peace, this is im  
Reductions on all sides then compel a rigid  
to influence in the disposal of situations, w  
slumber of pacific life affords a prospect of  
pacity of the persons promoted not being c  
ed, or not becoming productive of public  
During the latter years of a long peace, in  
imbecility is daily, in the army and navy, m  
more exclusively to the head of affairs; ar  
hostilities break out, a large proportion of the  
in high command are frequently found to b  
unfit for the duties thrown upon them. Thu  
democratic element stems from the establi



ing the whole of the American contest, during the  
 four years of the Revolutionary contest, and in  
 dreadful campaign of Affghanistaun in 1840, may  
 be traced to the combined operation of these  
 ca.

CHAP.  
 XIII.  
 1793.

is the English system of education and go-  
 vernment without an important, and what often  
 as a disastrous influence on the national fortunes  
 the commencement, and sometimes through the  
 the course, of hostilities. No provision is made,  
 schools or colleges, in general instruction, either  
 teaching our future statesmen any thing connect-  
 with their department in the direction of war, or  
 ifying our future generals to understand the prin-  
 ciples or practices of their profession. Young men  
 often enter the houses of Lords and Commons per-  
 fectly initiated in the loves of Dido and Æneas, of  
 Mars and Venus; able to construe Æschylus and  
 the hexameter verses; perhaps skilled in forensic  
 debate and happy in parliamentary allusions; but as-  
 ignorant of the means by which success is to be at-  
 tained, or disaster averted in war, as the child un-  
 der the hand of a tutor. Youths are moved from school into the army,  
 indeed to ride and shoot, and they are soon  
 brought to the simple details of military discipline; but

Defects of  
 English  
 education  
 in the same  
 respect.

CHAP. in modern times. But power in debate  
 XIII. statesman-like wisdom; it is often acquired by  
 1793. little conducive to it; and it differs as much  
 the able direction of a war or a campaign  
 the skill in a tournament of Amadis de C  
 Palmerin of England, does from the constant  
 genius of Wellington or Napoleon. Her  
 numerous opportunities of bringing the war  
 successful termination which were lost in 1793  
 want of military talent and combination in the  
 British government. And to those who reflect on  
 circumstances, and their illustration in the  
 mismanagement which that campaign exhibited  
 when the mighty genius of Pitt was in the direction  
 of affairs, and on the constant examples of  
 ignorance of the first principles of warlike combination  
 in government, which every period of our history  
 exhibited—it will probably occur as the most direct  
 proof of the virtue and energy which free  
 institutions develop in a community, when duly regulated  
 by aristocratic power, that, despite such obstacles,  
 the British empire has unceasingly advanced  
 now attained an eminence unrivaled since the time  
 when the Roman legions, directed by wisdom  
 led by valour, conquered the world.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PERIOD OF TERROR—FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS  
TO THE DEATH OF DANTON.

JUNE 2, 1793.—MARCH 31, 1794.

General Sanguinary Character of Democracy—Cause to which it is  
dedicated—Formation of a new Government by the Jacobins—Vast Powers  
vested upon the Committee of Public Salvation—State of the Provinces  
( Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles—General Coalition of Departments  
against the Convention—Measures to meet it: it is Dissolved—Great  
power of the Committee of Public Salvation—Law of suspected Persons—  
Installation of Revolutionary Committees over all France—Their immense  
powers and Expense—New Era Established, and Sunday abolished—Trial  
and condemnation of General Custine—Of Bailly, the first president of the  
Assembly—Of Barnave and Dupont du Tertre—Death of Condorcet—Situa-  
tion of Marie Antoinette—Cruel Treatment and Death of the Dauphin—  
Death of the Queen—Her Heroic Conduct and Execution—And Character-  
ization of the Tombs of St Denis—Condition in which the bodies of the  
deceased were found—Destruction of Monuments over all France—Abjuration  
of Christianity by the Municipality—The Goddess of Reason introduced into  
the Convention—Notre-Dame named the Temple of Reason—Universal aban-  
donment of Religion, and closing of the Churches—General and excessive  
corruption of Manners—Confiscation of the Property of Hospitals and the  
the Vest Fragments of the French Government during the Reign of

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.



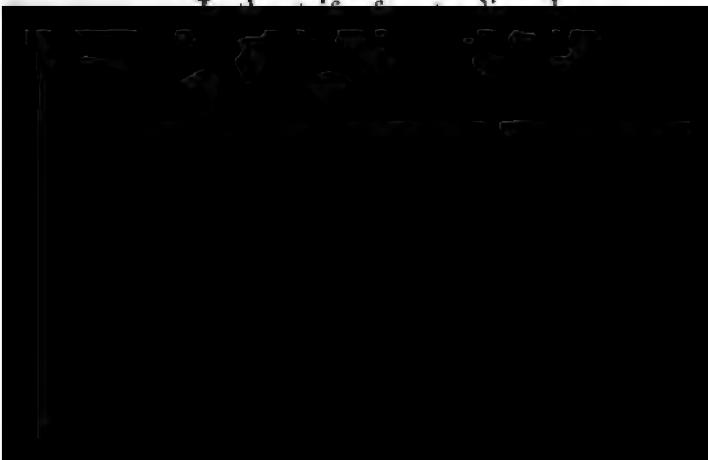
CHAP. into Perpetual Annuitants—Estrangement of the Dantonists, and ruling  
XIV. power of the Municipality—Publication of the Old Cordelier—Efforts of  
Danton to detach Robespierre from the Municipality—Secret Agreement  
1793. between Robespierre and the Municipality, by which Danton is abandoned  
to the latter, and Hebert, Chaumette, and others, to the former—Announce-  
ment of the Projects in the Convention—Proscription of the Anarchists  
—Their Disgraceful Death—Rupture of Danton and Robespierre—Arrest  
of the former with Camille Desmoulins—Violent agitation in the Assembly  
—Their Trial and Execution—Resistless Power of Robespierre—General  
Reflections on the successive Destruction of the Revolutionists—And on  
the extraordinary march of the Revolution.

General sanguinary character of democracy. “THE rule of a mob,” says Aristotle, “is the worst of tyrannies;”\* and so experience has proved it, from the caprice of the Athenian democracy to the proscriptions of the French Revolution. The reason is permanent, and must remain unaltered while society holds together. In contests for power, a monarch has, in general, to dread only the efforts of a rival for the throne; an aristocracy, the ascendancy of a faction in the nobility; the populace, the vengeance of all the superior classes in the state. Hence, the safety of the first, is usually secured by the destruction of a single rival and his immediate adherents; the jealousy of the second, extinguished by the proscription or exile of a limited number of families; but the terrors of the last, require the destruction of whole ranks in society. They constantly feel that, if they do not destroy the superior classes in the state, they will, in the long run, fall again under their influence, and their leaders in consequence be subjected to punishment. Thence the envenomed and relentless animosity by which they are actuated towards them, and which is not experienced in nearly the same degree on the resumption of power by the holders of property, because it is not felt to be necessary for the securing of their authority. Measures, dictated by the alarm for individuals, become unnecessary when

\* Τῶν τῶν τυραννίδων τελευταία ἡ δημοκρατία.—ARIST. *De Politicis*.

have perished; those leveled against the in- CHAP.  
 ce of classes require to be pursued till the class XIV.  
 is destroyed. 1793.

was not a mere thirst for blood which made  
 at and Robespierre declare and act upon the Cause of  
 ciple, that there could be no security for the this pecu-  
 ublic till two hundred and sixty thousand heads liarity.  
 fallen. Hardly any men are cruel for cruelty's  
 ; the leaders of the Jacobins were not more so  
 the reckless and ambitious of any other country  
 d be if exposed to the influence of similar pas-  
 sion. Ambition is the origin of desperate measures,  
 use it renders men sensible only of the dictates  
 of insatiable passion: terror is the real source of  
 cruelty. Men esteem the lives of others lightly  
 if their own are at stake. The revolutionary  
 actions being directed against the whole aristo-  
 cratic and influential classes, their vengeance was  
 to be implacable, and no security could be ex-  
 tended to the democratical leaders, till their whole  
 elements were destroyed. Thence the incessant, and  
 ridiculous, dread of a counter-revolutionary  
 action, which was evinced by the democratic party,  
 which so often impelled them into the most san-



CHAP. gave up friends to the vengeance of political adver-  
 XIV. saries ; individual security, private revenge, were  
 1793. purchased by the sacrifice of ancient attachment.

Formation of a new govern-  
 ment by  
 the Jaco-  
 bins.

France experienced the truth of these principles with unmitigated severity during the later stages of the Revolution. But it was not immediately that the leaders of the victorious faction ventured upon the practical application of their principles. The first feeling with the multitude was joy at the victory they had gained, and unbounded anticipations of felicity from the assumption of power by the most popular and vehement of their demagogues. The most extravagant joy prevailed among the Jacobins at their decisive triumph. "The people," said Robespierre, "have by their conduct confounded all their opponents. Eighty thousand men have been under arms nearly a week, and not one shop has been pillaged, not one drop of blood shed ; and they have proved by that whether the accusation was well founded, that they wished to profit by the disorders to commit murder and pillage. Their insurrection was spontaneous ; the result of an universal moral conviction ; and the Mountain, itself feeble and irresolute, showed that it had no hand in producing it. The insurrection was a great moral and popular effort, worthy of the enlightened people among whom it arose. The people of Paris have afforded an example which may well make all the monarchs of the earth tremble, and destroy the calumnies they pour forth against us ; all we have to do now is to complete our triumph, and destroy the Royalists. We must gain possession of the committees, and spend our nights in framing good laws."<sup>1</sup> Under such plausible colours did the revolutionists veil a movement which destroyed the only remnants

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
 des Jaco-  
 bins, 7th  
 June 1791,  
 No. 428.

of virtue in the democracy, and delivered over France in fetters to the Reign of Terror. CHAP.  
XIV.

The aspect of the Convention, after this great event, was entirely changed from what it had ever been before. Terror had mastered their resistance ; proscription had thinned their ranks. The hall was generally silent. The right, and the majority of the centre, never voted, but seemed, by their withdrawal from any active part, to condemn the whole proceedings of the Jacobins, and await intelligence from the provinces as the signal for action. The debates of the Legislature, as they appear in the *Moniteur*, suddenly contract into nothing. All the decrees proposed by the ruling party were adopted in silence, without any discussion. By a decree of the Assembly, the whole power of government was vested in the hands of the Decemvirs till the conclusion of a general peace. They made no concealment of the despotic nature of the authority with which they were thus invested. " You have nothing now to dread," said St Just, " from the enemies of freedom ; all we have to do is to make its friends triumphant, and that must be done at all hazards. In the critical situation of the Republic, it is in

1793.

Mournful  
aspect of  
the Assem-  
bly, and de-  
cree vest-  
ing su-  
preme  
power in a  
few.



ened the country. The Committee of Pulvation presented the skeleton of a government formed. Created some months before, it was composed of the neutral party; the victorians, after the 31st May, placed themselves in possession of its power. Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois successively elected members, and speedily Herault de Sechelles, and the other partisans of Danton.\* To the ruling Jacobins, the different departments of government were assigned; Robespierre was entrusted with the duty of denouncing the enemies; Couthon, with bringing forward its measures; Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois with the management of the departments; Barere, the partisan of Danton, was made minister of war; Barere, the partisan of Robespierre, was made orator of the government; Robespierre, dictator over all.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xviii. 147. Mig. ii. 295, 296. Toul. iv. 98. Th. v. 94, 95.

While the practical administration of affairs was thus lodged with despotic power in the hands of the Committee of Public Salvation, the general

\* The Committee of Public Salvation at first was not a



idence of the police was vested in another Com- CHAP.  
 mittee, styled of General Safety, subordinate to the XIV.  
 mer, but still possessed of a most formidable au- 1793.  
 rity. Inferior to both in power, and now de- Commit-  
 ved of much of its political importance by the vast tees of  
 uence of the Committee of Public Salvation, the Public  
 nicipality of Paris began to turn its attention to Salvation  
 internal regulation of the city, and there exer- and Gene-  
 ed its power with the most despotic rigour. ral Safety.  
 It k under its cognizance the police of the metro-  
 is, the public subsistence, the markets, the public  
 rship, the theatre, the courtesans, and framed on  
 these subjects a variety of minute and vexatious  
 gulations, which were speedily adopted over all  
 ance. Chaumette, its public accuser, ever sure  
 the applause of the multitude, especially when  
 tormented their creditors, exerted in all these  
 rticulars the most rigorous authority. Consumed  
 an incessant desire to subject every thing to new  
 gulations, continually actuated by the wish to in-  
 ide domestic liberty, this legislator of the market-  
 aces and warehouses became daily more vexatious  
 and formidable; while Paché, indolent and imper-  
 rbable, agreed to every thing which was proposed,  
 ed left to Chaumette all the influence of popularity.

<sup>1</sup> Séances  
 de la Com-  
 mune, July  
 — Aug.  
 1793.

Moniteur.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxviii. 563,  
 567. Th.

CHAP. tained of the magistracies, which was the secret of  
 XIV. this terrible power. The Jacobins of Paris were the  
 1793. incarnation of the whole civil and military force of  
 the commonwealth; the Committee of Public Salvation was the incarnation of the Jacobins of Paris; and Robespierre was the Avatar who personified the Committee of Public Salvation. The democratic party, in possession of all the municipalities in the departments, in consequence of their being elected by universal suffrage, armed with the powers of a terrible police, entrusted with the right of making domiciliary visits, of disarming or imprisoning the suspected persons, soon obtained an irresistible authority. In vain the armed sections and battalions of the National Guard in some places strove to resist; want of union and organization paralysed all their efforts. In almost all the provincial towns of France they had courage enough to take up arms, and sometimes endeavoured to withstand the dreadful tyranny of the magistracies; but these bodies, based on the support and election of the multitude, in the end every where prevailed over the whole class of proprietors, and all the peaceable citizens, who in vain invoked the liberty, tranquillity, and security to property, for the preservation of which they were enrolled. This was, generally speaking, the situation of parties over all France, though the strife was more ardent in those situations where the masses were densest, and danger most evidently threatened the revolutionary party.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. iv.  
 157, 158.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxviii. 162,  
 167. Deux  
 Amis, xi.  
 3, 7.

The spirit of faction had been for long, in an especial manner, conspicuous at Lyons. A club of Jacobins was there formed, composed of deputies from all the clubs of note in the south of France, at the head of which was an ardent republican, of Italian

Of Lyons,  
 Bordeaux,  
 and Mar-  
 seilles.

igin, named Chalier, a man of the most atrocious character, who was at the same time an officer of the municipality and president of the civil tribunal. The Jacobins had got possession of all the offices in the municipality, except the mayoralty, which was still in the hands of a Girondist of the name of Viere. The Jacobin Club made use of the utmost efforts to displace him, loudly demanded a revolutionary Tribunal, and paraded through the streets a guillotine recently sent down from Paris "to strike terror into the traitors and aristocrats." Chalier was at the head of all these revolutionary movements, and with such success were his efforts attended, that for four days in August 1792, the city of Lyons was the prey of anarchy and murder, and the whole of the autumn of that year, and spring of 1793, had been passed in the most vehement strife between the two parties. A list of eight hundred names, who had signed a petition in favour of moderate government, was kept by Chalier, and they were all doomed to death: the day of the massacre being fixed for 9th May, when also a Revolutionary Tribunal was to be established. On the other hand, the armed sections, who were strongly attached to the principles of the Girondists, vigorously exerted

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.



CHAP. seilles, Toulouse, Nîmes, Saintes, Grenoble, Bayonne,  
 XIV. all partook in their sentiments. Almost all the de-  
 1793. puties who formed the party of the Gironde came  
 from these towns, and their principles perfectly re-  
 presented the feelings by which the great majority of  
 the better classes of citizens were animated. From  
 the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Garonne,  
 these sentiments were nearly universal, and in some  
 even the municipalities were in the hands of the mo-  
 derate party. At Bordeaux, these principles were so  
 strong, that they already bordered on the feelings of  
 Royalty; while the whole country from the Gironde  
 and the entrance of the Loire, by the shores of the  
 ocean to the mouth of the Seine, was openly attached  
 to the ancient institutions of the country, and beheld  
 with undisguised horror the atrocities with which  
 the revolutionary party at Paris had already stained  
 their career.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
 Parl.  
 xxviii. 148.  
 Th. iv. 160,  
 163.

General  
 coalition of  
 the De-  
 partments  
 against the  
 Conven-  
 tion.

Such was the state of public feeling in France when  
 the Revolution of 31st May, and the fall of the Gi-  
 rondists, took place. That catastrophe put the whole  
 of the southern departments into a flame; the impris-  
 onment of the deputies of the national representa-  
 tives by the mob of Paris, the open assumption of  
 government by the municipality of that city, excited  
 the most profound indignation. In most of the cities  
 the magistracy had fallen, as already observed, into  
 the hands of the Jacobins, who were supported by  
 the Parent Club at Paris and the Executive; while  
 the armed sections were attached to the opposite  
 system. The catastrophe of the Girondists at Paris  
 brought those conflicting powers almost every where  
 into collision. At Evreux, the Jacobin authorities  
 were put under arrest, and an armed force of four  
 thousand men organized; at Marseilles, the sections  
 rose against the municipality, and violently seized

May 29.

session of the magistracy ; at Lyons, a furious  
 what took place—the sections took the Hôtel de  
 the by assault, dispossessed the magistracy, shut  
 the Jacobin Club, and gained the command of  
 city. At Bordeaux, the arrest of the Girondists,  
 whose talents they were justly proud, excited the  
 most violent sensation, which was brought to a crisis  
 the arrival of several of the fugitive deputies, who  
 announced that their illustrious brethren were in fet-  
 ters, and in hourly expectation of death. Cries of  
 joy were immediately heard in all the streets ; a ge-  
 neral feeling of indignation and of despair impelled  
 citizens to their several rallying points. The  
 armed sections were quickly in motion, and the mu-  
 nicipal authorities elected during the first fervour of  
 the Revolution, wrote to the executive council at  
 Paris that they were deprived of all power, and  
 unable to say what events a day might bring forth.<sup>1</sup>  
 On the 13th June the department of Eure gave  
 the signal of insurrection ; it was agreed that four  
 thousand men should march upon Paris to liberate  
 the Convention. Great part of Normandy followed  
 the example, and all the departments of Brittany  
 were in arms. The whole valley of the Loire, with

CHAP.

XIV.

1793.

June 5.

<sup>1</sup> Hist.

Parl.

xxviii. 147.

149. Th.

v. 8, 10, 11.

And com-

mence-

ment of an

insurrec-

tion.

June 13.



to concert measures for their common safe  
<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxviii. 148.  
151. Deux  
Amis, x.  
324, 326.  
Th. v. 13,  
14. received from Marseilles, Bordeaux, and  
 Seventy departments were in a state of insur  
 and fifteen only remained wholly devoted to  
 tion which had mastered the Convention.<sup>1</sup>

Opinions were divided at Paris how to  
 formidable a danger. Barere proposed, in  
 of the Committee of Public Salvation, the  
 revolutionary committees, which had become  
 dable throughout France, from their numerous  
 should be every where annulled; that the  
 assemblies should be assembled at Paris to  
 commander of the armed force, in lieu of  
 who had been appointed by the insurgents;  
 thirty deputies should be sent as hostages to  
 vances. But the Jacobins were not disposed  
 measures of conciliation. Robespierre adjourned  
 consideration of the report of the committee  
 Danton, raising the voice so well known in the  
 rils of the Revolution, exclaimed—"The Revolution  
 has passed through many crises, and it will  
 this as it has done the others. It is in the  
 of a great production that political liberty

Energetic  
 measures  
 of the  
 Jacobins at  
 Paris to  
 meet the  
 danger.

June 10.

the conspiracy of La Fayette. In what state were we  
 then? The patriots proscribed or oppressed: civil  
 war threatening every where. Now we are in the  
 same situation. It is said the insurrection in Paris  
 occasioned disturbances in the departments! We  
 thus declare in the face of the universe, that Paris  
 rises in the revolt of 31st May, and that without  
 the cannon of that day, the conspirators would have  
 triumphed, and we would have been slaves!" In  
 this spirit the Convention, instead of yielding, adopt-  
 ed the most vigorous measures, and spoke in the  
 most menacing strain. They declared that Paris,  
 placing itself in a state of insurrection, had de-  
 served well of the country; that the arrested deputies  
 should forthwith be lodged in prison like ordinary  
 criminals; that a call of the Convention should be  
 made, and all those absent without excuse instantly  
 expelled, and their place supplied by new repre-  
 sentatives; that all attempts at correspondence or  
 collusion among the departmental authorities were  
 illegal, and that those who presided in them should  
 forthwith be sent to Paris; they annulled the reso-  
 lution of the department of the Eure, ordered all the  
 refractory authorities to be sent to the Revolutionary

CHAP.

XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxviii. 200.

desertion of their country by the emigrant n  
 These causes had utterly prostrated the stre  
 the provinces, and already established in u  
 force the despotism of the capital. They co  
 their preparations, however, and refused to s  
 proscribed authorities to Paris; but their  
 gradually cooled, and in two months the see  
 volt existed only in vigour at Lyons, Toul  
 Marseilles, where it afterwards brought at  
 most bloody catastrophes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Th. v. 10,  
 18, 27, 61.  
 75. Deux  
 Amis, x.  
 326, 327.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxviii. 352.

The great engine which the Jacobins mad  
 to inflame the popular passions against the  
 nents, and counteract the general burst of i  
 tion which followed in the departments the p  
 tion of the Girondists, was the charging the  
 the project of destroying the unity of the R  
 and establishing, instead of one mighty state,  
 ral union of small republics. That this proj  
 entertained by many of the Girondists is  
 nor indeed could they well avoid anxiously  
 for the establishment of such a system, cons  
 the incalculable evils which they saw con  
 their country and themselves, by the centra

Great ef-  
 fect of the  
 Federalism  
 imputed to  
 the Giron-  
 dists.



ing, as in fact it did, to a partition of France, and rendering it wholly unable to resist the attacks of the European monarchies, succeeded in generally arousing the national spirit against the fallen party, and cooling the ardour of those in the departments who had taken up arms in their defence. Meanwhile, the reaction at Lyons, where, during the first burst of public indignation at the arrest of the Girondists, the federal party had gained an entire ascendancy, became terrible. The Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the Jacobins for the destruction of their enemies, now seized by another party, was worked with fearful efficacy against themselves. Numerous arrests took place; and in July alone, eighty-three persons were ordered to be brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Lyons; and though one only of these, Chalier, suffered death, it was attended with circumstances of a very shocking kind. Though his crimes richly deserved that punishment, yet was his execution peculiarly horrible. At times the guillotine (as yet a novel instrument in that region,) missed its blow, and his head was at length severed from his body by means of a knife.<sup>1</sup> The Convention shortly after, now wholly under

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. de Lyons, No. 100, and 109. Hist. Parl. xxiv. 388; and xxviii. 353, 354. Deux Amis, x. 327, 329.



CHAP. said Robespierre in the Jacobins, "has issued from  
XIV. the bosom of an assembly composed of counter-  
1793. revolutionists, now purged of its unworthy members.

We can now offer to the universe a constitutional code, infinitely superior to any that ever existed, which exhibits the sublime and majestic image of French regeneration. We may now despise the efforts of calumny; we can say, there is the answer of the patriot deputies; there is the work of the Mountain." Chabot answered—"In this constitution loudly praised, I see a power at once colossal and libertine. When you establish so powerful an executive, you sow anew the seeds of royalty. I am told that power has no *veto*; but what does that signify? I am asked, what will be the guarantee of liberty? I answer, the guillotine."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ. des Jacobins, June 12, 1793, No. 431.

Vast powers of the Committee of Public Salvation.

But there never was a greater mistake than to imagine, that this constitution, so republican in form, conferred any real liberties on the people. Its only effect was to concentrate the whole authority of the state in the hands of a few popular leaders. Thenceforward, the Committee of Public Salvation at Paris exercised, without opposition, all the powers of government; it named and dismissed the generals, the judges, and the juries; appointed the intendants of the provinces; brought forward all public measures in the Convention, and launched its thunder against every opposite faction. By means of its commissioners it ruled the provinces, generals, and armies, with absolute sway; and soon after, the law of suspected persons placed the personal freedom of every subject at its disposal; the Revolutionary Tribunal rendered it the master of every life; the requisitions and the maximum, of every fortune;<sup>2</sup> the accusations in the Convention, of every member of the

<sup>2</sup> Mig. ii. 296, 297. Th. v. 59, 93, 94, 95. Lac. ii. 92.

gislature. The law of suspected persons, which augmented so prodigiously this tremendous power to the CHAP.  
XIV.  
censcirs, passed on the 17th September. It de- 1793.  
clared all persons liable to arrest, who, "either by Sept. 17.  
their conduct, their relations, their conversation, or  
their writing, have shown themselves the partisans  
of tyranny or of federation, or the enemies of free-  
dom; all persons who have not discharged their  
duties to the country; all nobles, the husbands, wives, Hist. Parl.  
xxix. 109,  
parents, children, brothers, sisters, or agents of 112. Moni-  
teur, Sept.  
emigrants, who have not incessantly manifested their 18, 1793.  
devotion to the Revolution." Under this law, no Lac. ii. 92.  
person had any chance of safety, but in going the Mig. ii.  
296, 297.  
truest length of revolutionary fury.<sup>1</sup>

The established revolutionary committees were declared the judges of the persons liable to arrest. Their number augmented with frightful rapidity; Paris had soon forty-eight. Every village throughout the country followed its example. The number of revolutionary committees, which sprang up in every part of the kingdom to carry into execution this terrible law, was almost incredible. Fifty

\* This atrocious law, as explained by a decree of the municipality of Paris, which was circulated over all France, gave the following defini-

ministers of the will of the dictators. Every of these committees received three francs a- their number was no less than 540,000. readily be conceived that in a starving con thirsting for gold, the revolutionary committ not long of being filled up, with such encour According to the calculations of the Conve Cambon, they cost annually to the nation 591, of assignats, or above L.24,000,000 sterli the immense number of the most active, an and wicked of the people who were enliste side of the revolutionary government, an nally interested in its preservation, is to be fi real secret of the firm establishment and l tinuance of the Reign of Terror.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Denx  
Amls, x.  
2-4. Hist.  
Parl. xxix.  
47, 48.

The calculations of these inferior agents

Those who testified indifference on the proclamation of the constitution, or have expressed vain fears as to its durability those who, if they have done nothing against liberty, have done for it. 9. All who do not attend regularly the meetings of the and allege, as an excuse, that they do not like to speak in public their time is occupied by their private affairs. 10. Those

soon outstripped those of their masters. Marat CHAP. asserted that 260,000 heads must fall before XIV. freedom was secure. The revolutionary commit- 1793. tees discovered that 700,000 persons must be sacrificed. The prisons were speedily loaded with Atrocious calculations of these inferior agents of the Revolution. victims in every town in France; a more speedy mode of disposing of them was proposed than the massacre of 2d September. "Let them quake in air cells," said Collot d'Herbois in the Convention: "let the base traitors tremble at the successes of our enemies: let a mine be dug under the prisons, and at the approach of those whom they call their liberators, let a spark blow them into the air." The retreat of the allied armies rendered unnecessary the inhuman proposal at that moment; and famine, pestilence, and the guillotine, soon made its renewal superfluous. Such was the rapidity of the executions, that it exceeded not only any thing ever witnessed, but any thing hitherto deemed possible. "In the name of equality," says the Republican analyst, "they established a band of permanent assassins; in the name of liberty they transformed our cities into bastiles; in the name of justice they every where erected a tribunal of consummate mur-



CHAP. body generally aided in extending the Reign of Ter-  
XIV. ror ; in the clubs, by incessant denunciations of the

1793. opulent or respectable classes ; in the committees,

Which was by multiplying the number of vindictive committals.  
every where They supported the sword of the Decemvirs, because  
based on it fell upon the class above themselves, and opened to  
the support of the mul- the indigent the wealth and the employments of the  
titude.

better ranks in the state : because it flattered them by the possession of power which they were wholly disqualified to exercise, and ruined the higher ranks whom they had been taught to regard as their natural enemies. These revolutionary measures were executed over the whole extent of France with the last severity. Conceived by the most ardent minds, they were violent in their principles ; carried into effect far from the leaders who framed them, they were rendered still more oppressive by the brutal character of the agents to whom their execution was entrusted. Part of the citizens was compelled to quit their homes ; another was immured in dungeons as suspected ; the barn-yards of the farmers, the warehouses of the merchants, the shops of the tradesmen, were forcibly emptied for the use of the armies of the government, and nothing but an elusory paper given in exchange. The forced loans were exacted with the utmost rigour ; the commissioners said to one, " You are worth 10,000 livres a-year ;" to another, " You have 20,000 ;" and, to save their heads from the guillotine, they were happy to surrender their property to the demands. No better picture can be desired of the tyranny of these despotic commissioners, than is furnished by the report of one of their members to the Convention. " Every where," said Laplanche, who had been sent to the department of Cher, " I have made terror the order of

he day; every where I have imposed heavy contri-  
 butions on the rich and the aristocrats. From Or-  
 leans I have extracted fifty thousand francs; and  
 in two days, at Bourges, I raised two millions; where  
 I could not appear in person, my delegates have am-  
 ply supplied my place. I have dismissed all the  
 federalists, imprisoned all the suspected, put all the  
 sans Culottes in authority. I have forcibly married  
 all the priests, every where electrified the hearts and  
 inflamed the courage of the people. I have passed  
 in review numerous battalions of the National Guard,  
 to confirm their republican spirit, and guillotined  
 numbers of Royalists. In a word, I have complete-  
 ly fulfilled my imperial mandate, and acted every-  
 where as a warm partisan of the Mountain, and  
 faithful representative of the Revolution." The  
 Convention approved of his proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
de la Mon-  
tagne, No.  
140, p.  
1020.  
Moniteur,  
Sept. 29.  
1793. Th.  
v. 353, 354.  
Mig. II.  
297.

To obliterate as far as possible all former recollec-  
 tions, a new era was established; they changed the  
 divisions of the year, the names of months and days.  
 The ancient and venerable institution of Sunday was  
 abolished; the period of rest fixed at every tenth  
 day; time was measured by divisions of ten days;  
 and the year was divided into twelve equal months, be-  
 ginning on the 22d September. These changes were

Sept. 12.

CHAP. was divided into *four* chambers, each with co-ordi-  
 XIV. nate powers, and all sitting at the same time. Each  
 1793. was to have its public accuser, judges, and juries.

This was avowedly based on the necessity of pro-  
 ceeding at once against the moderates, who formed  
 a numerous portion of the community. "The time  
 has now arrived," said Chaumette, at the Jacobins  
 "when the moderates must undergo the same fate  
 as the aristocrats."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ. de  
 la Mon-  
 tagne, No.  
 97. Hist.  
 Parl. xxix.  
 52. Mig.  
 ii. 298.

But all these changes, important as they were,  
 yielded in magnitude to the decree of the Conven-  
 tion on October 10, on the new organization of the  
 government. This decree was based on a minute  
 and able report by St Just, in the name of the Com-  
 mittee of Public Salvation, which fully admitted the  
 deplorable internal state of the Republic, and the  
 total inefficacy of all the measures hitherto taken for  
 the establishment of a regular government, in lieu  
 of the monarchy which had been overthrown. "The  
 administration of the armies," said he, "is overrun  
 by brigands; they sell the rations of the horses; the  
 battalions are in want of cannon and draught animals  
 to draw them; subordination is at an end; all the  
 world robs and sets the government at defiance. The  
 law of the maximum has proved entirely nugatory;  
 the enemies of the people, more rich than they, buy  
 the provisions above the maximum; the markets  
 are overruled by the cupidity of sellers; the price of  
 provisions is lowered, but the provisions themselves  
 have disappeared. The cultivators, wherever they  
 could, have sold their produce to our enemies in  
 preference to ourselves. The commissaries of the  
 armies, the agents of all kinds, have pillaged at  
 least three milliards, (L.120,000,000,) and from the  
 very enormity of their gains they have derived ad-  
 ditional means of corrupting the people. The rich

Report of  
 St Just on  
 the state  
 of the Re-  
 public.  
 Oct. 10.



have become richer in spite of the taxes laid on them; the dreadful misery of the people has improved their relative situation. Every one has pillaged the state. There is not a single military commander who is not, at this moment, founding his fortune on treachery in favour of the cause of kings. The highest officers of government are still worse. All places are bought, and it is no longer men of property who buy them. Scoundrels purchase on the prospect of plunder; if you chase one from his place ten enter in at another. The agents of the hospitals have sold their provisions to La Vendée. The commissaries for the armies have become the worst of monopolizers. The assignats have hitherto constituted the strength of the state, but let us not deceive ourselves; if the assignats are not withdrawn from circulation, their holders will enter into competition with the cultivators and the producers, and industry will be ruined. The government has lost half their value in the sale of the national domains; the Republic is the prey of twenty thousand fools or villains who corrupt or cheat it. Government is overwhelmed with correspondence; the bureaux have succeeded to the monarchy; *the demon*

CHAP.

XIV.

1793.



Oct. 10.

Public Salvation, which was to render an account of its proceedings every eight days to the Convention. The revolutionary laws were to be executed rapidly; the government was to correspond with the districts; all the generals were to be nominated by the Convention, on the recommendation of the Committee of Public Salvation. The grain produced in every district was to be calculated, the amount requisite for the subsistence of its inhabitants ascertained, and the remainder subjected to requisition for the public service. Paris was provisioned in this way for a year. A revolutionary army was to be raised to enforce these regulations, and repress all counter-revolutionary movements—it was to be under the direction of the Committee of Public Salvation; a new court was established, named by the Convention, to punish embezzlers of the public money, and make public officers render an account of their fortunes. It may safely be affirmed, that this decree, coupled with the decree of suspected persons which had been passed a few weeks before, vested more absolute power

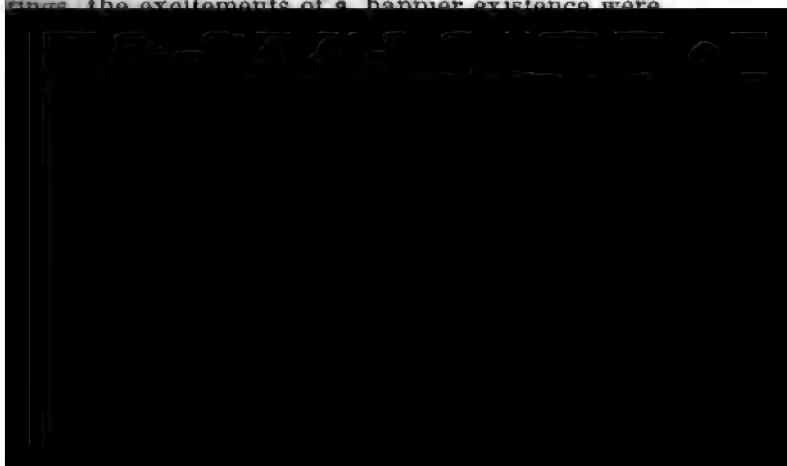
<sup>1</sup> Decree,  
Oct. 10.

beauty, or virtue in the Republic, they presented the  
 most unparalleled assemblage that modern Europe  
 had yet seen of unblushing guilt and unbending vir-  
 tue, of dignified manners and revolutionary vul-  
 garity, of splendid talent and frightful atrocity. In  
 France, where the rich were allowed to provide for their  
 comforts, a singular degree of affluence and even  
 elegance for some time prevailed; in others, the most  
 miserable captives were weeping on a couch of straw,  
 with no other covering than a few filthy rags. The  
 French character, imbued beyond any other in Europe  
 with elasticity, and capability to endure misfortunes,  
 in many instances rose superior to all the horrors  
 in which the jails were surrounded. From the  
 multitude and lustre of their fellow-sufferers, every  
 man felt his own calamities sensibly softened. By  
 degrees the ordinary interests of life began to exert  
 their influence even on the verge of the tomb; poetry  
 charmed the crowded cells by touching strains,  
 eloquence exerted its fascinating ascendant, beauty  
 showed its silken chains. The female captives of  
 Paris became attentive to their dress, intimacies and  
 attachments were formed; and, amidst all the agita-  
 tion and agony consequent on their protracted suf-  
 ferings, the excitements of a happier existence were

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

Extraor-  
dinary  
spectacle  
presented  
by the pri-  
sons of  
Paris.



CHAP. XIV. the castles and chateaus in the interior should be demolished. The splendid pile of Versailles has

1793. escaped destruction; as it was, the whole magnificent furniture it contained, the accumulated centuries, was broken up and sold, and the apartments converted into barracks for the soldiers.  
<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, x. 77, 78.  
 Hist. Parl. xxviii. 418.  
 Lac. ii. 84.  
 Toul. iv. 279.

Trial of General Custine. Aug. 13.

General Custine, who commanded the army in Flanders at the time of the capture of Valenciennes by the English, was denounced by the agents of the Convention, and shortly after brought to the Revolutionary Tribunal, charged with having entered into treacherous correspondence with the Allies to have been the means of causing Frankfort, Cologne, and Valenciennes, to fall into the hands of the enemy. When the state of the armies, described in the report already quoted by St Just, is considered, it will not be deemed surprising that disaster attended the forces of the Republic. The only thing surprising is, that France was not conquered. The prosecutors entirely failed in adducing any satisfactory evidence against him. His beautiful and daughter-in-law in vain sat daily by his side, and exerted herself to the utmost in his behalf; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, with generous confidence, supported him by his military knowledge and experience. Her grace, and the obvious injustice of the accusation, produced some impression on the judges, and a few inclined to an acquittal; immediately the Revolutionary Tribunal itself was complained to the Jacobin Club.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Bull. du Trib. Rév. Nos. 88, 84.  
 Hist. Parl. xxviii. 254, 259.

“It gives me great pain,” said Hebert at that time, “to be obliged to denounce an authority which was the hope of the patriots; hitherto has so well deserved their confidence. The Revolutionary Tribunal is on the point of solving a guilty person, in favour of whom the

Denunciation of the *Jolies intrigantes*. at the Jacobins and the Convention.

Paris are moving heaven and earth. The  
 ter of Custine, as skilful an actress in this city  
 father was at the head of the armies, solicits  
 one in its behalf." Robespierre made some  
 g remarks on the spirit of chicanery and form  
 had taken possession of the Tribunal, and  
 ly supported his guilt. The municipality of  
 on the motion of Hebert, passed a decree  
 iting the fair supplicants (*jolies intrigantes*)  
 btaining entrance to any of the jails or police  
 The consequences were decisive; he was at  
 found guilty, and condemned amidst the rap-  
 applause of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who  
 he court. He was sent to the scaffold, and,  
 shaken for a moment, died firmly. The crowd  
 ured because he appeared on the fatal chariot  
 minister of religion by his side, and knelt to  
 the steps of the scaffold before he ascended.  
 al Houchard, the second in command, who  
 ounced Custine, notwithstanding his recent  
 over the Allies at Hoondschote, shortly after  
 the same fate; and Baraguay d'Hilliers,  
 ad for higher destinies, was sent to prison, from  
 e he was only delivered by the fall of Robes-

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

Aug. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.

296, 297.

Th. v. 297,

299. Toul.

iv. 62, 131.

Th. x. 297.

Bull. du

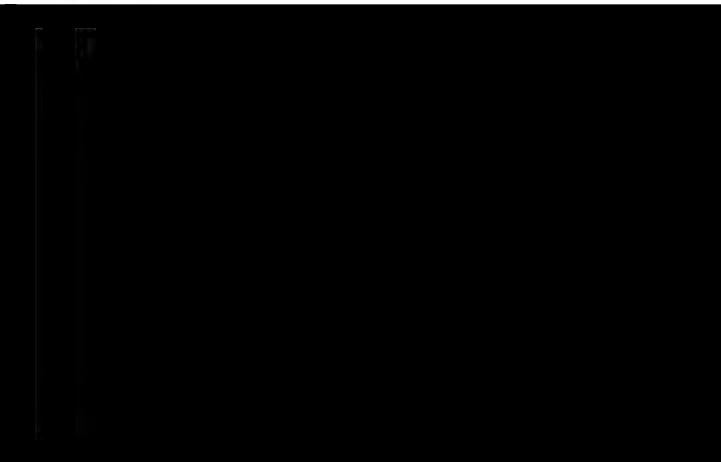
Trib. Rév.

No. 95, p.

390. Hist.

Parl.

xxviii. 417.



CHAP. consent to be separated from him. I can feel no  
XIV. enjoyment without my children : with them I can  
1793. regret nothing." Even in the prison of the Temple,

the cares of his education were sedulously attended to ; and the mind of the young King already imbibed the duties of royalty. The Revolution of 31st May, however, was felt in its full severity by the prisoners in the Temple, as well as all the other captives in France. Hebert insisted that the family of the tyrant should not be better treated than that of a family of Sans Culottes ; and he obtained a decree from the magistrates, by which every species of luxury was withdrawn. Their fare was reduced to the humblest kind ; wicker lamps became their only light, and their dress the coarsest habiliments. He himself soon after visited the Temple, and took from the unhappy prisoners even the little movables on which their only comfort depended. Nothing was found tending to inculcate them : from the Queen they took a stick of sealing-wax, from the Princess-Royal a prayer for France. They carried off, soon after, the last hat worn by Louis, which the Queen was striving to preserve as a relic, "as a suspicious article." Eighty-four louis, which the Princess Elizabeth had received from the Princess Lamballe, and which she had hitherto concealed, could not elude his rigorous search, and were taken away.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Duchess  
d'Angou-  
leme, 17.  
Lac. x. 296.  
Th. v. 369.

Cruel  
treatment  
of the  
Dauphin.

Soon the barbarity of the Government envied the widowed and captive Queen even the pleasure of beholding her son. The discovery of an abortive conspiracy for their liberation, was made the ground for separating the Dauphin from his mother, and delivering him to the inhuman Simon, the agent and friend of Robespierre. In vain the young Prince demanded to see the decree which authorized this cruel separation. His mother, weeping, resisted for above

hour, with the little boy clinging to her neck ; but at length she was forced to let him go by the threats instantly putting him to death. When removed, his poor child remained two days without taking nourishment, after he was for ever withdrawn from sight. His beautiful fair locks, which still fell in profuse curls over his shoulders, were cut off, and he was dressed in coarse garments, and compelled to wear the *bonnet rouge*, and the pantaloons and that which composed the dress called "*à la armagnole*." All the cruel treatment of Simon could not extinguish the native generosity of his disposition. "Capet," said he, "if the Vendéans are to succeed in delivering you, and placing you on the throne, what would you do with me?"—"I would pardon you," replied the infant monarch. "What am I to do with the child?" said Simon to the Committee of Public Salvation:—"Banish him?"—"No."—"Kill him?"—"No."—"Poison him?"—"No."—"What then?"—"Get quit of him."—These instructions were too faithfully executed, by depriving him of air, exercise, and wholesome food, by keeping him in a continual state of squalid filth, the unfortunate child was at length brought to the point of death, without improving upon

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

July 3.

Lt. x.  
230, 233.  
Th. v. 376.  
Duchesse  
d'Angou-  
leme, 16,  
17, 18.



CHAP. heroic demeanour interested even the wife of  
XIV. jailer in her behalf. Night and day a guar-

1793. gendarmes was kept in her small and wret-  
cell. But the fidelity of her devoted adherents  
over these guardians of the municipality; 1  
faithful friends visited her in her cell, and a 2  
geous priest, M. l'Abbé Maquine, at the haza  
his life, often administered to her the sacra  
which she received with the most devout grati  
Madame de Staël published a pamphlet, in w  
with generous eloquence, she urged the impoli  
well as injustice of further severity against the  
family. "Women of France," she concluded,  
appeal to you : your empire is over, if ferocity  
tinues to reign : your destinies are gone, if  
tears fall in vain. Defend, then, the Queen, by  
arms which Nature has given you : Seek the in  
who will perish if bereaved of his mother, and  
become the object of painful interest, from  
unheard-of calamities which have befallen him.  
him ask on his knees the life of his mother : cl  
hood can pray ; it can pray, when as yet it know  
the calamity which it would avert." But her ef  
were in vain. On the 14th October the Q  
was brought before the Revolutionary Tribuna  
An immense crowd assembled to witness her

1 Duchesse  
d'Angou-  
leme, 28,  
30. De  
Staël, Re-  
flexions  
sur le Pro-  
cès de la  
Reine.  
Œuvres,  
xvi. 32.  
Lac. x.  
239, 241,  
249.

Trial of  
the Queen.  
Oct. 14.

The spectacle of a QUEEN being tried by her  
jects, was as yet new in the history of the wo  
the populace, how much soever accustomed to  
guinary scenes, were strongly excited by this 3  
Sorrow and confinement had whitened her once b  
tiful hair ; her figure and air still commanded the  
miration of all who beheld her ; her cheeks, pale  
emaciated, were occasionally tinged with a 4  
colour, at the mention of those she had lost.  
of deference to her husband's memory, rather 5



her own inclination, she pleaded to the court. Their interrogatories were of no avail; her answers, like those of the King, were clear, distinct, and unequivocal. As the form of examining witnesses was necessary, the prosecutors called the Count d'Estaing, who commanded the military at Versailles on the 14th October 1789; but though the Queen had been his political opponent, he had too high a sense of honour to tell any thing but the truth, and spoke only of her heroism on that trying occasion, and her noble resolution expressed in his presence to die with her husband, rather than obtain life by leaving him. Danuel, notwithstanding his hostility to the court during the Legislative Assembly, declared he would not depone to one fact against the accused. The venerable Bailly was next brought in: he now beheld the fruits of his democratic enthusiasm, and wept when he saw the Queen. When asked if he knew "the woman Capet," he turned with a melancholy air to his sovereign, and profoundly bowing his head, said, "Yes, I know *Madame*." He then declared that he could say nothing against her, and that all the pretended accounts extracted from the young Prince, relative to the journey to Varennes, were false. The Jacobins were furious at his testi-

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

CHAP. heroic demeanour interested her mother; the Queen,  
 XIV. jailer in her behalf. No gendarmes was kept in the atrocious falsehood,  
 1793. cell. But the fidelity of an having insisted that she  
 over these guards have not hitherto spoken,  
 faithful friends whose nature refused to answer to  
 geous priest, whom, brought against a mother.  
 his life, offered audience, with inexpressible dignity,  
 which she said, "I appeal to all the mothers who have  
 Madam such a thing is possible." It was of no  
 with, notwithstanding the eloquent and courageous  
 we of her counsel, she was condemned.  
 At four in the morning of the day of her execution,  
 she wrote a letter to the Princess Elizabeth,  
 worthy to be placed beside the testament of Louis.  
 "To you, my sister," said she, "I address myself  
 for the last time. I have been condemned, not to  
 an ignominious death; it is so only to the guilty;  
 but to rejoin your brother. Innocent like him, I  
 hope to emulate his firmness at the last hour. I  
 weep only for my children: I hope that one day,  
 when they have regained their rank, they may be  
 reunited to you, and feel the blessing of your tender  
 care. Let them ever recollect what I have never  
 ceased to inculcate, that a scrupulous discharge of  
 duty is the only foundation of a good life; friend-  
 ship and mutual confidence its best consolation.  
 May my son never forget the last words of his fa-  
 ther, which I now repeat from myself—*Never to*  
*fièche, sur lequel était écrit, 'Jesu, miserere nobis.'* Une autrefois il  
 trouva dans la chambre d'Elizabeth un chapeau qui fut reconnu pour  
 avoir appartenu à Louis Capet: cette découverte ne lui permit plus de  
 douter qu'il existe parmi ses collègues quelques hommes dans le cas de  
 se dégrader en point de servir la tyrannie. \* \* \* Qu'il n'y avait pas même  
 à douter par ce que dit le fils Capet, qu'il n'y ait un acte incestueux  
 entre la mère et le fils," [a child of eight years old!]—*Bulletin du*  
*Tribunal Révolutionnaire, No. 24, p. 95, 96; and Hist. Parl. xxix. 354,*  
*355.*

*My dear sister,*  
*1793.*  
 I die true to the CHAP.  
 the faith of my fathers, which I XIV.  
 profess : Deprived of all spi- 1793.  
 only seek for pardon from  
 less of all who know me ;  
 al manner, my sister, for all  
 have involuntarily given you : I  
 givenness to all my enemies for the evil  
 ve done ; and I now bid farewell to my aunts,  
 others, and sisters. I have had friends : the idea  
 being separated from them is one of the greatest  
 regrets I feel in dying. Let them know that in my  
 last moments I thought of them. Adieu ! my good  
 and tender sister ; may this letter reach you. Think  
 ever of me ; and I embrace you with all my heart,  
 as well as those poor and dear infants. My God !  
 how heart-rending it is to quit them for ever !  
 Adieu ! adieu ! I am now to bid farewell to all but  
 my religious duties." 1 \*

Duchess  
 D'Angou-  
 leme, 134.  
 Lac. x.  
 259.

When led out for execution, she was dressed in  
 white : She had cut off her hair with her own hands. Oct. 16.  
 Placed in a hurdle, with her arms tied behind her  
 back, she was conducted by a long circuit to the  
 place of execution, which was on the Place of the  
 husband had perished. She  
 constitutional

pp. 80, 80.  
Hist. Parl. she added—"I appeal to all the mothers  
xxix. 354, me, whether such a thing is possible." It  
372. Lac. avail; notwithstanding the eloquent and co  
x. 250, 251. defence of her counsel, she was condemned  
Th. v. 3, 4,  
375.

At four in the morning of the day of h  
Her heroic tion, she wrote a letter to the Princess E  
conduct worthy to be placed beside the testament  
and execu-  
tion.

"To you, my sister," said she, "I addre  
for the last time. I have been condemne  
an ignominious death; it is so only to th  
but to rejoin your brother. Innocent lik  
hope to emulate his firmness at the last  
weep only for my children: I hope that  
when they have regained their rank, the  
reunited to you, and feel the blessing of yo  
care. Let them ever recollect what I ha  
ceased to inculcate, that a scrupulous dis  
duty is the only foundation of a good life  
ship and mutual confidence its best co  
May my son never forget the last words  
ther, which I now repeat from myself—

*flèche, sur lequel était écrit, 'Jesu, miserere nobis.' Un  
trouva dans la chambre d'Elizabeth un chapeau qui fut a*

apt to *revenge our death*. I die true to the CHAP. XIV. 1793.  
 catholic religion—the faith of my fathers, which I  
 never ceased to profess: Deprived of all spi-  
 ritual consolation, I can only seek for pardon from  
 men. I ask forgiveness of all who know me;  
 you, in an especial manner, my sister, for all  
 pain I may have involuntarily given you: I  
 ask forgiveness to all my enemies for the evil  
 I have done; and I now bid farewell to my aunts,  
 uncles, and sisters. I have had friends: the idea  
 of being separated from them is one of the greatest  
 pains I feel in dying. Let them know that in my  
 moments I thought of them. Adieu! my good  
 tender sister; may this letter reach you. Think  
 of me; and I embrace you with all my heart,  
 all as those poor and dear infants. My God! 1. Duchess  
 D'Angou-  
 leme, 134.  
 Lac. x.  
 259.  
 heart-rending it is to quit them for ever!  
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 religious duties.”<sup>1</sup>

When led out for execution, she was dressed in  
 white: She had cut off her hair with her own hands. Oct. 16.  
 She was in a hurdle, with her arms tied behind her  
 , she was conducted by a long circuit to the  
 place of execution, which was on the Place of the  
 Revolution where her husband had perished. She



CHAP. on the numerous revolutionary names and  
XIV. which had so altered the character of the me

1793. since she last saw it. When the chariot stop  
the Place Louis XV., she turned her eyes  
Tuileries, once the scene of her joys, and a  
flush suffused her countenance, which soo  
place to the former pallid hue. The people,  
by revolutionary emissaries, raised savage sh  
joy as she moved along; the Queen, with a  
look, indicating pity rather than suffering, be  
last expression of popular fury. When the  
sion reached the fatal place, she ascended  
firm step the scaffold, and at the top of th  
trode accidentally on the foot of the execu  
“Pardon me, sir;” said she, “I did not do i  
tionally.”\* Her last words were, “Oh God  
don my enemies: farewell my beloved child  
am about to join your father!” She then  
resigned herself to the executioners: her count  
was illuminated by an expression of Christian  
and the daughter of the Cæsars died with a fi  
that did honour to her race.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bull. de  
Trib. Rév.  
No. 33, p.  
128. Prud-  
homme,  
Rév. de  
Paris. Lac.  
x. 261.  
Toul.  
iv. 107.  
Th. v. 337.  
Duval  
Souv. de  
la Terreur,  
iv. 68.

Her cha-  
racter.

Thus perished, at the age of thirty-nine,  
Antoinette, Queen of France. Called in early  
the first throne in Europe, surrounded by a s  
court and a flattering nobility, blessed with a  
tionate husband and promising family, she  
to have approached, as nearly as the uncerta  
life will admit, to the limits of human felicity  
died, after years of suffering and anguish, bro  
captivity, subdued by misfortune, bereft of h

\* En montant à l'échafaud Antoinette mit par mégarde le  
celui du citoyen Samson, et l'exécuteur des jugemens en roue  
de douleur pour s'écrier, “Ah!” Elle se retourna en lui disant  
sieur, je vous demande excuse: je ne l'ai pas fait exprès.  
homme's account of the execution of the Queen is far the  
nute; and as he was a furious Republican, and ally of Danto  
liable to no suspicion.

aracter has come comparatively pure and un-  
 out of the revolutionary furnace. An affec-  
 daughter and a faithful wife, she preserved  
 wo most corrupted courts of Europe the sim-  
 and affections of domestic life. If in early  
 er indiscretion and familiarity were such as  
 e would condemn, in later years her spirit  
 guanimity were such as justice must admire.  
 s more fitted for the storms of adversity than  
 shine of prosperity. Ambitious and over-  
 in the earlier years of her reign: it was the  
 gs of her later days that drew forth the no-  
 rts of her character. The worthy descen-  
 Maria Theresa, she would have died in the  
 mbating her enemies, rather than live on  
 one subject to their control. Years of mis-  
 quenched her spirit, but did not lessen her  
 ; in the solitude of the Temple, she dis-  
 l, with exemplary fidelity, every duty to her  
 d and her children, and bore a reverse of  
 unparalleled even in that age of calamity

Toul. iv.  
 108 109

CHAP. XIV. 1793. unprecedented between their people. So uncertain are the conclusions of political wisdom, when founded on personal interests or connexions, and not on the great and permanent principles which govern human affairs. The manners of the Queen accelerated the Revolution: her foreign descent exasperated the public discontent; her undeserved death was one means of bringing about its punishment. The justice of Heaven neither slumbered nor slept. Slow, but sure, came the hour of Germany's revenge. On that day twenty years from which she ascended the scaffold, commenced the fatal rout of France on the field of Leipsic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Oct. 16, 1813. She died Oct. 16, 1793.

The Decemvirs next proceeded to destroy their former friends, and the earliest supporters of the Revolution. Bailly, mayor of Paris, and president of the Assembly on occasion of the celebrated Jeu de Paume, was arrested and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. His profound and eloquent scientific researches, his great services in the cause of liberty, his enlightened philanthropy, pleaded in vain before that sanguinary court. The recollection of the Champ de Mars, of the red flag, and the courageous stand which he had made with La Fayette against the fury of the multitude, as well as his recent refusal to depone against Marie Antoinette at her trial, were present to the minds of his prosecutors. The witnesses adduced spoke against him with an unusual degree of asperity. His last words to the court were—"I have ever executed the law: I will know how to obey it, since you are its organ." He was condemned to die, and in his case, as he had foreseen, a refinement of cruelty was exerted. He was first brought to the common place of execution in the Place Louis XV., but when

Arrest and death of Bailly.

Nov. 11.



ere, the mob, with savage yells, insisted he should  
 taken to the Champ de Mars, as the place where  
 had first hoisted the flag of defiance to the Jaco-  
 a atrocity. Thither he was accordingly led; the  
 illotine was taken down, and an immense crowd  
 vindictive Jacobins, among whom were a large  
 ortion of women, and persons whom he had  
 ved from famine during his mayoralty, followed  
 witness his death. On foot, in the most dread-  
 l weather, the unhappy victim was led behind the  
 illotine during a tedious passage of two hours,  
 on the Place Louis XV., to which he was first  
 ought, to the place finally fixed on for his execu-  
 on opposite Chaillot. During this passage he fre-  
 quently fell from the violence to which he was ex-  
 posed; he was assailed with hisses and pelted with  
 mud, and the first President of the Assembly re-  
 ceived several inhuman blows from the populace.<sup>1</sup> Bull. de  
 at the Champ de Mars, the red flag, emblematic Trib. Rév.  
 of the martial law which he had authorized, was No. 81, p.  
 turned over his head, and Bailly was led again on 322. Lac.  
 not, amidst a drenching fall of snow and sleet, to x. 292. Th.  
 the banks of the river, where he was executed. x. 294, 396,  
 "You tremble, Bailly," said one of the spectators. 397. Toul.  
 "My friend" said the old man, "it is only from iv. 130.  
 Deux Amis,  
 xi. 249.  
 Biog. Univ.  
 iii. 242,  
 243

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.



containing a sentiment descriptive of the reign  
his party during those melancholy times—

“ Choisi d'être oppresseur ou la victime,  
J'embrassai le malheur et leur laissai le crime.”

Terrified by the numerous lists of persons  
demned for concealing the proscribed, he due  
to his generous protector the resolution to leave  
“ I must not remain any longer with you ; I am  
*la loi.*”—“ But we,” replied she, “ are not *la*  
*l'humanite.*” He set out, nevertheless, disguised  
a common labourer ; at the village of Clamart  
fineness of his linen awakened the suspicion of  
landlady, who had him arrested and sent to prison  
where next morning he was found dead from  
effects of a speedy poison, which, like many  
in those days of terror, he constantly carried  
his person.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bull. de  
Trib. Rév.  
No. 72.  
T'h. ix.  
286, 287.  
Deux Amis,  
xi. 21, 22.

The Duke of Orleans, the early and intense  
instigator of the Revolution, was its next victim.  
Billaud Varennes said in the Convention—“  
time has come when all the conspirators should  
be put to death.”

Trial of  
the Duke  
of Orleans.

me so blind as not to be enlightened by the flames  
 of Lyons and Marseilles, which the conspirators  
 have lighted; or so deaf as not to hear the cries of  
 the patriots massacred in La Vendée, Belgium, and  
 Foulon; wherever, in short, that execrable faction  
 have possessed any influence. I demand that we  
 instantly proceed to the vote." The Assembly,  
 and his hireling adulators, unanimously supported  
 his proposal. In vain he alleged his accession to  
 the disorders of 5th October, his support of the re-  
 volt of August 10th, his vote against the King on  
 January 17th; his condemnation speedily was pro-  
 nounced.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxviii. 176,  
177.

He demanded only one favour, which was granted,  
 that his execution should be postponed for twenty-  
 four hours. In the interval, he had a repast pre-  
 pared with care, on which he feasted with more than  
 usual avidity; when led out to execution, he gazed  
 for a time, with a smile on his countenance, on the  
 Palais Royal, the scene of his former orgies. He  
 was detained above a quarter of an hour in front of  
 that palace by order of Robespierre, who had in vain  
 asked his daughter's hand in marriage, and had  
 promised, if he would relent in that extremity, to  
 write a treaty which would save his life. Denounced

His execu-  
tion.



CHAP. exemplified the effect of materialism and infidelity,  
 XIV. in rendering men callous to futurity, and degrading  
 1793. a naturally noble disposition. The multitude applauded his execution; not a voice was raised in his favour, though it was mainly composed of the very men who had been instigated by his adulators, and fed by his extravagance. The destruction of Bailly, Custine, and the Duke of Orleans, annihilated the party attached to a constitutional monarchy. The early objects of the Revolution were thus frustrated; its first supporters destroyed by the passions they had awaked among the people. The overthrow of the Gironde extinguished the hope of a republic; the massacres of the Constitutionals, that of a limited monarchy. The prophecy of Vergniaud was rapidly approaching its accomplishment; the Revolution, like Saturn, was successively devouring all its progeny.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de la Conv. iii, 180. Lac. xi. 289, 290. Toul. iv. 121, 122.

Violation of the tombs of St Denis. Destruction of monuments over all France.

These sanguinary proceedings were followed by a measure as unnecessary as it was barbarous—the violation of the tombs of St Denis, and the profanation of the sepulchres of the Kings of France. By a decree of the Convention, these venerable asylums of departed greatness were ordered to be destroyed—a measure never adopted by the English Parliament during the frenzy of the Covenant; and which proves, that political frenzy will push men to greater extremities than religious fanaticism. A furious multitude, headed by the revolutionary army, precipitated itself out of Paris; the tombs of Henry IV., of Francis I., and of Louis XII., were ransacked, and their bones scattered in the air. Even

\* “Les tombeaux et mosoles des ci-devant rois, élevés dans l’église de St Denis, dans le Temple, et autres lieux dans toute l’étendue de la Republique, seront detruits le 10 Août prochain.”—*Decree, Aug. 2, 1793. Hist. Parl. xxviii. 397.*

his glorious name of Turenne could not protect his grave from spoliation. His remains were found almost undecayed, as when he received the fatal wound on the banks of the Lech. The bones of Charles V., the saviour of his country, were discovered. At his feet was discovered the coffin of the faithful Du Guesclin, and French hands profaned the skeleton before which English invasion had rolled back. Most of these tombs proved to be strongly fortified. Much time, and no small exertion of skill and labour, was required to burst their barriers. They would have resisted for ever the decay of time, the violence of enemies; they yielded to the fury of domestic dissension.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. x.  
264, 265,  
and Pr.  
Hist. ii.  
142. Cha-  
teaub.  
Etud. Hist.  
iv. 169.

There is something solemn and yet interesting in the opening of the tombs of the departed great. It carries us back at once to far distant ages: the corpses, with their grave clothes, with their features sometimes unchanged, are revealed to the view: it seems as if the awful scene of the day of judgment had arrived, when the graves shall be opened and the dead arise. The measures of the French Revolutionists displayed, beyond all former example among men, this terrible spectacle. By a decree of the municipality of Paris

Particu-  
lars of the  
spoliation  
of the  
tombs.

Oct. 12.



CHAP. but at length yielded to repeated blows of prodigious  
XIV. sledge-hammers, and were nearly shivered to pieces.

1793. One of the first tombs rifled was that of Pepin,  
father of that great conqueror. All the other  
mausoleums were opened and ransacked in succe-  
sion: the vast floor of the dark subterraneous church  
was covered with the bones of kings, mingled with  
the broken fragments of their marble sepulchres.  
The arms and the heads of Louis XII. and Francis  
I. were severed and heaped in a corner of the church.

The monuments of Turenne and Du Guesclin were  
smashed and ruined. The abomination of desola-  
tion had penetrated every part of the cemetery.<sup>1</sup>

Duval,  
ouv. de la  
erreur.  
. 32, 46.

One of the tombs bore date so early as 580: it  
was that of Dagobert, son of Childeric, king of  
France. Nearly the whole sepulchres of the first  
race of kings were destroyed in a few hours. Those  
of the Bourbon family, from their more costly con-  
struction, required more time for their demolition.  
But it was at last effected, and the dead in their  
grave clothes were drawn forth. The body of Henry  
IV. was so entire that it was instantly recognised  
from the prints by the spectators: a fragrant per-  
fume, when the lid was removed from the coffin,  
filled the air, from aromatic substances in the inte-  
rior of the skull; but as the grave clothes were re-  
moved, the two deep fissures made by the dagger  
of Ravallac still yawned almost as clean as when the  
wounds were received in the side. The venerable  
remains were at first the object of general respect;  
but on the 14th, a Jacobin orator, Javogres, roused  
the people by harangues, and they tore the body in  
pieces, and cast the fragments into a vast gulf, where  
they were mixed with all the others, and irrecover-  
ably lost. The body of Louis XIII. was still entire,  
but completely dried up: Louis XIV. was nothing

ate in  
hich the  
dies of  
e kings  
re  
und.

strid mass, which emitted a fetid exhalation. CHAP.  
 rains had come to the nothingness so often XIV.

in his presence, when surrounded by the 1793.  
 Versailles, by Massillon and Bossuet. The  
 Louis XV. was found at the entrance of the  
 according to custom, till his successor occupied  
 e, when the former king was removed to the  
 It exhibited so hideous a mass of putrefac-  
 at when the lid was removed from the coffin  
 titential exhalation filled the whole Abbey,  
 s even felt in the adjoining houses. To  
 the air, discharges of musketry were fired  
 the Abbey: they were heard in Paris at the  
 ment that the head of Marie Antoinette fell <sup>1 Duval, iv.</sup>  
 scaffold, in the Place Louis XV.<sup>1</sup> 41, 49, 68.

he bodies found there, kings, queens, and  
 were thrown into a vast trench and destroyed <sup>Bodies of</sup>  
 kline. The body of Du Guesclin was lost <sup>Louis XV.</sup>  
 way. That of Turenne alone escaped, not <sup>and Tu-</sup>  
 rene.

by reverence for his memory, but from the  
 te circumstance that, after it had been or-  
 o be thrown into the common tomb, two of  
 ers of the Museum of Natural History re-  
 to have it, as being a "well *preserved*  
 , which might be of service to the science of  
 ative anatomy." \* It was delivered to them  
 agly, and carried to the Jardin des Plantes,  
 t lay for nine years in a storeroom, between  
 letons of a monkey and a camel. In 1802,  
 , Napoleon heard of the circumstance, and

re avait été déjà donné de transporter le corps de Turenne  
 général des autres cadavres, lorsque deux administrateurs du  
 D'Histoire Naturelle réclamèrent le corps de ce grand homme,  
 , *momie bien conservée* qui pourrait servir aux progrès de  
 comparée—on le deposa dans une grenier où il est resté  
 es entre le squelette d'un singe et celui d'un chameau!—  
*ouvenirs de la Terreur*, iv. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Duval, iv.  
68, 78. extracted from the tombs, were brought in  
Prud- pomp to the Convention, where they were  
homme, out in confusion on the floor, amidst de  
Rév. de Paris, No. acclamations of "Vive la Republique!"<sup>1</sup> \*

This was immediately followed by a general  
Destruc- upon the monuments and remains of an  
tion of throughout all France. The sepulchres  
monu- great of past times, of the barons and gene  
ments over all France. the feudal ages, of the paladins, and of tl  
saders, were involved in one undistinguishe  
It seemed as if the glories of antiquity w  
gotten, or sought to be buried in oblivion.  
skulls of monarchs and heroes were tossed  
like footballs by the profane multitude; li  
gravediggers in Hamlet, they made a jest  
lips before which nations had trembled. N  
could equal the fury with which the populace  
greater part of France, threw themselves  
monumental remains in their churches. It wou  
as if their rage at the dead was even grea

\* "Chaque section de Paris, et des communes voisines, l'honneur d'aller déposer sur l'autel de la patrie les dépouilles



their exasperation at the living. Hardly any monu-  
 ments of note escaped dilapidation. This devasta-  
 tion was much more complete than in Scotland during  
 the fury of the Reformation; for there the images and  
 masterpieces only were destroyed, the graves were  
 trifled. The monumental remains, which had  
 impeded their sacrilegious fury, were subsequently  
 collected by order of the Directory, and placed in a  
 great museum at Paris, in the Rue Petits Augustins,  
 where they long remained piled and heaped  
 together in broken confusion—an emblem of the  
 revolution, which destroyed in a few years what  
 centuries of glory had erected.<sup>1</sup>

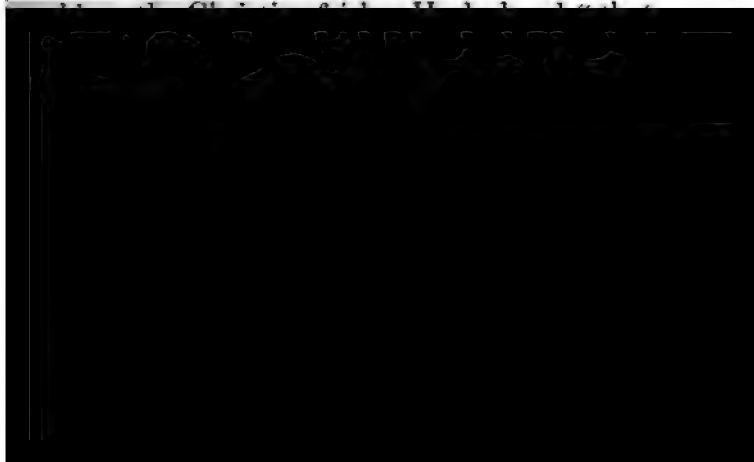
CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Personal  
Observa-  
tion. Deux  
Amis, xi.  
53.

Having massacred the great of the present, and  
 maltreated the illustrious of former ages, nothing re-  
 maining to the Revolutionists but to direct their  
 rage against Heaven itself. Pache, Hebert,  
 and Chaumette, the leaders of the municipality,  
 publicly expressed their determination “to dethrone  
 the King of Heaven, as well as the monarchs of the  
 earth.” To accomplish this design, they prevailed  
 on Gobel, the apostate constitutional Bishop of  
 Paris, to appear at the bar of the Assembly, accom-  
 panied by some of the clergy of his diocese, and

Abjuration  
of Christi-  
anity by  
the Muni-  
cipality.  
Nov. 7,  
1793.



CHAP. constitutional bishops and clergy in the Co  
XIV. joined in the proposition. The Convention

1793. them with loud applause, and gave them  
ternal kiss. Crowds of drunken artisans and  
less prostitutes crowded to the bar, and t  
under their feet the sacred vases, consecr  
ages to the holiest purposes of religion. 't  
tions of Paris shortly after followed the ex  
the constitutional clergy, and publicly abj  
Christian religion. The churches were strip  
their ornaments; their plate and valua  
tents brought in heaps to the municipa  
the Convention, from whence they were  
the mint to be melted down. Trampling  
foot the images of our Saviour and the  
they elevated, amidst shouts of applause, t  
of Marat and Lepelletier, and danced rour  
singing parodies on the Hallelujah, and  
the Carmagnole. Momoro, the printer, ar  
member of the municipality, then said—"r  
representatives, you see before you your t  
who desire to be regenerated, and to becom  
You see the bishops of Paris, the grand vic  
some of the priests, who, conducted by reaso  
to lay aside the character which superstiti  
given them: that great example will be  
by their colleagues. It is thus that the mi  
despotism concur in its destruction: it is th  
soon the French Republic will recognise r  
worship but that of liberty, equality, and  
truth, which, thanks to your immortal labo  
soon become universal." During several  
x.300,302. daily abjurations by the constitutional cler  
Toul. iv.  
124. Deux place at the bar of the Convention. On t  
Amis, xii.  
70, 71. November, Si  yes appeared, and abjured l  
Nov 7. rest.<sup>1</sup> "I have lived," said he, "the vi

<sup>1</sup> Hist.

Parl. xxx.

185, 186.

Th. v. 429,

430. Lac.

x.300,302.

Toul. iv.

124. Deux

Amis, xii.

70, 71.

Nov 7.

superstition. I will not be its slave. I know no other worship but that of liberty ; no other religion but the love of humanity and country."

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

Shortly after, a still more indecent exhibition took place before the Assembly. The celebrated prophecy of Father Beauregard was accomplished—Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies !" Hebert, Chaumette, and their associates, appeared at the bar, and declared that "God did not exist, and that the worship of Reason was to be substituted in his stead." Chaumette said—"Legislative fanaticism has lost its hold ; it has given place to reason. Its dark eyes could not bear the light of reason. We have left its temples ; they are regenerated. To-day an immense multitude are assembled under its Gothic roofs, which, for the first time, will re-echo the voice of truth. There the French will celebrate their true worship—that of liberty and reason. There we will form new vows for the prosperity of the armies of the Republic ; there we will abandon the worship of inanimate idols for that of *Reason*, this animated image, the *chef-d'œuvre* of creation." A veiled female, arrayed in blue drapery, was brought into the Assembly, and Chaumette, taking

The Goddess of Reason introduced into the Convention.  
Nov. 9.



CHAP. Convention. The goddess, after being em  
XIV. by the president, was mounted on a magnific

1793. and conducted, amidst an immense crowd,  
cathedral of Notre-Dame, to take the place  
Deity. There she was elevated on the high  
and received the adoration of all present ;

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de numerous band of elegant young women, al  
la Conv. rantes of the opera, her attendants, whose a  
iii. 192— looks already sufficiently indicated their pro  
196. Lac. x. 307, 308. retired into the chapels round the choir,  
Toul. iv. 124. Th. every species of licentiousness and obscenity  
v. 431, 432. Hist. Parl. indulged in without control, with hardly any ve  
xxx. 197, the public gaze. To such a length was this  
199. Jour- that Robespierre afterwards declared that  
nal du mette deserved death for the abominati  
Paris, No. 315. Duval, had permitted on that occasion. Thence  
Souv. de la Terreur, that ancient edifice was called the *Temple*  
iv. 157, *son*.<sup>1</sup>  
159.

Atheisti-  
tical de-  
crees of  
the muni-  
cipality of  
Paris.

The municipality, elated by the success of  
efforts to overturn the Christian religion, a  
countenance they had received in their design  
the National Convention, lost no time in a  
the most decisive measures for its entire extirpation.  
All the relics preserved in the churches of Paris  
were ordered to be brought to the communion hall,  
the loudest applause shook the hall, when the  
tation of Quinze-Vingt brought the shirt of  
Louis, long the object of esteem, to be burned  
altar of Reason. On the 11th November  
popular society of the museum entered the hall  
municipality, exclaiming, "Vive la Raison  
carrying on the top of a pole the half-burnt  
of several books, among others the breviary  
the *Old and New Testament*, "which has been  
piated in a great fire," said their president, "fooleries  
which they have made the human race

mit." Taking advantage of the enthusiasm which CHAP. XIV. his announcement excited, Hebert proposed and 1793. carried a decree for the demolition of the whole Nov. 11. of the steeples of Paris, on the ground that they were "repugnant to the principles of equality." On the same day, a decree passed for the destruction of all the sculpture on Notre Dame, excepting that on the two lateral portals, which were to be saved, said Chaumette, "because Dupiers had there traced his planetary system." Finally, on the 23d Nov. 23. November, atheism in France reached its extreme point, by a decree of the municipality ordering the immediate closing of all the churches, and placing of the whole priests in a state of surveillance. At the same period they gave decisive proof of the bloody use they were to make of their power by Dec. 2. ordering lists of all the persons who were suspected, 1 Journal de Paris, No. 318. and had, at any time, signed anti-revolutionary petitions, to be sent to the forty-eight sections of Paris, Moniteur. Hist. Parl. xxx. 200, and in some sections they refused passports to them, 204. when desirous of leaving the city.<sup>1</sup>

The services of religion were now universally abandoned; the pulpits were deserted throughout all the revolutionized districts; baptisms ceased; the burial Universal abandonment of religion



the comedian Molière, in the church of St. Germain, carried impiety to its utmost length. “(You exist,” said he, “avenge your injured name; bid you defiance; you remain silent; you do not launch your thunders; who after this will believe in your existence?” It is by slower and the operation of general laws, that the decrees of Providence are accomplished. A convincing proof of divine government the destruction of the blasphemer was about afforded; the annihilation of the guilty by his own hands, and the consequences of the judgment which they themselves had unchained. “says St Augustin, “patiens, quia æternus.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
67, 73, 74.  
Lac. x. 308,  
309, 331.  
Toul. iv.  
124. Mig.  
ii. 299.  
Souv. de  
la Terreur,  
iv. 149,  
150.

General  
and exces-  
sive disso-  
lution of  
marriage,

The most sacred relations of life were at this period placed on a new footing, suited to the vagrant ideas of the times. Marriage was declared a civil contract, binding only during the pleasure of the contracting parties. Divorce immediately became general; the corruption of manners reached its height; the vices of the monarchs and courtiers descended to the shopkeepers and artisans of

in Paris in the first three months of 1793 were while the marriages were only 1785; a proportion probably unexampled among mankind. The consequences soon became apparent. Before the Consulate, one-half of the whole births in France were illegitimate; and at this moment, notwithstanding the apparent reformation of manners which has taken place since the Restoration, every third child to be seen in the streets of Paris is a bastard.<sup>1</sup> The decree of the Convention suppressed all the hospitals, public schools, and colleges, even those of medicine and surgery; their whole revenues were confiscated. Even the academies which had become celebrated in European history by the illustrious names by whom they had been graced, were involved in general proscription. The exquisite tapestry of the Gobelins was publicly burned, because the arms of the crown and arms of France were on them. The sculpture and statuary which could be found in churches, palaces, or chateaus, was destroyed, because it savoured of royalty and aristocracy. Schools, on a plan traced out by Condorcet, were directed; but no efficient steps were taken to re-establish their establishment, and education, for a

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Dupin, l.  
79. Lac.  
x. 332, 333.  
Burke, viii.  
176. Reg.  
Peace.

Confisca-  
tion of the  
property of  
hospitals  
and the  
poor.  
Sept. 7.



apparent; mendicity advanced with frightful  
Liancourt, and the condition of the poor throughout France.  
Deux  
Amis, xii.  
24.

In the midst of this general desertion of the  
Noble firm- tian faith by the constitutional clergy, it is a  
ness of the tory for the honour of human nature to ha  
Bishop of instance of an opposite character to recount.  
Blois.  
Nov. 7. gory, Bishop of Blois, arrived in the Convention  
he was pressed to imitate the example of  
He ascended the tribune; and, while the Assembly  
expected to hear him abjure like the rest, he  
“My attachment to the cause of liberty is  
known; I have given multiplied proofs of  
the present question relates to the revenues  
bishopric, I resign them without regret. If  
question of religion, that is a matter beyond  
jurisdiction, and you have no right to enter upon  
I hear much of fanaticism and superstition.  
on what the words mean, and you will see that  
something diametrically opposite to religion  
for myself, Catholic by conviction and sentiment



from me. Acting on sacred principles which are dear to me, and which I defy you to ravish from me, I have endeavoured to do good in my diocese; I will remain a bishop to do so, and I invoke for my field the liberty of worship." This courageous speech produced great astonishment in the Convention, and he was denounced at the Jacobins for having wished to "christianize" the Revolution; but Despi  re, who was in secret averse to these scandalous scenes as likely to discredit it, did not support the clamour, and he escaped without being sent to the guillotine.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Jacobins were bestowing every imaginable honour on the memory of Marat, who, beyond either Voltaire or Rousseau, was erected to the object of general adoration. His bust was placed in the Convention, and on an altar in the *salle*, with the inscription—"Unable to corrupt, we have assassinated him." He became, literally making, an object of worship; great numbers of victims were sacrificed to his memory; and the monster who had incessantly urged the cutting off two hundred and eighty thousand heads was assimilated to the Saviour of the world. A couplet

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

Nov. 13,

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Hist.

Parl. xxx.

193, 194.

Journal des

Jacobins,

Apotheosis

of Marat.

Nov. 14.



paramount importance took place during the  
of the year 1793, and produced consequences  
will be felt by the latest generation in that c  
These were the immense levies, first of thre  
dred thousand, then of twelve hundred th  
men, which took place in the course of that  
the confiscation of two-thirds of the landed pr  
in the kingdom, which arose from the decrees  
Convention against the emigrants, clergy, a  
sons convicted at the Revolutionary Tribunal  
the unbounded issue of assignats on the s  
of the national domains. These great me  
which no government could have attempt  
during the fervour of a revolution, m  
though for a brief period, upheld each  
and perpetuated the revolutionary system  
important interests which were made to  
on its continuance. The immense levy  
diers drew off almost all the ardent and en  
spirits, and not only furnished bread to the  
tudes whom the closing of all pacific emplo  
had deprived of subsistence, but let off in in

stationary *régime* at home, and the contest with  
 enemies abroad; the extraordinary issue of paper,  
 the amount ultimately of L.350,000,000, always  
 led the Treasury to liquidate its demands, and  
 taxed every holder of property in the kingdom.  
 In support of the national domains, the only se-  
 curity on which it rested. During the unparalleled  
 almost demoniac energy produced by the sudden  
 action of these powerful causes, France was un-  
 conquerable; and it was their combined operation  
 which brought it triumphant through that violent  
 unprecedented crisis.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Rapport  
de Cam-  
bon, May  
16, 1793.  
Moniteur,  
18th May  
1793,  
p. 973.  
Toul. v.  
194. Th. }  
vii. 239.

Europe has had too much reason to become ac-  
 quainted with the military power developed by France  
 during this eventful period; but the civil force, ex-  
 posed by the dictators within their own dominions,  
 though less generally known, was perhaps still more  
 remarkable. Forty-eight thousand revolutionary  
 committees were soon established in the Republic,  
 one in each commune, and embraced above  
 100 members, all the most resolute and deter-  
 mined of the Jacobin party. Each of these indivi-  
 duals received three francs a-day as his wages for  
 hunting out victims for arrest and the scaffold; and

its enor-  
mous ex-  
penditure.



CHAP. for a time at least, of success. This system pro-  
 XIV. duced astonishing effects for a limited period, just  
 1793. as an individual who, in a few years, squanders a  
 great fortune, outshines all those who live only on  
 the fruits of their industry. But the inevitable pe-  
 riod of weakness soon arrives; the maniac who ex-

<sup>1</sup> Chateaub. erts his demoniac strength, cannot in the end with-  
 Etud. Hist. stand the steady efforts of intelligence: the career  
 i. Pref. of extravagance is in general short; bankruptcy  
 97, 98. arrests alike the waste of improvidence, and the  
 Hist. Parl. splendour which attends it.<sup>1</sup>  
 xxix. 45,  
 46.

Cambon, the minister of finance, in August 1793,  
 made an important and astonishing revelation of the  
 length to which the emission of assignats had been  
 carried under the Resgn of Terror. The national  
 expenses had exceeded three hundred millions of  
 francs, or above L.12,000,000 a-month; the re-  
 ceipts of the treasury during the disorder which  
 prevailed, never exceeded a fourth part of that sum;  
 and there was no mode of supplying the deficiency  
 but by an incessant issue of paper money. The  
 quantity in circulation on the 15th August 1793,  
 amounted to 3,775,846,033 livres, or L. 135,000,000;  
 the quantity issued since the commencement of the  
 Revolution had been no less than 5,100,000,000  
 francs, or L.204,000,000 sterling. This system con-  
 tinued during the whole Reign of Terror, and pro-  
 duced a total confusion of property of every sort. All  
 the persons employed by government, both in the civil  
 and military departments, were paid in the paper cur-  
 rency at par; but as it rapidly fell, from the enor-  
 mous quantity in circulation, to a tenth part, and soon  
 a twentieth of its real value, the pay received was mere-  
 ly nominal, and those in the receipt of the largest ap-  
 parent incomes were in want of the common necessa-

Prodigious  
 issue of as-  
 signats. Its  
 effects.

lis. Pichegru, at the head of the army of the north, with a nominal pay of four thousand francs a-month, was only in the actual receipt on the Rhine, in 1795, of two hundred francs, or L.8 sterling in gold or silver—a smaller sum than is the pay of an English lieutenant: and Hoche, the commander of 100,000 men, the army of La Vendée, besought the government to send him a horse, as he was unable to purchase one, and the military requisitions had exhausted all those in the country where he commanded. (such was the condition of the superior, it may be imagined what was the situation of the inferior officers, and private soldiers; while in their own country they were literally starving, and the necessity of conquest was felt as strongly, to enable them to live on the spoils of their enemies, as to avert the sword of desolation from the frontiers of France.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

1 Rapport  
par Cam-  
bon, Aug.  
15, 1793.  
Th. viii.  
103, 115,  
446. Hist.  
Parl. xxxi.  
445.

This constant and increasing depreciation of the assignats, produced its natural and unavoidable effect: an unprecedented enhancement of the price of provisions and all the articles of human consumption. The assignats were not absorbed in the purchase of the national domains, because the holders were dis-

Their ra-  
pid depre-  
ciation.



nominal value, were defrauded of the greater their property. The working classes, whose in consequence of the total destruction of general decline of consumption, and univers nation of industry, had by no means risen in tion to this fall in the value of the assignats, themselves miserably off for the necessaries while the farmers, raising the price of thei sions in proportion to the fall in the value of soon elevated them beyond the reach of the la poor. This state of things, so opposite to wh had been led to expect as the result of a rev excited the most vehement discontent am working classes; they ascribed it all, as is the case, to the efforts of aristocrats and fore and demanded with loud cries that they sh led out to the guillotine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, x.  
282, 284.  
Th. v. 147,  
149.

Origin of  
the law of  
the maxi-  
mum on  
prices.

It became then absolutely necessary to h course to a *maximum*: powerful as the Cor of Public Safety was, a longer continuance public discontents would have endangered it ence. Corn was indeed not wanting; but th

forced to issue a decree, compelling the farmers and grain-merchants to declare what stock they had in their possession, and to bring it to the public markets at a price fixed by each commune. Domiciliary visits were authorized, to inspect the stock of each holder of grain, and false returns punished by a forfeiture of the whole. In addition to this, the distribution of bread by the bakers was provided for in the most minute manner; no one could obtain it without producing a *carte de sureté*, issued by the Revolutionary committees; and on that *carte* was inscribed the number of his family, and the quantity to be delivered to each member. Finally, to put an end to the scandalous scenes which generally took place at the bakers' doors, it was enacted that each bread shop should have a rope attached to each person, as he arrived, was obliged to take in his hand, and remain quietly there till all before him were served. But in the struggles of discontent and famine, the cord was frequently broken, fierce conflicts ensued, and nothing but a prompt interposition of military force was able to restore tranquillity. To such minute and vexatious regulations the governments reduced when they once violate the

CHAP.

XIV.

1793.

'Th. v. 151.

Decree,

May 4,

1793.

• their tendency to turn from the people the way  
 by which their industry is maintained. During  
 perils and chances of a revolution, the tendency  
 gambling of every sort prodigiously increased  
 who had the sword of Damocles continually sus-  
 pended over their heads, sought to make the most  
 numerous chances of making money, which the  
 rise and fall of the assignats, and the boundless  
 fusion of articles of luxury brought into the  
 market by the ruin of their owners, naturally occa-  
 sioned. So enormous did the evils become, that on  
 July 1793, the forestalling of provisions was de-  
 clared a capital crime, and the penalty of death was  
 in every manner extended to all those who retained  
 articles of subsistence without bringing them to market  
 or who did not, within eight days from the publi-  
 cation of the decree, make a declaration to the pri-  
 ncipal officers of his district, of the amount of  
 provisions, including wine and oil, he had in his  
 possession, and a specification of the proportions in which  
 he was going to bring it to market.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Decree,  
 July 26,  
 1793.  
 Moniteur,  
 July 27,  
 1793.  
 Th. v. 152.

The Bourse of Paris was crowded with  
 revolutionists, ci-devant priests, ruined nobles

General



risen for the moment on the wheels of fortune. Such was the universal dissolution of manners, arising from the dread of popular jealousy, that almost all the members of the Convention lived publicly with mistresses, who became possessed of much of the influence in the state. To have done otherwise would have exposed them to the blasting suspicion of their being Christians and Royalists. This prevailing dissolution of manners appeared in the most striking manner, in the great number of divorces which took place during this calamitous period of French history. They were owing, partly to marriage being now declared a civil contract, dissoluble at any time at the pleasure of the contracting parties; partly to the irreligion and lax morality of the age; and partly to the dreadful uncertainty of life and thirst for immediate enjoyment, which had seized all classes, from the uncertainty of the future. From these combined causes, the morality of the age, as measured by the relations of the sexes, sunk lower in revolutionary France than it had ever been in modern Europe;<sup>1</sup> and the number of divorces\* in the first burst of social regeneration, exceeded what had

CHAP.  
XIV.

1793.

<sup>1</sup> Th. v.  
152, 161.  
Hist. de la  
Conv. iv.  
81, 82.



CHAP. been known in Rome under the despotism of the  
XIV. Cæsars.

1793. Nor was the state of the prisons in Paris and  
Official over France a less extraordinary and memorable  
Account of the monument of the Reign of Terror. When the Girondists  
of the number of were overthrown, on the 31st May 1793,  
prisoners in Paris the number of prisoners in the different jails of Paris  
during the was about 1150; but before three months of the  
Reign of Terror. Reign of Terror had elapsed their number was  
doubled, and it gradually rose to an average of six  
seven, and at last eight thousand, constantly in cap  
tivity in the metropolis alone. The official bulletin  
published weekly, of the number of prisoners in the  
jails of Paris, is one of the most interesting mon  
uments of the Revolution,\* and Leveau's *Journal de  
la Montagne*, the Jacobin organ of Paris, set up on  
the 2d June 1793, has at least done one service to  
humanity by having preserved the dismal record. It  
is equalled only by the catalogue of the executions.

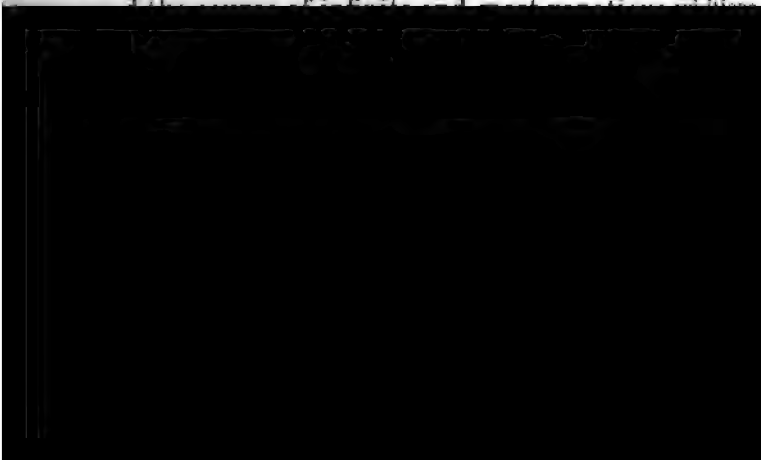
\* Note:—

Date.	Number of Prisoners in Paris.	AUTHORITIES.	Volume	No.	Page.
June 1, 1793	1182	JOURNAL de la MONTAGNE,	II.	—	—
August 27 ...	1601	" " " " " "	"	88	601
Septem. 8 ...	1794	" " " " " "	"	109	406
" 16 ...	2041	" " " " " "	"	108	702
October 5 ...	2378	" " " " " "	"	125	886
" 23 ...	2894	" " " " " "	"	136	934
Novem. 17 ...	3235	" " " " " "	III.	158	1072
Decem. 14 ...	3499	" " " " " "	"	21	161
" 21 ...	4161	" " " " " "	"	23	219
" 24 ...	4325	" " " " " "	"	31	245
January 1 1794	4595	" " " " " "	"	42	339
" 10 ...	4605	" " " " " "	"	47	371
" 23 ...	5031	" " " " " "	"	65	517
Febru. 10 ...	5228	" " " " " "	"	77	612
" 21 ...	5560	" " " " " "	"	95	779
March 1 ...	5821	" " " " " "	"	100	821
" 10 ...	5991	" " " " " "	"	116	897
" 23 ...	6104	" " " " " "	"	120	952
April 1 ...	7460	" " " " " "	"	153	1272
" 15 ...	6999	" " " " " "	IV.	8	61
" 18 ...	7541	" " " " " "	"	18	141
" 24 ...	7674	MONITEUR, April 17,	"	25	203
May 21 ...	8241	JOURNAL de la MONTAGNE,	"	34	263

which, long running from seven to ten, at length rose to forty and fifty, and, on the fall of Robespierre, had reached *eighty* a-day. If we apply these numbers to the remainder of France, which, considering the enormous accumulation of prisoners at Lyons, Moulon, and La Vendée, seems a most reasonable proportion, and call the population of Paris 650,000, about a fortieth part of the whole population of France, which at that period contained about 20,000,000 souls, we shall arrive at the result, that at the commencement of the reign of Terror, the prisons in jail, almost all for political offences, were constantly over all France forty-five thousand, and in its latter stages had risen to *three hundred thousand*, of whom, for a month before the fall of Robespierre, from *two to three thousand* were daily put to death by the guillotine. The smallest of these numbers is at least a hundred times the number of prisoners, and a thousand times the number of executions, which, since the atrocious era of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had disgraced the worst period of the monarchy.

The forced requisitions of horses, ammunition, provisions, and stores of every sort from the people, Forced re-

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.



CHAP. tors or manufacturers, were seized for the state; all  
XIV. the arms of every description appropriated by the  
1793. government commissioners; the great hotels of the

emigrants, confiscated to the use of the state, converted into vast workshops for the manufacture of arms, clothing, or equipment for the armies, or magazines for the storing of subsistence for the use of the people. The principal manufactory of arms was established at Paris, and the whole workmen in iron and jewellery pressed into its service. It soon became capable of sending forth a thousand muskets a day. To such a length did the dictators carry their principle of managing every thing of their own authority, that they compelled a return of the whole subsistence in every part of the country, and endeavoured to purchase it all, and distribute it either to the armies, or at a low price to the imperious citizens of the towns. This system of forced requisition gave the government the command of a large proportion of the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and it was enforced with merciless severity. Not only grain, but horses, carriages, and conveyances of every sort, were forcibly taken from the cultivators; and as the payment they received was merely in assignats, it in truth amounted to nothing. These exactions excited the most violent discontent, but no one ventured to give it vent; to have expressed dissatisfaction, would immediately have led to a denunciation at the nearest Revolutionary committee, and put the complainer in imminent hazard of his life. To complete the burden, the democratic power, incessant clamour, and destitute situation of the people in the great towns, rendered it indispensable to adopt some general measures for their relief; <sup>1</sup> and the only method which was found effec-

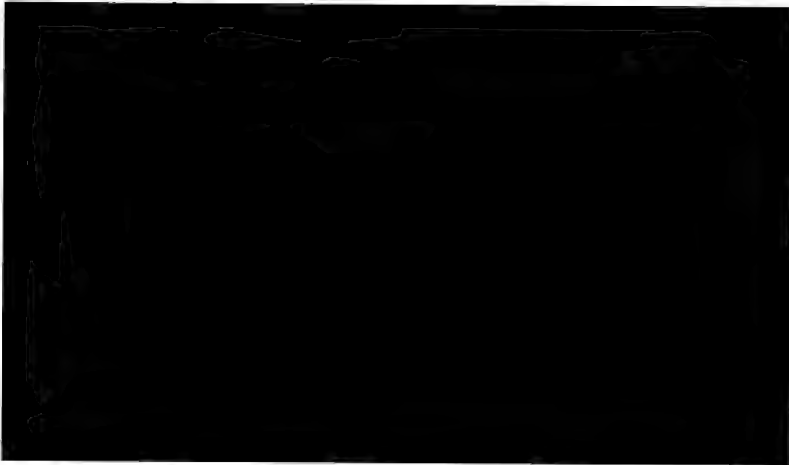
<sup>1</sup> Decree, Aug. 16 and 17, 1793. Moniteur, Aug. 18, 1793. Hist. Parl. xxi. 463, 464. Th. v. 141, 188. Hist. de la Conv. iii. 237, 245.

tual, was to put the great cities on the same footing with the armies, and give the agents of government the right of making forced requisitions for their support.

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1793.

The maintenance of such immense bodies of men as the idle Revolutionists in the great cities composed, soon came to be of itself equal to the whole administration of an ordinary government. A board was appointed of five directors, who soon had ten thousand persons in their daily pay, incessantly occupied in enforcing these requisitions for the support of the great cities. That of Paris was of itself an army. No less than 636,000 persons daily received rations at the public offices, amounting to eighteen hundred and ninety-seven sacks of meal; and the attention of government was incessantly directed towards keeping the citizens in good-humour by regularity in their distribution. The losses sustained by the agriculturists in providing for this daily consumption were enormous; the cost of producing their grain had augmented tenfold by the depreciation of paper, and yet they were only paid the former price by the requisitionists. The farmers were obliged to pay ten francs a-day to their labourers, in-

Public  
robbery  
for the  
support of  
the popu-  
lace of the  
cities.



tailed on the State, and forced loans from the opulent classes. never-ending financial embarrassments. The Convention bought grain from foreigners for two francs the quintal, and retailed it to the people for fourteen ; the cessation of agricultural labour a great part of the country rendered it impossible to carry on this ruinous commerce to any extent, and the losses thence accruing to the State were stated by Cambon as enormous. The Convention of feeding the inhabitants of Paris soon became almost as great as maintaining its fourteen hundred thousand. The Convention introduced the ruinous system of distributing every day, to every citizen of Paris a pound of bread, at the price of three sous in assignats ; a burden which, from the fall in the value of the paper, soon became almost as great as that of supporting them altogether. As provisions, in consequence of these prodigious efforts made in favour of the metropolis, were far cheaper there than in the surrounding districts, smuggling from the country to the other went on to a vast extent, and constant complaints were made of the great fortune

according to the fortunes of the individuals; and CHAP.  
 out of an income of 50,000 francs, or about L.2000 XIV.  
 year, they took, in 1792, 36,000 francs, or about 1793.  
 L.1600. This immense burden was calculated as  
 likely to produce at once a milliard of francs, or  
 L.40,000,000 sterling; and, as a security for this, Hist. Parl.  
 advance, the persons taxed received assignats, or xxviii. 451,  
 were inscribed as public creditors on the *grande* 452. Hist.  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either de la Conv.  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either iii. 250,  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either 200. Th.  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either vii. 137,  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either 203. Lac.  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either xi. 142.  
*livre* of the French funds—a security, in either  
 resolution, and which proved in the end almost elu-  
 sory.<sup>1</sup>

The public creditors of every description con-  
 tinued to be paid in assignats at par, notwithstanding Confusion  
 their having fallen to a tenth of their nominal value; of the old  
 in other words, they received only a tenth part of and Revo-  
 that was really due to them. To perpetuate still lutionary  
 further the dependence of the public creditors of debt.  
 every description on the fortunes of the Revolution,  
 the plan was projected by Cambon, and adopted by  
 the Convention, of compelling all holders of stock to  
 surrender to government their titles to it, and in lieu  
 of every other written right, they were merely in-  
 scribed on the *grande livre* of the French debt; and



CHAP. "In this manner," said Cambon, "the debt  
XIV. tracted by despotism becomes indistinguishable

1793. that contracted since the Revolution; and the  
despotic power, should it ever revive, to distinguish  
its ancient creditors from those of the new republic.  
As soon as this operation is completed, you will see  
the capitalist who now desires the restoration of the  
King, because he has a king for a debtor, and who  
fears that he will lose his fortune if he is not  
established, desire equally vehemently the preservation  
of the Republic, when his private interest is  
irrecoverably wound up in its preservation."

<sup>1</sup> Cambon, Rapport sur le Grand Livre, Aug. 15, 1793. Hist. Parl. xxxi. 446, 459. Th. v. 147, 191, 193. Hist. de la Conv. iii. 290, 319. whole creditors, both royal and republican, paid only in assignats, which progressively fell to a fifth, a tenth, a hundredth, and at last, in 1793, to a two hundredth and fiftieth part of their nominal value; so that in the space of a few years the assignat was entirely elusory, and a national bank, which had in fact existed many years before it was formally declared by the Directory.<sup>1</sup>

Continued fall of the assignats. Severe laws against forestallers and all public companies. All the measures of government, however vigorous and despotic soever, proved inadequate to sustain the falling value of the assignats, or to check down the money price of provisions, or to restrain daily consumption, which necessarily rose with the prodigious additions to the circulating medium. To effect the object, they had recourse to new and more oppressive regulations. To destroy the competition of rival companies, which prevented the free direction of capital towards the purchase of national domains, they abolished, by decree, all insurance societies, and all companies of every description, of which the shares were transferable from hand to hand; they declared traitors to their country all those who placed their funds in any



in countries with which the republic was at  
 and condemned to twenty years of irons every CHAP.  
XIV.  
 n convicted of refusing payment of any debt in 1793.  
 ats, or entering into any transaction in which  
 vere received at less than their nominal value.  
 person convicted of buying or selling assignats  
 o be punished with death, by a decree of 5th  
 mber. They ordered that the bells of the Sept. 29.

hes should every where be melted down into  
 ieces, to answer the immediate wants of the  
 ntry ; and passed a decree, which ranked fore-  
 ag with capital crimes, and punished it with  
 . By this last law, it was declared that every  
 as to be considered as a forestaller, who with-  
 from circulation merchandise of primary ne-  
 y, without immediately exposing it to public

The articles declared to be of primary  
 sity, were bread, wine, butchers-meat, grain,  
 vegetables, fruits, coal, wood, butter, cheese,  
 , cotton stuffs, and dress of every description  
 t silks. For all these articles a tariff of prices  
 ixed, far below what they could be purchased  
 : produced by the retail dealers, manufacturers,  
 rmers. To carry into execution this iniquitous  
 the most inquisitorial powers were conferred



‘Hist. Parl.  
xxix. 12,  
15, and 42,  
Th. v. 204,  
207. would have destroyed all the industry of F  
and handed over the people to the unmiti  
horrors of actual famine.<sup>1</sup>

Direful  
effects of  
these laws. These extravagant measures had not been  
months in operation, before they produced the  
disastrous effects. A great proportion of the  
in Paris and all the principal towns, were  
business of every sort was at a stand ; the laws  
*maximum*, and against forestallers, had spread  
and distrust as much among the middle classe  
had commenced the Revolution, as the guil  
had among the nobles and priests, who had  
its earliest victims. The retail dealers, wh  
purchased their stock from the wholesale merc  
before the *maximum*, and at a price higher  
that allowed by the new tariff, were compell  
the terror of death, to sell at a loss to them  
and saw their fortunes gradually melting aw  
their daily transactions. Even those who ha  
in their stock after the imposition of the *mari*  
were in no better situation, for that regulatio

led by the *maximum* entailed ruinous losses on  
 the tradesmen. The consequence was, that the  
 greater part of the shops were every where closed,  
 and those who continued to do business, did so  
 only by fraud; the worst articles alone were exposed  
 to public sale at the legal price, and the best reserved  
 for those who were willing in secret to pay their  
 real value. A sepulchral silence reigned in the  
 once gay and joyous capital. In many streets hardly  
 a shop was open; not a light was to be seen in the  
 windows at night; and the doors were all barricaded,  
 to give the inhabitants the means of escape by the  
 back windows, if the commissaries of the Convention  
 came to their doors.<sup>1</sup> \*

CHAP.  
 XIV.  
 1793.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 146, 147.  
 Th. v. 399,  
 400.

The people, who perceived these frauds, and wit-  
 nessed the closing of so great a number of shops, were  
 transported with fury, and besieged the Convention  
 with the most violent petitions, insisting that the  
 dealers should be compelled to reopen their shops,  
 and continue to sell as usual, in spite of any loss  
 they might sustain. They denounced the butchers,  
 who were accused of selling unwholesome meat;  
 the bakers, who furnished coarse bread for the poor,  
 and fine for the rich; the wine-merchants, who  
 diluted their liquors by the most noxious dyes.

Excessive  
 violence of  
 the people  
 from the  
 rise of  
 prices.



CHAP. demands in a violent speech. "We sympathize,"  
 XIV. said he, "with the evils of the people, because we  
 1793. are the people ourselves; the whole counsel is com-  
 Sept. 4 and posed of Sans Culottes; it is the sovereign multi-  
 10, 1793. tude. We care not though our heads fall, provided  
 posterity will deign to collect our skulls. It is not  
 the Gospel which I invoke—it is Plato. He that  
 strikes with the sword should be struck with the  
 sword; he that strikes with poison should be struck  
 with poison; he that famishes the people should  
 die of famine. If subsistence and articles of mere  
 chandise are wanting, from whom shall the peo-  
 ple seize them? From the Convention? No. From  
 the constituted authorities? No. They will take  
 them from the shopkeepers and merchants. It is  
 arms, and not gold, which are wanted to set in mo-  
 tion our manufactories; the world must know that  
 the giant people can crush all its mercantile specu-  
 lations. Rousseau has said, *when the people have  
 nothing else to eat, they will eat the rich.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl. xxix.  
 26, 32. Th.  
 v. 403.  
 Hist. de la  
 Conv. iii.  
 409, 437.

Intimidated by such formidable petitioners, the  
 Assembly and the Municipality adopted still more  
 rigorous measures. Hitherto they had only fixed  
 the price of articles of necessity in a manufactured  
 state, now they resolved to fix the price of the raw  
 material; and the idea was even entertained of seiz-  
 ing the material and the workmen alike for the ser-  
 vice of the state, and converting all France into one  
 vast manufactory in the employment of government.  
 The communes declared that every merchant who  
 had been engaged in business for above a year, who  
 either abandoned or diminished it, should be sent  
 to prison as a suspected person; the prices which  
 the merchant could exact from the retailer, and the  
 retailer from the customer, were minutely fixed; the

Renewed  
 measures  
 of severity  
 by the Mu-  
 nicipality,  
 and of the  
 Conven-  
 tion.

revolutionary committees were alone permitted to  
 tickets, authorizing purchases of any sort; one  
 es of bread, of coarse quality, was only allowed  
 baked; and to prevent the scandalous scenes  
 h daily occurred at the bakers' shops, where a  
 er of the poor passed a part of the night with  
 ord in their hands, it was enacted that the dis-  
 tion should commence with the last arrived; a  
 lation which only changed the direction of the  
 ult. These regulations were speedily adopted  
 the municipality of Paris over all France. Soon  
 the Convention adopted the still more hazardous  
 of fixing the prime cost of all articles of rude  
 uce. The price was fixed on the basis of the <sup>Sept. 5,</sup>  
 s of 1790, augmented by certain fixed rates for <sup>1793.</sup>  
 profit of the different hands through which they  
 ed, before reaching the consumer. To carry  
 execution the numerous regulations on this  
 act, a commission of subsistence and provision-  
 was appointed, with absolute powers, extending  
 all France; it was charged with the execution  
 he tariffs, with the superintendence of the con-  
 of the municipalities in that particular; with  
 annually receiving statements of the quantity of, <sup>Decree,</sup>  
 in the country, and the places where it was

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
147, 149.  
Th. v. 409,  
410.

suddenly been swallowed up. The company  
Indies, the last existing mercantile establish-  
ment was abolished; government resolved to have  
investment for capital but the purchase of  
territorial domains.<sup>1</sup>

Grinding  
oppression  
on the  
poor.

Nor was it only on the opulent classes that  
revolutionary enactments pressed with severity.  
The laws were equally oppressive to the poorest. No  
truth, were the labouring poor subjected to such  
and such vexatious restraints, or obedience to  
enforced by such numerous and sanguinary  
penalties. No one ventured to indulge in any  
luxury or abandon himself to any gratification; the  
currency had almost disappeared, and the people  
received their wages merely in paper assignats  
which they were unable to purchase the necessaries  
of life, from the enormous amount of their  
circulation. Liable to the guillotine if they either  
sold above the maximum, or refused to take the assignats  
at their legal and forced value, ten times their  
intrinsic worth, the dealers had no resource but to  
close their shops, and become mendicants like  
the poor at the offices where provisions were distributed.

own by the effect of the forced sales enjoined by CHAP.  
 government. Only one kind of bread, of the black- XIV.  
 and coarsest kind, was to be had, and that could 1794.  
 obtained in no other way but by receiving tickets,  
 in the Revolutionary committees, and waiting  
 of the night, or for hours during the day, at the  
 doors of the bakers, with a rope in their hands. The  
 measures of the weights and measures, of the days and  
 months, were changed; the labouring poor had only  
 two Sundays in the month instead of four; the  
 consolations of religion, the worship of the Deity,  
 were at an end.<sup>1</sup>

All the efforts of the Committee of Public Salva-  
 tion, after sometime, became insufficient to procure an  
 adequate supply of subsistence. Commerce escaped  
 the ruinous law of the *maximum*, and it escaped it  
 the most disastrous of all ways, by a total cessa-  
 tion. Want of the severest kind was experienced in  
 every branch of human consumption; the ordinary  
 supplies of butcher-meat failed, and as it could still  
 be publicly sold only at the *maximum*, the butchers  
 prepared only the most unwholesome kind of food, and  
 reserved that of the better sort for clandestine sale.\*  
 The evil soon extended to other articles; vegetables,

<sup>1</sup> Decree  
 de la Com-  
 mune de  
 Paris, 25th  
 Dec. 1793.  
 Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 177—185,  
 and Hist.  
 Parl. xxxi.  
 47. Th. v.  
 435.

Their des-  
 titute and  
 deplorable  
 condition.

March 5,  
 1794.



CHAP. violent indignation at these practices, and, to  
XIV. stop to them, the commune enacted that no but

1794. should be permitted to go out to meet the car  
their way to the markets; that no meat sho

Feb. 15, bought or sold but at the established stalls; and  
1794. no crowd should be allowed to collect round

butchers' doors before six in the morning, instead  
three, the time when they usually began to assemble.

These regulations, like all the others, failed of  
the crowds were just as great and as clamorous

the butchers' shops as before; violent tumult  
stantly arose among those who had got possession

the ropes at their doors; and, as a last resource  
the government was preparing to lay out the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. dens of the Tuileries, of the Luxembourg, and  
Parl. xxxii. the opulent persons round Paris, in the cult  
459. Th. of garden stuffs.<sup>1</sup>  
vi. 146,  
151.

At length the evils arising from the *max*

became so excessive, that the inhabitants of  
Paris put were obliged to be put on an allowance of  
on reduced rations. food. The commission for provisions fixed the

Fresh arbitrary consumption at 75 oxen, 150 quintals of mutton  
taxation of veal, and 200 hogs. All the animals intended  
the opulent. the consumption of the metropolis, were brought

21st and a public market-place, where alone meat was  
22d Feb. ed to be sold; and the butchers were only

to deliver every five days half a pound of meat  
each family for each head. The same *ca-*

*surcté* were issued by the Revolutionary com-

<sup>2</sup> Decree, tees for this scanty aid, as for the rations of  
21st Feb. Shortly after, the supply of wood and charcoal  
1794. found to fail, and laws were passed, preventing

one from having in store more than a very  
Hist. Parl. quantity of these necessary articles.<sup>2</sup> Last  
xxxii. 9,  
10, and  
Moniteur,  
5th March

1794. Th. Convention, in February 1794, proclaimed a  
vi. 310, *fast* for six weeks so far as butcher-meat was  
314.



earned. "Decree the fast I propose," said Barere, CHAP.  
 "or it will come in spite of you. We shall soon XIV.  
 have neither meat nor candles. The oxen which 1794.  
 we killed just now, have not enough of suet in them  
 to make candles for their own slaughtering."\*  
 As the embarrassment of the finances continued  
 to be excessive, notwithstanding the issue of another  
 milliard, or L.40,000,000, in assignats, recourse was  
 had to a new forced exaction from the rich. This <sup>Conversion of the</sup>  
 consisted of 100,000,000 francs, or L.4,000,000, <sup>life into</sup>  
 which was levied upon them without any obligation <sup>perpetual</sup>  
 of reimbursement, even in the depreciated paper of <sup>annuitants.</sup>  
 the Republic. To complete the dependence of the  
 debt on the Revolutionary government, Cambon  
 carried into effect, during the Reign of Terror, a  
 project for the conversion of the numerous class of  
 life annuitants, who were public creditors, into hold-  
 ers of a perpetual annuity. To accomplish this ob-  
 ject, a scale was adopted, by which to the older class  
 of small life annuitants under L.80, and above forty  
 years of age, the annual income was preserved, and  
 the conversion only enforced against the excess of  
 their annuity above this sum. This modification of  
 the law was some relief to the most indigent class of

of France  
at this  
period.

writers of France, and especially such a  
able leader and historian, M. Thiers, demon  
that the picture drawn by a contemporary  
was not overcharged; and that the genius  
Burke had justly discerned, through the fu  
democracy, the galling bondage it was inflict  
mankind. "The state of France," says he  
perfectly simple. It consists of but two d  
tions; the oppressors and the oppressed. T  
has the whole authority of the state in their l  
all the arms, all the revenues of the public,  
confiscations of individuals and corporations.  
have taken the lower sort from their occup  
and have put them into pay, that they ma  
them into a body of janissaries to overrule a  
property. The heads of these wretches they  
suffered to cool. They supply them with a fi  
fury varied by the day, besides the sensual s  
intoxication from which they are rarely free.  
have made the priests and people formally  
the Divinity; they have estranged them from

a persecuted landed interest; they are the  
 hers and the farmers. By the very circum-  
 of their being of some property, though nu-  
 is in some points of view, they cannot be very  
 lerable as a number. In cities, the nature of  
 occupations renders them domestic and feeble;  
 country, it confines them to their farm for  
 tence. The National Guards are all changed  
 eformed. Every thing suspicious in the de-  
 ion of which they were composed is rigorously  
 ned. Committees, called of vigilance and  
 , are every where formed—a most severe and  
 nizing inquisition, far more rigid than any  
 ever known or imagined. Two persons can-  
 eet and confer without hazard to their liberty,  
 ven to their lives. Numbers scarcely credible  
 been executed, and their property confiscated.  
 ris, and in most other towns, the bread they  
 a daily dole, which they cannot obtain with-  
 daily ticket delivered to them by their masters.  
 tudes of all ages and sexes are actually impri-  
 . I have reason to believe, that in France  
 are not, for various state crimes, so few as  
 y thousand actually in jail—a large proportion  
 ople of property in any state. If a father of a

CHAP.  
 XIV.  
 1794.

CHAP. XIV. The commissioners of the National Convention,  
 1794. who are the members of the Convention itself, and

really exercise all its powers, make continual circuits through every province, and visits to every army. There they supersede all the ordinary authorities, civil and military, and change and alter every thing at their pleasure. So that, in effect, no deliberative capacity exists in any portion of the inhabitants."<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Burke's Works, vii. 135.

Estrangement of the Dantonists and ruling Power. In the midst of all these extraordinary and unprecedented changes in society, however, the moral laws of nature were unceasingly working, and preparing in the present triumph of wickedness, its final and condign punishment. Divisions, as usual, had sprung up in the victorious body on the destruction of their opponents. Two parties remained opposed, on different principles, to the Decemvirs, and whose destruction was indispensable to their despotic authority. These parties were the Moderates and the Anarchists. At the head of the former were Danton and Camille Desmoulins; the latter was supported by the powerful municipality of Paris.<sup>1</sup> It has been already observed, that Danton and his party were strangers to the real objects of the revolt on May 31. They aided the populace in the struggle with the Convention; but they had no intention of establishing the oligarchy, which directed, and finally triumphed by their exertions. After the overthrow of the Assembly, Robespierre urged Danton to retire to the country. "A tempest is arising," said he; "the Jacobins have not forgot your relations with Dumourier. They hate your manners; your voluptuous and indolent habits are at variance with their austere habits and undy-

\* Burke on the Policy of the Allies.

ing energy. Withdraw for a moment; trust to a friend, who will watch over your danger, and warn you of the first moment to return." Danton followed his advice, nothing loath to get quit of a man of whom he began to dread the excesses; and his party were entirely excluded from the Dictatorial Government.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of this party were Danton, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Westerman, the tried leader of August 10. Their principles were, that terror was to be used only for the establishment of freedom, not made an instrument of oppression in the hands of those who had gained it; they wished above all things that the Republicans should remain masters of the field of battle, but having done so, use their victory with moderation. In pursuance of these principles, they reprobated the violent proceedings of the Dictators, after the victory of 31st May had ensured the triumph of the populace; desired to humble the Anarchists of the municipality, to put an end to the Revolutionary Tribunal, discharge from confinement those imprisoned as suspected persons, and dissolve the despotic committees of government. They had been all powerful with the people as long

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

Laoc. Pr.  
Hist. ii. 91.  
Mig. ii.  
300, 301.

Principles  
of the Dan-  
tonists.

of government after the revolt of 31st May, and reaped for themselves all the fruits of the victory their forces had mainly contributed to achieve. They had flattered themselves that their weight, as the head of the powerful municipality of Paris, and the whole armed force of the capital at their command, would have been sufficient to have established them in all the offices of government; but they had been outwitted by Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation, who, equal to them in democratic energy and popular arts, were far superiors in talent, and had the great advantage of being in possession of a preponderating influence in the Convention. Hence they strove to supplant their rivals in popular favour by still louder professions of popular zeal, and the open professions of irreconcilable opinions. Hence the orgies of the goddess of Liberty and other indecent mummeries, with which they captivated the populace of Paris, but, in the end, their abler and less selfish leaders, disgraced them.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxx. 203, 207.  
Th. ii. 202

ies. The Anarchists incessantly charged the moderates with corruption, and being the secret agents of foreign courts. The treason of Dumourier, who had been on terms of intimacy with Danton, in an equal manner made the subject of embittered invective. "It is you," replied the Dantonists, "who are the real accomplices of the stranger ; every thing draws you towards them, both the common violence of your language, and the joint design to overturn every thing in France. Behold the magistracy, which arrogates to itself more than legislative authority ; which regulates every thing, police, existence, worship ; which has substituted a new religion for the old one ; replaced one superstition by another still more absurd ; which openly preaches atheism, and causes itself to be imitated by all the municipalities in France. Consider those war-bands, from whence so many extortioners issue, who carry desolation into the provinces, and discredit the Revolution by their conduct. Observe the municipality and the committees—what do they propose to themselves, if it is not to usurp the Executive and Legislative authority, to dispossess the convention, and dissolve the government? Who would suggest such a design, but the external eye

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

Mutual reproaches of the Dantonists and Anarchists.

Deux  
Amis, xii.  
84, 86.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxx. 215,  
217. Th.



CHAP. in private on sinister designs. Is he rich? That  
 XIV. renders the danger the greater, that he will corrupt  
 1794. the citizens by his largesses. Is he poor? None so  
 dangerous as those who have nothing to lose. Is he  
 thoughtful and melancholy? He is revolving what  
 he calls the calamities of his country. Is he gay and  
 dissipated? He is concealing, like Cæsar, ambition  
 under the mask of pleasure. Is he virtuous and  
 austere? He has constituted himself the censor of  
 the government. Is he a philosopher, an orator, and  
 a poet? He will soon acquire more consideration than  
 the rulers of the state. Has he acquired reputation  
 in war? His talents only rendered him the more for-  
 midable, and make it indispensable to get quit of his  
 authority. The natural death of a celebrated man is  
 become so rare, that historians transmit it as a mat-  
 ter worthy of record to future ages. Even the death  
 of so many great and good citizens, seems a less cala-  
 mity than the insolence and scandalous fortune of  
 their denouncers. Every day the accuser makes his  
 triumphal entry into the palace of death, and reaps  
 the rich harvest which is presented to his hands.  
 The tribunals, once the protectors of life and pro-  
 perty, have become the organs of butchery, where  
 robbery and murder have usurped the names of con-  
 fiscation and punishment."<sup>1</sup> Such is the picture  
 drawn of the effect of popular government by the man  
 who was called the first apostle of liberty! And how  
 striking the coincidence, that in drawing with the  
 pencil of Tacitus a picture of Roman servitude under  
 Nero and Caligula, he was exhibiting a portrait  
 which none could fail to recognize of France, under  
 the government which his own democratic transports  
 had contributed to impose upon its inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> Vieux  
 Cordelier,  
 Rév. Mém.  
 xlii. p. 50,  
 51, 53.

Danton and his friends made the greatest efforts



detach Robespierre from the sanguinary faction CHAP. XIV.  
 th whom he had so long acted, and at first with  
 ne appearance of success. The Convention, 1794.  
 der his direction, had passed several decrees for Efforts of Danton to detach Robespierre from the Municipality.  
 succour of the destitute, and for the establish-  
 nt of a general system of public instruction, though  
 a general confusion and general corruption of  
 erior functionaries had prevented their being  
 rried into execution. He had taken some steps  
 wards a moderate government; in the Con-  
 tion he had publicly stopped the trial of the  
 venty-three deputies, who were detained in prison  
 consequence of having protested against the arrest  
 the Girondists. He had reprobated the ultra-  
 revolutionary measures of Hebert and the munici-  
 dity, and strongly condemned the anti-religious  
 ummeries which had been acted in the Convention  
 id Notre-Dame. He had not only read, but cor-  
 rcted, the proof-sheets of the "Vieux Cordelier,"  
 here he was adjured in the most touching language  
 embrace the sentiments of humanity. The *Jour-*  
*al de la Montagne*, a journal entirely under his  
 irection, had brought forward an able article on  
 he existence of a Supreme Being, and the favourable  
 timent of such a belief in a republican gov-  
 Journal de

<sup>1</sup> Mig. ii.  
 305, 307.  
 Lac. Pr.  
 Hist. ii.  
 136, 138.  
 Vieux Cor-  
 delier, 73.

CHAP was on the wane. He was accused of *Moderatism*,  
 XIV. and the groups of the Jacobins began to murmur at  
 1794. his proceedings.

In truth, the Revolution had now reached its  
 Culminat- culminating point—THE REACTION HAD BEGUN.  
 ing point Robespierre, with all his fanaticism in favour of  
 of the Re- democracy, felt, as strongly as any man in France,  
 volution. the necessity both of some religious impressions to  
 form a curb upon the passions of the people, and of  
 a strong central government to check their excesses.  
 He early felt a horror at the infidel atrocities of the  
 municipality, and saw that such principles, if per-  
 sisted in, would utterly disorganize society through-  
 aux rois. Voltaire a dit, 'Si Dieu n'existait pas il faudrait l'inventer';  
 cette maxime ne pourrait être trop payée dans une monarchie; mais  
 dans une republique, et au moyen de l'education national, moi je dis,  
 'Si mon fils veut des dieux, il faut qu'il les invente.'—*La Feuille de*  
*Salut Publique*, November 1, 1793.

In the *Journal de la Montagne*, Number 158, it was answered, evi-  
 dently by the hand of Robespierre, though the article bears the signa-  
 ture of Charles Leveaux :—"L'auteur dit assez clairement que l'opinion  
 de l'existence d'un Dieu est utile à une monarchie, et que l'athéisme  
 convient aux républiques. Cette assertion est absolument fautive, et  
 démentie par toute l'histoire. Deux choses sont pernicieuses et fatales  
 au genre humain—deux choses tendant également à la destruction de  
 la société humaine—l'athéisme et la superstition : mais l'idée de l'exis-  
 tence d'un Etre Suprême fut de tout temps la base de toute vertu civile,  
 politique, domestique. Ceux qui jetèrent les fondemens de la républi-  
 que Romaine avaient le plus grand respect pour une Intelligence Su-  
 prême ; et l'attachement sublime et inviolable des Romains aux sermens  
 est un des moyens qui a le plus contribué à leur donner ce caractère  
 mâle, intrépide, et courageux, source de toutes les grandes actions qui  
 feront toujours le sujet de notre admiration. Mais il était athée le  
 sénat de Rome lorsqu'il eut la bassesse de vendre à César la dictature  
 perpétuelle—il était athée lorsqu'il rampa lâchement sous Auguste, le  
 bourreau de la liberté : et c'est sous la règne de l'athéisme que se voir  
 dominer sur le genre humain un Tibère, un Néron, un Caligule—qui  
 détruisèrent sur la terre jusqu'à la moindre étincelle de la liberté.  
 L'idée d'une Intelligence Suprême, qui dirige et qui est elle-même  
 l'ordre qui règne dans l'univers, doit être la base de toute instruction  
 civile, de toute société humaine, de toute instruction publique."—  
*Journal de la Montagne*, 9th November 1793, No. 158.

at France. When Hebert, Chaumette, and the chiefs of the municipality, appeared in the Convention with the Goddess of Reason and the troop of opera-dancers, Robespierre and St Just were observed to cast a look of indignation at the scene, and, rising up, they left the Assembly. That was the commencement of the revolution in favour of order and religion. Markworthy circumstance! The series of causes and effects which overthrew the Revolution that had sprung from the atheistical doctrines of the philosophers, began with the practical application of those very doctrines themselves.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Duval, Souv. de la Terreur, iv. 143, 144.

With the sanguinary spirit of the times, Robespierre resolved to effect the necessary reforms by the extermination of the Anarchists. The first indication of this determination appeared in his speech at the Jacobin Club on the 21st of November. 'Let men,' said he, "animated by a pure zeal, lay upon the altar of their country the useless and pompous monuments of superstition; but by what title does hypocrisy come here to mingle its influence with that of patriotism? What right have men, hitherto unknown in the career of the Revolution, to come into the midst of you, to seek in passing events a

First indication of an intention by Robespierre to destroy the Anarchists, Nov. 21, 1793.





<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jaco-

would go further: who, under the pre-  
destroying superstition, would establish  
itself. Every philosopher, every individ-  
liberty to adopt whatever opinion he  
whoever imputes it to him as a crime i  
but the legislature would be a thousa  
more blamable, who should act on such  
The Convention abhors all such attempts.  
maker of metaphysical theories, but a pop  
charged with causing, not only the right  
character of the French people to be respe  
is not in vain that it has proclaimed the  
man, and the liberty of conscience. Athe  
aristocratic belief. The idea of a Supren  
who watches over oppressed innocence, and  
triumphant crime, is, and ever will be, pop  
people, the unfortunate, will ever applaud i  
never find detractors but among the rich  
guilty. I have been since my youth but a  
rent Catholic; but I have neither been a c  
nor a lukewarm defender of humanity. 1

ready to make a sacrifice to the Revolutionary  
; in order to avoid the blasting imputation of  
ration, and keep up his reputation for unflinch-  
resolution and incorruptible integrity. For this  
one, he resolved at the same time that he should  
off Hebert, Chaumette, and the Anarchists, to  
e with equal severity against Danton, Camille  
moulin, and the Moderate party. By so doing,  
ould keep up the appearance of even-handed  
se, establish the supremacy of the Committee of  
ic Salvation over all the factions in the state, and  
ve the only rival that stood between him and  
dominion. But while these ambitious or envious  
ves were not without their influence in suggest-  
this bold and exterminating policy, yet were  
espierre and St Just, in adopting it, not without  
impulse of public and elevated motives. They  
oved in good faith, and not without reason, that  
parties in the state, of which those leaders were  
representatives, were alike dangerous to republi-  
institutions; the one by urging them on to an-  
by, the other by paving the way for a return  
monarchy. Stern advance, unrelenting severity,  
ire destruction of all classes above the people in

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1794.

justifying myself in the eyes of the people. not be a difficult task. I call upon those who have been murmuring against me to specify their charges for I will answer them in public. I perceived I ascended the tribune, a murmur of dissension prevail. Have I then lost the character of a free man? Am I not the same as your side in the days of alarm? Have you frequently embraced me as a friend, who was to die with you? For your sake have I not been overwhelmed by persecutions? I have been the most intrepid supporters of Marat; I in the shade of the friend of the people to bear witness for my behalf. You would be astonished if you saw my private affairs; and the colossal fortune my enemies and yours ascribe to me, is now reduced to the slender patrimony I have possessed. I defy my detractors to prove me any crime. All their efforts will be unavailing; I remain erect before the people; I will judge me in their presence. I cannot

<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jacobins

Danton," said he, "demands a commission to examine into his conduct: I consent to it, if he thinks it can be of any service to him. He demands a statement of the grounds of complaint against him: I agree to it. Danton, you are accused of being an emigrant; of having retired to Switzerland; of having feigned illness to conceal your flight; of having desired to become Regent under Louis XVII.; of having made arrangements at a fixed time to reclaim that remnant of the Capets; of being the chief of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy; of being worse enemy to France than either Pitt or Cobourg, England, Austria, or Prussia; of having filled the continent with your creatures. It is said that we need not disquiet ourselves about the inferior agents of foreign powers; that their conspiracies merit only contempt; but you, you alone, should be led to the scaffold!" Loud applauses followed this bold declaration; when they had subsided, he continued, turning to his astonished rival—"Do you not know, Danton, that the more a man is gifted with energy and public spirit, the more the public enemies conspire for his overthrow? Do you not know, does not every one who hears me know, that

CHAP.  
XIV.  
1794.



CHAP. rival, and threw him off his guard by feigned expres-  
XIV. sions of regard.

1794. On the very next day, a new decree, augmenting

• Increase of the despotic powers of the Committee of Public  
the powers of govern- Salvation, was passed. "Anarchy," said Billaud Va-  
ment. rennes, in the preamble of the report on which the

Dec. 4,  
1793.

decree was founded, "menaces every republic alike in its cradle and its old age. Our part is to strive against it." On this principle, the decree enacted that a bulletin of the laws should be established; that four individuals should have the exclusive right of framing it; that it should be printed on a particular paper and type, and sent down to the provinces by post. The Convention was at the same time declared the "Centre of Impulsion of Government," —a dubious phrase, under which was veiled the despotic authority of the committees. The authority of the departmental assemblies was abolished for every thing except matters of local administration; and they were forbidden, under pain of death, to correspond on any political matter with each other, raise forces or taxes of their own authority, or correspond with or receive instructions from any body but the committees at Paris. Thus the liberties of the provinces were rapidly perishing under the despotic sway of the Committee of Public Salvation. All the powers of government, which by former decrees were vested in different bodies, were by this decree centred in the Committee of Public Salvation. It alone was directed to conduct the foreign diplomacy, to appoint generals, admirals, and ambassadors, and the whole constituted authorities were ordered to correspond with it, and receive their instructions from it alone. Supported by the Jacobin club, of which Robespierre had now



not the entire direction, and all the affiliated clubs  
 over France, this despotic power was now established  
 on a solid basis: for it rested on the ardent demo-  
 crats, who at once directed the magistracies and  
 influenced the armies. A despotism had grown up  
 out of the very excess of liberty. France was already  
 beginning to enter the bloody path, which leads  
 from democratic anarchy to regular government.<sup>1</sup>

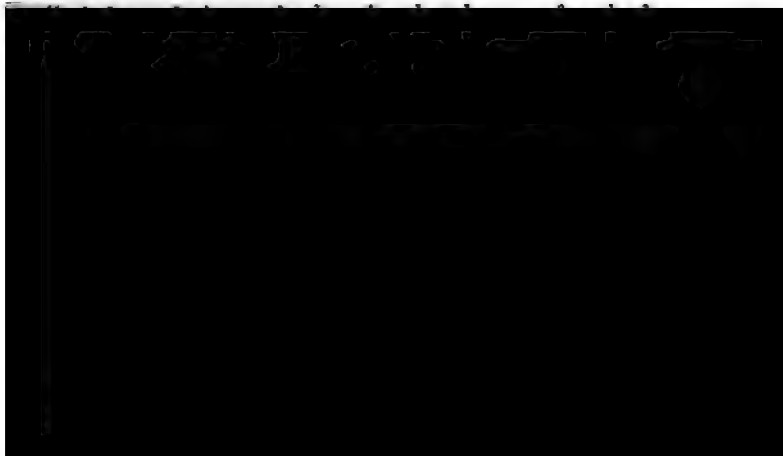
Meanwhile, the strife of the Dantonists and Anar-  
 chists became daily more conspicuous. One of the  
 latter, Ronsin, had affixed over all the walls of Paris  
 a placard, in which he declared, that out of a hun-  
 dred and forty thousand souls at Lyons, fifteen hun-  
 dred only were not accomplices of the revolt in that  
 city, and that before February all the guilty should  
 perish, and their bodies be floated by the Rhone to  
 Roulon. Camille Desmoulins vigorously attacked  
 this atrocious faction, and in an especial manner  
 listened on the infamous Hebert, whom he accused  
 of being "a miserable intriguer, a caterer for the  
 guillotine, a traitor paid by Pitt; a wretch who had  
 received 200,000 francs at different times, from al-  
 most all the factions in the Republic, to calumniate  
 their adversaries; a thief and robber, who had been

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
Parl. xxx.  
254, 263.  
Deux  
Amis, xi.  
192, 207.

Attacks of  
the Dan-  
tonists on  
the Anar-  
chists.



Secret  
agreement  
between  
Robes-  
pierre and  
the Muni-  
cipality.

While the parties were in this state of ex-  
at each other, the Committee of Public  
boldly interposed between them, and resolve  
their discord the means of destroying both.  
with political dexterity by this singular si-  
the parties, Robespierre and the membe  
municipality came to an understanding, a  
tion of which was the mutual abandonme  
personal friends. Robespierre gave up  
Camille Desmoulins, and their supporte  
vengeance of the municipality; and they  
ed Hebert, Chaumette, Ronsin, Cloutz,  
party, to the Decemvirs. By this arrang  
important objects were gained; two formi-  
tions were destroyed, and a rival to the  
of the dictator was removed. It seemed  
to accuse the government of tending towa  
chy, when it had destroyed the atheistic  
in the municipality; and equally hopeless  
it with moderation, when it had struck  
leaving towards a return to humanity th

in proceeding against so powerful a faction as the Anarchists, headed by so weighty a body as the municipality of Paris. They began their operations by a purification of the Jacobin Club, as it was called, which went on for several days in the middle of December. In the course of these discussions, Robespierre denounced Hebert in the most violent terms. He was only re-admitted on his declaring that "the gospel appeared to be a book of excellent morality; and that all true Jacobins should follow its precepts; and that Jesus Christ was the founder of all popular societies." But he succeeded in excluding Anacharsis Clootz, a Prussian, who had acquired notoriety by styling himself "the orator of the human race." He did so by the never-failing device of representing him as the secret agent of the Allies.\* At the same time that the leaders of the Anarchist faction were in this manner excluded by the all-powerful influence of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Parris, Colombot, and all the other leaders of the Moderate party were admitted. By this decisive measure the Anarchists were rendered wholly powerless in the Jacobins;<sup>1</sup> and a severe

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

Purification of the  
Jacobin  
Club.  
Dec. 15.<sup>1</sup> Journal  
des Jacobins,  
14th and 15th  
Dec. 1793.



Announcement of the project in the Convention.

vengeance in the Assembly. "Without you ; within, all their friends are aiding them ; they will continue to do so till hope is severed. We must stifle the external enemies of the Republic, or perish with it. In these circumstances, the only principles of government to govern the people by the force of Reason and their enemies by the force of Terror. The only principle of a popular government in peace is Virtue ; in revolution, it is Virtue and TERROR : Without which Terror is fatal—Terror, with Virtue is impotent. The government of France is the despotism of liberty against tyranny. The opposite factions with which we have to contend march under different banners, and take different routes ; but their object is the same, the destruction of the popular government, and the

† "Il faut," said Robespierre, "considérer Camille Desmoulins ses vertus et ses faiblesses. Quelquefois faible et courageux, et toujours républicain, on l'a vu successive

of tyranny. The one tends to this object by its leaning to weakness; the other, by its tendency to excess. The Republic must steer between these two shoals, impotence and excess. Tyrants have wished to throw us back into servitude by moderation; sometimes they aim at the same object by throwing us into the opposite extreme. These two extremes terminate in the same point. Whether they fall short or overshoot the mark, they equally miss it. The friend of kings and the orator of the human race understand each other perfectly. The fanatic covered with his relics, and the fanatic who preaches atheism, are closely allied. The democratic barons are twin-brothers of those at Coblenz; and sometimes the *bonnet rouges* are nearer the *talons rouges* than would be at first imagined. The one of these factions would change liberty into a bacchanalian; the other, into a prostitute.<sup>1</sup>

“Foreign powers have vomited into France able villains, whom they retain in their pay. They deliberate in our administrations, insinuate themselves into our sections and our clubs, sit in the Convention, and eternally direct the counter-revolution by the same means. They flutter round us, surprise our

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Rapport  
de Robespierre,  
Dec. 23,  
1793.

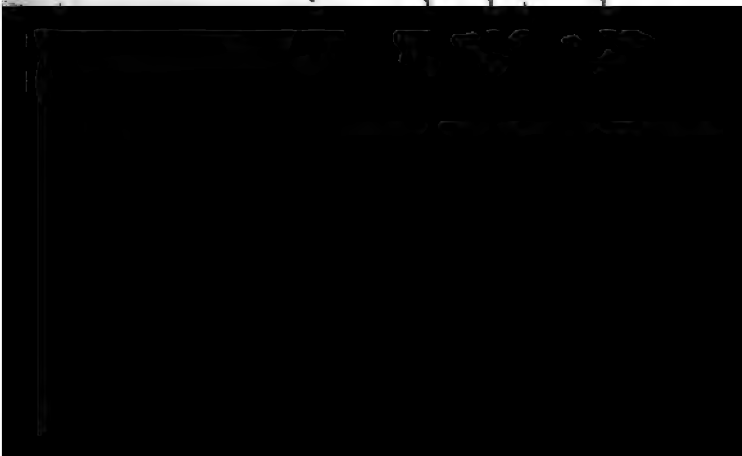
Hist. Parl.  
xxx. 463.

469. Mig.

ii. 307.

Th. vi.

155, 156.



CHAP. in the value of money ; profit, in fine, by every acci-  
 XIV. dent, to turn it against France and the Revolution.

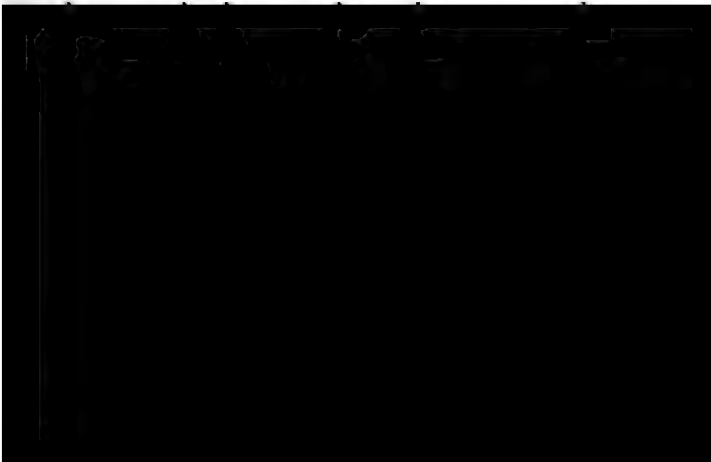
1794. Such is the invariable policy of revolutionary parties  
 to impute to strangers the natural effect of their  
 own passions and vices. This speech was ordered  
 to be printed, and circulated over all France. It  
 was followed by a decree, sending Biron, Custine,  
 Dietrich, mayor of Strasbourg, and all the

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl. friends of Dumourier, Custine, and Houchard,  
 xxx. 465, the Revolutionary Tribunal, from whence they were  
 466. Th. vi. soon after conducted to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>  
 120, 121.

“ Citizens,” said St Just, some time after, “ you  
 wish a republic ; if you are not prepared at the  
 same time to wish for what constitutes it, you will  
 be buried under its ruins. Now, what constitutes  
 a republic *is the destruction of every thing which*  
*opposes it.* You are culpable towards the republic  
 if you have pity on the captives ; you are culpable  
 if you do not support virtue ; you are culpable if  
 you do not support terror. What do you propose  
 you who would not strike terror into the wicked ?  
 What do you propose, you who would sever virtue  
 from happiness ? You shall perish, you who only  
 act the patriot till bought by the stranger, or placed  
 in office by the government ; you of the indulgent  
 faction, who would save the wicked ; you of the fa-  
 reign faction, who would be severe only on the friends  
 of freedom. Measures are already taken ; you are  
 surrounded. Thanks to the genius of France, Liberty  
 has risen victorious from one of the greatest dangers  
 she ever encountered ; the terror she will strike into  
 her enemies will for ever purge the earth of the conspir-  
 ators. We are accused of cruelty ; but we are humane  
 in comparison of other governments. A monarchy

Remark-  
 able speech,  
 to the same  
 effect, by  
 St Just.  
 March 2,  
 1794.

on the blood of thirty generations, and shall CHAP. XIV.  
hesitate to punish the guilty of one? Do we 1794.  
science reverses? the indulgent prophesy calami-  
Are we prosperous? they never mention our  
ses. You are more occupied with some pam-  
than the Republic. You demand the opening  
prisons: you might as well demand at once  
misery and destruction of the people. The  
conspiracy is now striving to save the guilty  
formerly strove to save the tyrant. A monarchy  
not consist in a king, but in crime; a republic  
a senate, but in virtue. Whoever would spare  
is striving to restore the monarchy: spare the  
cracy, and you will have thirty years of civil Hist. Parl. xxxi. 385, 391. Deux  
those who make revolutions by halves, only Amis, xii. 115, 116.  
their own graves." The Convention, awed by Mig. ii. 309. Lac.  
rants, invested the committees with full power Ter-ii. 145.  
ish the conspiracies. They decreed that *Ter-*  
*id Virtue* should be the order of the day.<sup>1</sup>  
e Anarchists were the first to feel the vengeance  
eir former supporters. They in vain endea- Proscrip- tion of the Anar- chists.  
d to rouse their ancient partisans in the com-  
to support their cause; terror had frozen  
heart. As the danger became more menacing,



CHAP. openly prevailed on the 4th March. They  
 XIV. went so far as to propose that the whole Conv  
 1794. should be dissolved, a new one assembled, a di  
 named, and an executive government orga  
 But all the efforts of Hebert, with his inf  
 journal—*Momoro*, with the resolutions of th  
 tion *Marat*, which he had roused to espouse  
 cause—and *Vincent*, with his frenzied foll  
 could not produce a popular movement. The  
 cipality held back; the Jacobins were ruled  
 Committee of Public Salvation and Robes  
 Driven from the club of the Jacobins, whe  
 Decemvirs predominated, they sought refuge i  
 of the *Cordeliers*; but all to no purpose. On  
 tion alone, that of *Marat*, declared in their fa  
 in all the others, hesitation and division of o  
 prevailed. Terror of the terrible energy  
 March 12. Committee of Public Salvation paralysed ever  
 Seeing public opinion, after a few days, suffi  
 pronounced, Robespierre acted. On the ni  
 the 12th, the whole leaders of the Anarchist  
 arrested by their former agent, *Henriot*, at the  
 of the armed force which they had so often w  
 against the government, and sent before the R  
 331. Deux tionary Tribunal, to stand trial for a conspir  
 Amis, xii.  
 122, 125. put a tyrant at the head of affairs.<sup>1</sup>

Hebert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, Mo  
 Vincent, and fifteen others of their party, we  
 condemned. They evinced the native basen  
 Their dis- graceful death.  
 March 26. their dispositions by their cowardice in thei  
 moments. The infamous Hebert wept from  
 ness. The numerous captives in the prisons of  
 could hardly believe their eyes when they behel  
 tyrants, who had sent so many to execution, and  
 were preparing a new massacre in the prisons,



igned, in their turn, to the scaffold. The populace, with their usual inconstancy, manifested joy at their punishment, and, in particular, loaded with maledictions the very Hebert, for whose deliverance from the arrest of the Convention they had so recently before put all Paris in insurrection. Such was the public avidity to see the execution of these leaders, late so popular, that considerable sums were realized by the sale of seats on the fatal tribunes, to witness their agonies, and on the tables and benches arranged round the scaffold.\* Hebert, in particular, was the object of universal execration; his atheistical mummeries had alienated all the better class of citizens, and the numerous denunciations he had undergone from Robespierre and St Just, had rendered him an object of detestation to the populace. He made no attempt to conceal his errors: he sank down at every step; and the vile populace, so recently his worshippers, followed the cry, mimicking the cry of the persons who hawked his journal about the streets. "Father Duchèsne is a devil of a rage."† The victory of the Dantonians was complete. They followed up the blow by disbanding the revolutionary force stationed at Paris, and diminishing the power of the committee.

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
125, 126.  
Th. vi.  
162, 182.  
Lac. ii.  
144. Mig.  
ii. 310.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxi. 397,  
399 and

and Robespierre.

house of the former, but it led to no accommodation. Danton complained violently of the conduct of his former friend; Robespierre maintained a reserve. "I know," said Danton, "all the faults which the committee bear me, but I do not mind them."—"You are wrong," said Robespierre, "there are no bad intentions against you; but it is we who must be explicit."—"To be explicit," rejoined Danton, "faith is necessary. Without doubt it is necessary to coerce the Royalists; but we should not condemn the innocent with the guilty."—"And who is the innocent?" said Robespierre, "that one innocent has perished?" Danton upon this, turning to his friend who accompanied him, said with a smile—"What say you? not one innocent has perished!" They parted mutually exasperated; intercourse between them immediately ceased.

\* In the proceedings against Hebert, some curious facts appear as to the means by which the infamous revolutionary press was stimulated during the principal crises of the Revolution. The following entries appear:—

had Robespierre sufficient evidence, during the CHAP. XIV.  
 that immediately followed the execution of the 1794.  
 anarchists, that terror had reached its extreme  
 point, and that a return to humanity was ardently  
 desired by the people. Innumerable addresses were  
 presented to the Convention between the 26th and  
 1st March, congratulating them on the execution of  
 the men who had disgraced the Revolution; the  
 revolutionary army, of which Ronsin had been the  
 chief, was disbanded amidst general applause, (30th  
 March,) and a discussion had even taken place at  
 the Jacobins, as to recommending the removal of  
 the busts of Chalier and Marat from their hall.

In truth, the Dantonists and friends of humanity,  
 rejoiced at the punishment of Hebert and the ex-  
 anarchoist leaders, gave full reins to their  
 exultation, and imprudently spread the report  
 through Paris, that the reign of blood was about to  
 terminate. They even went so far as to suggest,  
 that the busts of Marat and Chalier should be de-  
 stroyed, as implicated in their proceedings. Collot  
 d'Herbois and the Jacobins sufficiently showed, how-  
 ever, that the Committee of Public Salvation had  
 no intention of arresting the march of the Revolu-

CHAP.  
XIV.

1794.

Hist. Parl.  
xxxii. 62,  
Mig. ii.  
308. Th.  
vi. 189.  
Journ. de  
la Mont.  
No. 139, p.  
1124.

Speech of  
Collot  
d'Herbois  
at the Ja-  
cobins.  
March 29.

"The counter-revolutionists" said he, "an



CHAP. scribed Chaliér; soon they will proscribe Marat  
XIV. too, and replace his bust by some other one, pro-

1794.

bably that of the tyrant. (*Loud cries of indignation.*)  
Open your eyes to the dangers which surround  
you, and you will see that very different measures  
than those proposed by the Moderates are now called  
for; government will act differently. They have  
caused the thunder to fall on the infamous men  
who have deceived the people; they have torn from  
them the masks which concealed their hideous out-  
rages; *they will tear the mask from others*: let not  
the Moderates suppose that it is for them that we  
have held here our glorious sittings. I propose that  
whoever casts a doubt on the martyr Chaliér,  
should at once be declared a counter-revolutionist,  
and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ. de  
la Mont.  
No. 139.  
Seance,  
March 29,  
1794, p.  
1125.

Arrest of  
Danton.

Alarmed by these ominous words, the friends of  
Danton now conjured him to take steps to ensure  
his own safety; but no resource remained to ward  
off the threatened blow. The club of the Con-  
deliers, indeed, was devoted to him, and the Con-  
vention in secret leaned to his side; but these bodies  
had no real power, the armed force was entirely in  
the hands of the Committee of Public Salvation.  
Having failed in rousing public opinion by means  
of the journals of his party, and the exertions of his  
friends in the Convention, what other expedients  
remained? “I would rather,” said he, “be guillo-  
tined than become guillotiner; my life is not worth  
the trouble of preserving; I am weary of existence.  
Set off into exile! do you suppose that one carries  
their country with the sole of their shoe?” On the  
day before his arrest, he received notice that his  
imprisonment was under the consideration of the  
Committee, and he was again pressed to fly; but,

moment's deliberation, he only answered, CHAP. XIV.  
 "dare not!" In the night his house was sur-  
 , and he was arrested, along with Camille 1794.  
 lins, Lacroix, Herault de Sechelles, and  
 an. On entering the prison, he cordially  
 d the captives who flocked to behold him.  
 emen," said he, "I hoped to have been the March 30.  
 of delivering you all from this place; but  
 m among you, and God only knows where  
 l end." He was immediately afterwards  
 in a solitary cell, the same which Hebert  
 ently before occupied. On entering it he  
 d—"At last I perceive that in revolutions  
 eme power finally rests with the most aban-  
 \* During the short period that elapsed  
 is execution, his mind, in a distracted state,  
 to the innocence of his earlier years. "He  
 incessantly," says his fellow-captive Riouffe,  
 s, flowers, and the country." Then, giving  
 unavailing regret, he exclaimed—"It was 'Deux  
Amis, xii.  
126, 127.  
Mig. ii.  
310, 312.  
Th. vi. 192.  
Riouffe, 67.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxii. 212.  
 ear ago that I was the means of instituting  
 olutionary Tribunal: may God and man  
 me for what I did! I hoped in so doing  
 a second massacre in the prisons; it was





amen, the president, gave it his energetic  
“ I will maintain,” said he, “ the liberty of  
let every one freely express his opinion.  
his colleagues that we are here for the people  
concerned only with their interest. It  
have done with individual disputes. Let the  
of the Revolution prove to-day their love of  
I will proclaim the decrees which have  
the maintenance of liberty of speech.”  
applauses followed these words ; and from  
emotion which prevailed, there is no doubt  
Danton had been brought before them, |

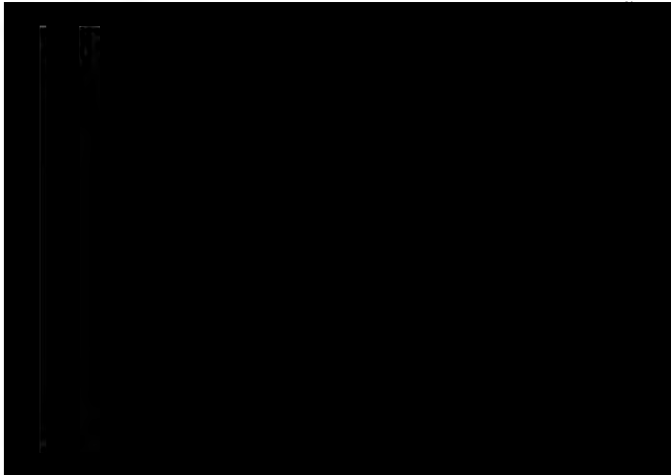
<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxii. 67.  
Deux Amis,  
xii. 127.

Robe-  
spierre's  
speech  
subdues  
them.

ful voice would have broken the talism  
Decemvirs, and closed the reign of blood  
Robespierre immediately mounted the tribune  
“ From the trouble, for long unknown,  
“ which reigns in the Assembly ; from the  
produced by the words you have just heard  
demonstrated that a great interest is at stake, and  
point now to be determined is, whether the  
a few individuals is to prevail over that of the  
try. We shall see this day whether the Convention  
has courage to break a pretended idol, or to

rabeau and Dumourier, with Hebert and de Sechelles; you have made yourself the tyranny. Mirabeau, who contemplated a  
 CHAP. XIV.  
 1794.  
 f dynasty, felt the value of your audacity, red it: you have abandoned all your former s, and nothing more was heard of you till acre in the Champ de Mars. At every . have deserted the public interest; you have ched yourself to the traitor party." The spired by these words restored silence to the on; and at the same time, St Just, followed her members of the Committee of Public ntered the hall. With slow steps, a sombre led air, they approached the Tribune, when rre again addressed Legendre. "Go on; it at all the associates of the conspirators we sted should at once make themselves known. e heard of the despotism of the Committees, onfidence which the people have reposed in which you have transferred to the Commit-  
 not the surest guarantee of their patriotism.  
 st to be afraid; but I say, whoever trembles  
 oment is guilty, for never did innocence fear  
 unce of the public authorities." Unanimous

Hist. Parl.  
 xxxii. 67,  
 68. Deux.  
 Amis, xii.  
 128, 129.  
 Mig. ii.  
 312, 313.  
 Lac. ii.



CHAP. XIV. punished. The utter absurdity of imputing to  
such contradictory crimes, and supposing t

1794. league with their bitterest enemies, was too  
to escape observation ; but the Assembly, m

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de la  
Conv. iii.  
338.

Rioulle, 67.  
Jac. ii.

145.

Thiers, vi.

198, 201.

Mig. ii.

313.

*mously*, amidst loud applause, sent the acc  
the Revolutionary Tribunal. The galleries i  
their example. From those benches, wher  
issued so often bursts of applause at their s  
were now heard only fierce demands for their

When removed to the Conciergerie, prep  
to their trial, the astonishment of the capti  
as great as when they entered the Luxer

Their trial  
and execu-  
tion.

“ My late brethren,” said Danton, “ und  
nothing of government ; I leave every thing  
most deplorable confusion : ’Twere better  
poor fisherman than the ruler of men. My on  
fort is, that my name is attached to some decree  
will show that I was not involved in all thei  
On their trial, which began on the 2d and con  
to the 5th April, they evinced their wonted fi  
and addressed the judges in unusual terms of  
nation. Danton, being interrogated by the  
dent concerning his age and profession, replied  
name is Danton, sufficiently known in the hi  
the Revolution ; I am thirty-five ; my abode w  
be in nonentity ; and my name will live in t  
theon of history.” Camille Desmoulins answe  
“ I am of the same age as the Sans-culott  
Christ, when he died.” Danton spoke with  
and resolution in his own defence. “ My  
said he, with that powerful organ which ha  
so often raised in the cause of the people,  
have no difficulty in refuting the calumnies cor  
in the act of accusation. Let the cowards wi



"Let me be brought forward; I will speedily cover  
 them with confusion. Let the Committees appear; CHAP.  
XIV.  
 require them both as accusers and judges. Let 1794.  
 them appear; they will not. It matters little what  
 judgment you pronounce; I have already told you  
 that my abode will soon be in nonentity; my life is a bur-  
 den, I am weary of it, and will rejoice in the stroke  
 that sends me to the grave." The president rang his  
 bell, but Danton's voice of thunder drowned the noise.  
 "Do you not hear me?" said the president. "The  
 fate of a man," replied Danton, "who defends his  
 honour and his life, may well overcome your clamours.  
 Individual audacity may well be coerced; but national  
 audacity, of which I have so often given proofs, that <sup>1 Bull. du  
Trib. Rév.</sup>  
 is necessary: it is permitted in revolutions. When <sup>Vol. iii.  
No. 21, p.</sup>  
 I see myself so grievously, so unjustly accused, I am 84.  
 no longer master of my indignation.<sup>1</sup>

'Is it for a revolutionist, such as me, so strongly  
 denounced, so irrecoverably implicated, to defend <sup>Danton's  
defence.</sup>  
 myself against such charges as are now brought  
 against me? Me sold to the court!—me, the ac-  
 complice of Mirabeau, of D'Orleans, of Dumourier!  
 Does not all the world know that I have combated  
 Mirabeau, traversed all his projects, defeated all his



Hist. Parl.  
xxxii. 144,  
156. vention till this day on my conduct, and their  
illumination ! ”

Condem-  
nation of  
Danton  
and all his  
party.

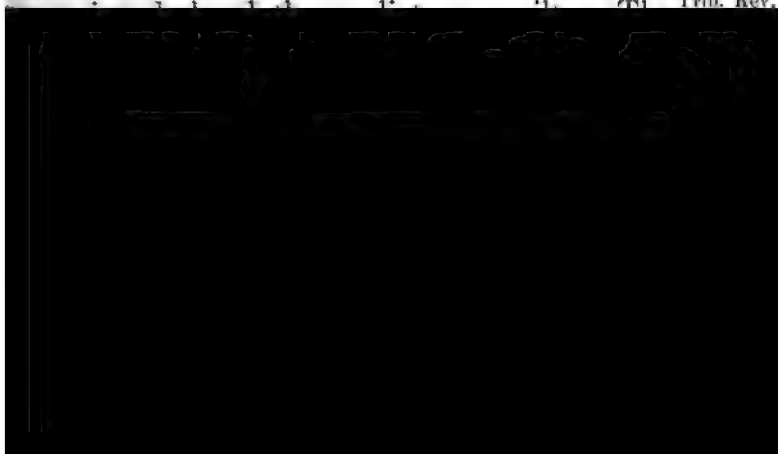
After continuing in this manner for three days, during which his voice was sometimes so loud that it was heard across the Seine on the Quai de la Teraille,\* Robespierre deemed it high time to bring the prosecution to a conclusion. The decree adopted was the same as that which had been fatal to the Girondists, viz.—the taking of the public accuser to ask the jury whether they were sufficiently convinced when a trial had been protracted beyond three days. The austere determination of Danton, the nerve of Desmoulins, the assured ability of Lacroix, rendered the jury apprehensive of a movement in the populace; and, in consequence of which, the Convention declared them *hors des débats*, on pretext of their want of qualification to sit on the Court. No sooner was this decree passed than Amar hastened with it to the Tribunal, and his friends were anxious

Amar, "for stifling these wretches." Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, seized it with avidity, and read it to the Court. Danton rose and called the audience to witness, that they had not been wanting in respect to the judges. "The time will come," said he, "when the truth will be known: I foresee the greatest calamities to France: here is the dictator unveiled." On the day following, the debates were closed before they had begun their defence, notwithstanding the most energetic remonstrance from Camille Desmoulins, who called the audience to witness that they were murdered. On the ground that the jury were now sufficiently enlightened, and that the third day of the trial had commenced, the public accuser refused to allow the witnesses whom Lacroix proposed to call to be examined, on the ground that, being members of the Convention, they could not be at once witnesses and accusers. "We are about," said Danton and Lacroix, "to be judged without being heard in our defence: deliberation is at an end. Well! we have lived long enough to go to rest in the bosom of glory: let them lead us to the scaffold." The jury enclosed, and soon after the president returned, and, with a

CHAP.

XIV.

1794.

Bull. du  
Trib. Rév.

CHAP.  
XIV.

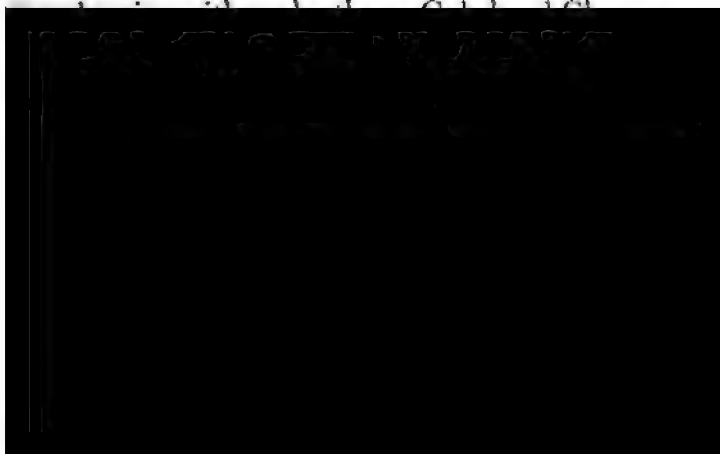
1794.

They went to the scaffold with the stoicism so usual at that period. A numerous escort attended them, and an immense crowd was assembled, which beheld in silence their former leaders led out for execution. Camille Desmoulins exclaimed, when seated on the fatal chariot—"This, then, is the recompense destined to the first apostle of Liberty!" The bare crowd who followed the cars loaded them with imprecations; the indignation of Camille Desmoulins was so excessive that he tore his shirt; and though his hands were tied behind his back, his coat came off in venting it on the people. At the Palais Royal he said—"It is here that, four years ago, I called the people to arms for the Revolution. Had Marat lived, he would have been beside us." Danton held his head erect, and cast a calm and intrepid look around him. "Do not disquiet yourself," said he, "with that vile mob." At the foot of the scaffold he advanced to embrace Herault Sechelles, who held out his arms to receive him. The executioner interposed. "What," said he with a bitter smile, "are you more cruel than death itself? Begone! you at least cannot prevent our lips from soon meeting in that bloody basket." For a moment after, he was softened, and said—"Oh, my beloved! oh, my wife! oh, my children! shall I never see you more?" But immediately checking himself, exclaimed—"Danton, recollect yourself; no weakness!" He ascended with a firm step, being, with the usual barbarity of the period, executed last, as the chief conspirator, and died with unshaken constancy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mig. ii  
134 Lac.  
ii. 149. Th.  
vi. 216,  
221. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
iii. 347.  
Deux  
Amis, xii.  
134, 136.  
Duval, iv.  
299, 301.

The wife of Camille Desmoulins, a young woman of twenty-three, to whom he was passionately attached, wandered round the prison of the Luxembourg, in which her husband was confined, night

day during his detention. This, with some CHAP.  
 dropped in the jails by the prisoners, as to XIV.  
 their hopes of being delivered by the aid of the 1794.  
 people, during the excitement produced by the trial Conspi-  
 Danton and his friends, led to a fresh prosecution racy in the  
 a "conspiracy in the prisons," which was made the prisons,  
 ans of sweeping off twenty-five persons of wholly and nume-  
 ferent principles and parties in one fell swoop. The rous execu-  
 tions under  
 it.  
 state bishop Gobel, Chaumette, the well-known  
 and once formidable prosecutor of the municipality,  
 widow of Hebert, the widow of Camille Desmou-  
 is, Arthur Dillon, a remnant of the Dantonists,  
 and twenty others of inferior note, were indited to-  
 gether for the crimes of having "conspired together  
 against the liberty and security of the French people,  
 leavoured to trouble the state by civil war, to arm  
 the citizens against each other, and against the law-  
 ful authority; in virtue of which they proposed, in  
 the present month, to dissolve the national repre-  
 sentation, assassinate its members, destroy the re-  
 publican government, gain possession of the sove-  
 reignty of the people, and give a tyrant to the state."  
 The absurdity of thus charging, as in one conspiracy,  
 the leaders of two opposite factions, so recently at



affection :—"Ma chère Lucile, ma Vesta, mon ange, me ramène dans ma prison mes yeux sur ce jardin où je passai mes années de ma vie à te voir—une coin de vue, sur le Luxembourg rappelle une foule de souvenirs de nos amours. Je suis au moins jamais je n'ai été par la pensée, par l'imagination, près de toi, plus près de toi, de ta mère, de mon petit Horace. L'émancipation est tout entière, dans mes huit volumes républicains, bonne Lulotte ! parlons des autres choses. Je me jette à toi, j'étends les bras pour t'embrasser—je ne trouve plus ma Lulotte ! [Ici on remarque la trace d'une larme.] Envoie-moi un livre où il y a un C et un D—nos deux noms—un livre en 12 que j'ai écrit à Charpentier ; ce livre roule sur l'immortalité de l'âme. Je me persuade qu'il y a un Dieu plus juste que les hommes, et puis manquer à te revoir. Adieu, Lucile !—adieu ! Je ne puis t'embrasser ; mais aux larmes que je verse, il me semble que tu es encore contre mon sein." [Ici se trouve la trace d'une larme.] —*Seconde Lettre.*—"Je suis malade : je n'ai mangé de soupe depuis hier. Le Ciel a eu pitié de mon innocence et m'a envoyé un songe, où je vous ai vus tous : envoie-moi ton portrait—oh je t'en prie ! car je pense uniquement et jamais à l'affaire qui m'amène ici !" —*Dernière Lettre.*—conjure, Lulotte, par vos éternelles amours, envoie-moi ton portrait. Dans l'horreur de ma prison, ce sera pour moi une fête, un jour de joie et de ravissement—celui où je reverrai ton portrait. Envoie-moi de tes cheveux, que je les mette contre mon cœur. Lucile ! me voilà revenu au temps de nos premiers amours qu'un m'intéressait par cela seul qu'il sortait de chez toi quand le citoven qui t'a porté ma lettre fut revenu. Je me suis

ed the tardy but last defenders of humanity and moderation—the last who sought for peace, and advocated clemency to those who had been vanquished in the Revolution. CHAP.  
XIV.  
1794.

For long after their fall, no voice was heard against the Reign of Terror: silent and unopposed, the tyrants struck redoubled blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondists had sought to prevent that fatal rule, the Dantonists to arrest it: both perished in the attempt. They perished, because they were inferior in wickedness to their opponents; they fell, the victims of the little humanity which lingered in their bosoms. The combination of wicked men who thereafter governed France, is without a parallel in the history of the world. Their power, based on the organized weight of the multitude, and the ardent co-operation of the municipalities, every where installed by them in the possession of power, was irresistible. By them opulent cities were overturned; hundreds of thousands of deluded artisans reduced to beggary; agriculture, commerce, the arts destroyed; the foundations of every species of property shaken; and all the youth of the kingdom driven to the frontier, less to uphold the in-

Silent pro-  
scriptions  
of the  
Reign of  
Terror.

CHAP. just vengeance which awaited them from with-  
XIV. without. All bowed the neck before this g

1794. assemblage of wickedness. The revolution-  
cesses daily increased, in consequence of the  
which the constant dread of retribution pr  
among their perpetrators. There was no n  
between taking a part in these atrocities, and  
a victim to them. Virtue seemed powerless ;  
appeared only in the extremity of resignation ;  
in the heroism with which death was endured.

<sup>1</sup> Deux was not a hope left for France, had it not b  
Amis, xii. the dissensions which, as the natural result c  
184, 192. wickedness, sprang up among the authors of t  
Hist de la Conv. lic calamities.<sup>1</sup>  
iii. 230.

General It is impossible not to be struck, in looking  
reflec- on the fate of these different parties, with the s  
tions. Re. and providential manner in which their crimes t  
sistless about their own punishment. No foreign inter  
power of was necessary, no avenging angel was required  
Robe- diccate the justice of the Divine administration  
spierre. fell the victims of their own atrocity, of the p  
which they themselves had let loose, of the ir  
of which they had given the first example to  
The Constitutionalist overthrew the ancient  
chy, and formed a throne surrounded with  
lican institutions ; but their imprudence in  
popular ambition paved the way for the 10th /  
and speedily brought themselves to the scaffold  
Girondists established their favourite drea  
Republic, and were the first victims of tl  
which it excited : the Dantonists roused the  
lace against the Gironde, and soon fell un  
axe which they had prepared for their riva  
Anarchists defied the powers of Heaven itse  
scarcely were their blasphemies uttered whe



wept off by the partners of their bloody triumphs. CHAP.  
only power remained, alone terrible, irresistible. XIV.

This was the power of DEATH, wielded by a 1794.  
steeled against every feeling of humanity,  
to every principle of justice. In their iron  
order resumed its sway from the influence of  
; obedience became universal from the extinc-  
hope. Silent and unresisted they led their  
s to the scaffold, dreaded alike by the soldiers  
rouched, the people who trembled, and the  
s who suffered. The history of the world has  
allel to the horrors of that long night of suf-  
because it has none to the guilt which pre-  
it; tyranny never assumed so hideous a form,  
e licentiousness never required so severe a  
ment.

REIGN OF TERROR—FROM THE DEATH OF DANTON  
TO THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

APRIL 5—JULY 27, 1794.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. Origin of the Atrocities of the Reign of Terror—It springs  
XV. from the desire of doing Justice to supposed Expedience—Principles of Robespier  
1794. ment after the Fall of Danton—Political Fanaticism of the  
Character of St Just and Couthon—Their Prodigious En  
accumulation of prisoners at Paris, and throughout France  
Conspiracy in the Prisons—Picture of the Prisons during the  
Dreadful system of Espionage in Paris, and the other Towns  
Convention meanwhile is occupied with the Civic Virtues—  
attempt to assassinate Robespierre—Fête in honour of the Su  
—Additional Powers conferred on the Revolutionary Tribunal  
it in the Assembly—But it is nevertheless carried—Rapid in  
Proscriptions—Means by which the support of the people was  
—Execution of Malesherbes and his Family—Of Madame E  
Custine's son, Marshal Luckner, Biron, Lamarliere, and Diet  
of the Prisoners—Death of the Princess of Monaco, Lavoisier, &  
others—Cruelties in the Provinces—Lebon at Arras—Carrier  
General apathy of the Class of Proprietors—Horror at length  
the frequency and descent in society of the Executions—Ad  
taken of the Superstition of Robespierre—Suspensions of  
awakened—Henriot and St Just recommend vigorous measur  
tion agreed on at the Jacobins—Measures of the Convention  
The Contest begins in the Assembly—Robespierre's Speech  
Reply—Extraordinary Meeting of the Jacobins—Mutual  
during the night—Meeting of the Convention on the 9th

‘ALL bad actions,” says Sallust, “spring from d beginnings:”—“And the progress of these CHAP. XV. 1794.  
 ts,” says Machiavel, “is this, that in their  
 ts to avoid fear, men inspire it in others, and  
 injury which they seek to ward off themselves  
 throw upon their neighbours, so that it seems  
 itable either to give or receive offence.”\* You  
 quite wrong,” said Napoleon to Talma, “in the  
 esentation of Nero; you should conceal the  
 nt; *no man admits his wickedness either to  
 s or himself*. You and I speak history, but,  
 peak it like other men.”<sup>1</sup> The words which<sup>ii. p. 274.</sup>  
 ist puts into the mouth of Cæsar, and Napoleon  
 essed to the actor of Nero, point to the same,  
 one of the most important principles of human  
 re. When vice appears in its native deformity,  
 universally shunned—its features are horrible  
 to others and itself.† It is by borrowing the  
 uage, and rousing the passions of virtue, that it  
 uates itself into the minds, not only of the spec-  
 rs but the actors; the worst deeds are committed  
 nen who delude themselves and others by the  
 est expressions. Tyranny speaks with the voice  
 rudence, and points to the dangers of popular



Origin of  
the atrocities of the  
Reign of  
Terror.

g  
All these atrocities proceed from one criminality in them all begins when one passed. This source is the principle of exp this line is the line of justice. "To do good may come of it," is perhaps the most cause of wickedness. It is absolutely necessary the politicians of one age, to check the spirit of heresy; discord in this world, in the next, follow in its steps; religion, to maintain of peace, is in danger of being polluted; poison; the transient suffering of a few individuals will ensure the eternal salvation of millions. This is the language of religious intolerance, principles which lighted the fires of St. How cruel soever it may appear, say the s of another, to sacrifice life for property, it is pensable in an age of commercial industry temptations to fraud are so great, the fact commission so extensive, that but for the death, property would be insecure, and with all its blessings, nipped in the bud. Such language of commercial jealousy, of that sa

wn; but what are the wars of princes to the eter-  
 d contest between freedom and tyranny? and what  
 e destruction of its present enemies, to the liberty  
 unborn millions of the human race? Such is the  
 guage of revolutionary cruelty; these the maxims  
 ich, beginning with the enthusiasm of philanthro-  
 ts, ended in the rule of Robespierre. Their un-  
 ampled atrocities arose from the influence yielded  
 a single principle; the greatest crimes which the  
 rld has ever known, were but an extension of the  
 posed expedience which hangs for forgery and  
 rns for heresy.

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

The error in all these cases is the same, and con-  
 ts in supposing that what is unjust ever can be  
 imately expedient, or that the Author of Nature  
 uld have implanted feelings in the human heart  
 ich the interests of society require to be continu-  
 7 violated. "A little knowledge," says Lord Bacon,  
 akes men irreligious, but extended wisdom brings  
 m back to devotion;" with equal truth it may be  
 l, that "a little experience makes governments and  
 ple iniquitous, but extended information brings  
 m back to the principles of justice." The real in-  
 ests of society, it is at last perceived, can only be

It springs  
 from sacri-  
 ficing jus-  
 tice to sup-  
 posed ex-  
 pedience.



nature has implanted in every human  
statesmen are taught by experience, that  
dom consists in following what their cons  
them to be just, in preference to what th  
experience, or mistaken views, may appre  
expedient.

Great  
error of  
dramatists  
and novel-  
ists in this  
respect.

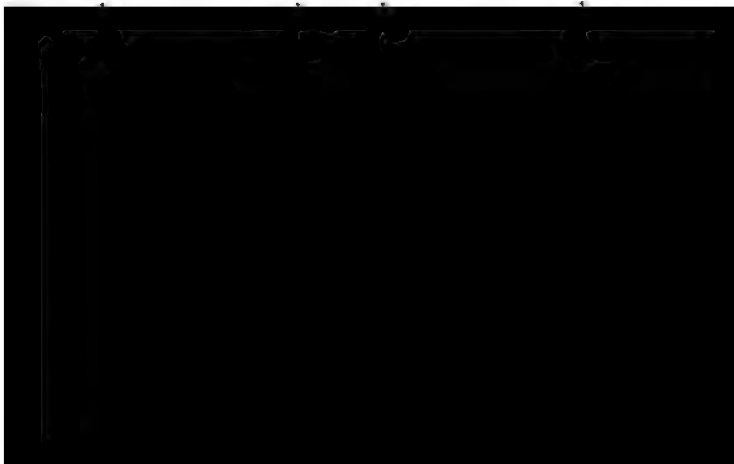
Novelists and writers of the drama wou  
to reflect on these observations. They  
represent their depraved characters as  
*their wickedness*, but expressing their c  
tion to adhere to it. This never occurs i  
Men often admit the performance of, or  
intention to perform, actions which the  
wicked : but *they never admit they ar*  
Invariably they speak of them as perfectly  
or a commendable escape from absurd or  
restraint. The libertine will admit all h  
perfidy, nay, he will glory in them ; bu  
admits they are wrong : on the contrary  
tains they were no more than the dictates  
and that hypocritical cant alone can mak  
subject of condemnation. The fraudulen  
may not deny his deeds of deceit : but as

gives a hint as to their being criminal. The tyrant, in a soliloquy, confess his cruel projects; but never confesses they are cruel. State necessity, overruling destiny, are ever in his mouth; he is ever watching over the safety of the commonwealth; he is anticipating or warding off the strokes of the avenger.

Many of the greatest dramatists and romance writers of modern times are characterised by this remarkable error—Racine and Molière, Alfieri and Voltaire, Lope de Vega and Bulwer, with all their profound knowledge of the human heart, have fallen into it. Yet deeper observers of human nature have perceived the real character of man in this respect. Shakspeare draws, with a master's hand, the delusion of the human heart, and the *struggle* in the breast of the incipient criminal. Corneille represents his heroes justifying all their excesses on grounds of state necessity; thence it was that Napoleon said, if he had lived in his time, he would have made him his first councillor of state. Euripides and Sophocles exhibit the cruel deeds of their characters as overborne by irresistible destiny. Machiavel sets forth state policy as justifying deeds of wicked-

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

Examples  
of this.



banquets and daily executions took place in the  
extermination, conducted by despotic age  
vailed in the provinces—and yet nothing  
language of philanthropy was breathed in  
vention, nothing but the noblest sentiment  
uttered by the Decemvirs. Each defeat of th  
only rendered the ruling faction more san  
the successive proscriptions of the Royalist  
Girondists, of the Constitutionalists, of th  
chists, and of the Moderates, were immedi  
lowed by a more violent effusion of huma  
The destinies of France, as of every othe  
which undergoes the crisis of a Revolut  
fallen into the hands of men, who, born of t  
convulsions, were sustained by them alo  
massacred in the name of their princip  
massacred in the name of the public well  
terror of their rivals was the real spring  
actions. The most barbarous cruelty, 1  
ruthless violence, the most degrading d  
were represented as emanating from the p  
of freedom, and as imperiously called for  
sity. The noblest and most sacred motiv



unqualified submission from every part of France. CHAP. XV.  
 Danton himself, his old friend, said at the Jacobin  
 b—"I am bound to declare before the people, 1794.  
 : I am fully convinced, by the documents I have Universal  
 ected, of Danton's guilt. Before his accusation submission  
 as his intimate friend; I would have answered followed  
 his patriotism with my head; but his conduct, the death  
 of Danton.  
 that of his accomplices, at their trial leave no  
 ot of their intentions." Robespierre made a  
 ured harangue, interrupted at every moment  
 pplauses against his unfortunate rival. "It is  
 ent," said Arthur, "that Danton was led to  
 ge Dumourier to march to Paris. The money  
 h Danton possessed was offered to Santerre, but  
 quickly enough to produce an insurrection."  
 same sentiments were re-echoed from every  
 of France. From all the departments arrived  
 owd of addresses, congratulating the Committee  
 ublic Salvation and the Convention on their  
 gy. Every one hastened to make his submission  
 ie government, and to admit the justice of its  
 eedings. But while approbation was in every  
 th, submission in every countenance, terror in  
 y heart, hatred at the oppressors was secretly

Journal  
 de la Mont.  
 No. 145,  
 1793.





arriver au port que sur une mer rougie d  
sang," said St Just. "Une nation ne se  
que sur des monceaux des cadavres," rejo  
spierre. Such were the principles daily ca  
practice for months together in every town i  
Alone and unrestricted, the Committee of P  
vation struck repeated and resistless blows  
end of the kingdom to the other. Fertile  
abounding in wretchedness, that eventful  
not wanting in the most heroic examples  
"Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculu  
et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae lil  
fugos matres, secutae maritos in exilia  
propinqui ardentes, constantes generi,  
etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides,  
clarorum virorum necessitates, ipsa nece  
titer tolerata, et laudatis antiquorum mort  
exitus."<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Mig. il.  
317.  
Riouffe,  
181—186.  
Rév. Mém.  
xlii. 186.  
Tac. Hist.  
i. 2.

The professed object of the Decemvir  
establish a republic in France after the mo

d'argent : le Vendredi avant le 10 Août, on lui donna  
Madame Elizabeth disait avant cette journée—' Nous s  
quilles : nous pouvons compter sur Danton.'"—*Note tre*

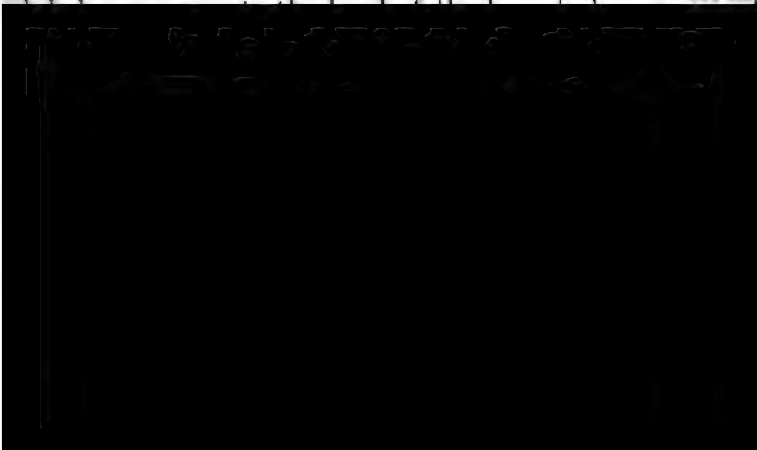
ncients, to change the manners, the habits, the public spirit of the country. Sovereignty in the people, magistrates without pride, citizens without vice, simplicity of manners, fraternity of relations, austerity of character; such were the bases on which their institutions were to rest. There was one objection to them, that they were utterly impracticable, from the character of the great body of mankind. Camille Desmoulins saw this, when in a letter to his wife, the night before his execution, he said—"I had dreamt of a republic which all the world would have adored. I could not have believed that men were so ferocious and so unjust." "I know well the great," said Alfieri, after witnessing at Paris the 8th August, "*but I do not know the little.*"\* Such were the errors which ruined France. To accomplish this imaginary object it was indispensable to destroy the whole superior classes of society, to cut off all those who were pre-eminent among their neighbours, either for fortune, rank, talent, or acquirement. This was the end, accordingly, proposed in the indiscriminate massacres which they put in execution. And what would have been its consequence if completely carried into effect? To sink the


CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Professed  
object of  
the De-  
cemvirs.

\* See Rap





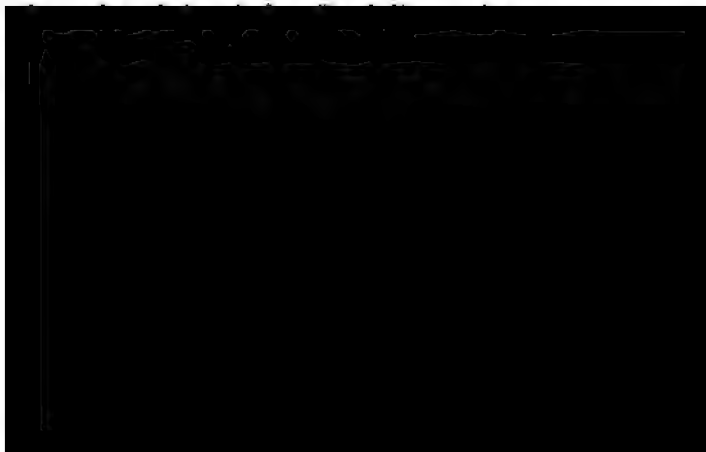
of virtue. "You have been severe; you v  
to be so, but you have acted judiciously.  
necessary to resist crime by inflexible just  
stroy conspiracies, and to punish the s  
hypocrisy of those who, without cour  
to restore the throne and destroy the  
The foundation of all great states has  
in storms. The basis of all great in  
is terror. Where would now have be  
dulent Republic? We have opposed t  
to the sword, and its power is in consequ  
blished. It has emerged from the storm  
origin is like that of the earth out of the co  
Chaos, and of man who weeps in the hou  
vity." As a consequence of these principle  
posed a general measure of proscription a  
the nobles as the irreconcilable opponen  
Revolution.—"You will never," said he, "s  
enemies of the people, till you have re-es  
tyranny in all its horrors. They can ne  
peace with you ; you do not speak the same l

is received with applause by the Convention, CHAP.  
passed, as all the decrees of government at that XV.  
by acclamation. 1794.

the Committee of Public Salvation, now confi-  
in its own strength, and strong in the univer- Destruc-  
bmission of France, adopted several measures tion of all  
ated to strengthen their power, and dissolve clubs in  
of the people. The situations of the different France ex-  
ters of state were abolished, and twelve com- cept the  
s appointed to carry on the details of govern- Jacobins.  
April 24.

These commissions, entirely appointed by  
committee of Public Salvation, and dependent  
ir will, were, in fact, nothing but the offices  
ich they exercised their mighty and despotic  
s. Shortly after, steps were taken to extin-  
all the popular societies which did not imme-  
y depend on the great parent club of the Jaco-

It was resolved at that society that they would  
ger receive any deputation from bodies formed  
the 10th August, or keep up any correspon-  
with them; and that a committee should be  
nted, to consider whether it should be main-  
l with those which were formed before that  
. This measure, directed in an especial man-



Decree, destroying itself; and out of its ruins to  
April 24, relentless despotism of a few political fa  
27, 1793. wringing out of the heart's blood of Fra  
Hist. Parl. xxxvi. 325, remnants of democratic fervour.<sup>1</sup>  
353.

Robespierre was the leader of this sect  
Character of St Just. but he was associated in the Committee  
more unpitiable or less disinterested th  
These were St Just and Couthon. The  
hibited the true features of gloomy fanati  
gular visage, dark and lank hair, a pene  
severe look, a melancholy expression of c  
revived the image of those desperate Sco  
siasts of whom modern genius has drawn  
a picture. Simple and unostentatious in  
austere in private, and indefatigable in pu  
at twenty-five, the most resolute, becaus  
sincere of the Decemvirs. A warm admirer  
public, he was ever at his post in the comm  
never wanting in resolution during his mis  
armies; enthusiastic in his passion for the  
he disdained, like Hebert, to imitate its v  
der to its desires. Steeled against every  
of pity, he demanded the execution of vic

alliance created a portentous combination of visionary  
 ideas and envious domineering passion, with in-  
 flexible and systematic severity.

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

Couthon was the creature of Robespierre. A  
 mild and beautiful countenance, a figure half-para-  
 lysed, concealed a soul animated with the most un-  
 conquerable fanaticism. These three men formed a  
 triumvirate, which soon acquired the management  
 of the Committee, and awakened an animosity on  
 the part of the other members, which ultimately  
 led to their ruin. What rendered their proceed-  
 ings especially dangerous was the extraordinary  
 ability and energy with which they were conducted,  
 and the eloquent language and generous sentiments  
 which they put forth on all occasions to justify  
 their tyrannical actions. The Triumvirate, however,  
 though very powerful, were far from being omni-  
 potent in the Committee of Public Salvation, and  
 with the Committee of General Safety they were  
 often on terms verging on open hostility. In the  
 former and more important committee, Barere, Bil-  
 laud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, formed a second  
 party ; often at variance with Robespierre, Carnot,  
 Prieur, and Lindet, often kept aloof from either.

Of Couthon, and  
 parties in  
 the com-  
 mittees of  
 govern-  
 ment.



CHAP. trusted; if any opposition was manifested  
 XV. pierre was sent for, and his terrible voice  
 1794. stifled the expression of discontent.

To accomplish their regeneration of the society the Triumvirate proceeded with gigantic energy displayed the most consummate ability. months after the fall of Danton, they labour-  
 Their prodigious energy. santly to confirm their power. Their commands spread terror through the departments, and indicated the requisite impulse to the affiliated clubs, which alone now remained in existence. National Guard was universally devoted to them and proved the ready instrument of the most necessary measures. The armies, victorious on every side, warmly supported their energetic administration. The frontiers resound with the praise of the government. Strong in the support of such popular bodies, the fanatical leaders of the Revolution and universally began the work of extermination. mandates of death issued from the capital, and a thousand guillotines instantly were raised in every town and village of France. Amidst the roar of the rolling of drums, and the sound of the march, the suspected were every where arrested, and young and active marched off to the defence of the country; fifteen hundred bastilles, spread through the departments, soon groaned with the multitude of captives; unable to contain their numbers, convents, monasteries, the palaces, the chateaux, were generally employed as temporary places of confinement. In the abodes of festivity, the palaces of kings, the temples of religion, were loaded with victims;<sup>1</sup> fast as the guillotine did its work, it could not reap the harvest of death which every where presented itself;

<sup>1</sup> Pr. Hist.  
 Lac. ii.  
 149. Mig.  
 ii. 320.  
 Chateaub.  
 Essai Hist.  
 Œuv. i.  
 61, 63.



crowded state of the prisons soon produced contagious fevers, which swept off thousands of their unhappy inmates.

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

To support these violent measures, the utmost care was taken to preserve in full vigour the democratical spirit in the Club of the Jacobins, the centre of the Revolutionary action throughout France. By excessive *purifications*, as they were called, all those who retained any sentiments of humanity, any tendency towards moderation, were expelled, and none but men of iron, steeled against every approach of mercy. The club in this way at length became the complete quintessence of cruelty, and the focus of the most fearful revolutionary energy. It was the extraordinary energy and extensive influence of this club, and the absolute direction it had obtained over all the affiliated clubs and departments, which constituted the real secret of Robespierre's power. Never had Turkish sultaun so faithful a body of adherents attached to his cause, never Romish pontiff so energetic a spiritual militia under his orders. It was the magnitude of their crimes against all classes, the certainty of punishment if they were overturned by any, which was the secret of

Purifications of the Jacobin clubs.



CHAP. tives was necessarily miserable in the extrem  
XV. prisons of the Conciergerie, of the Force, and

1794. Mairie, were more horrible than any in Europe

Great accumulation  
of captives  
at Paris,  
and  
through-  
out France.

the comforts which, during the first months  
Reign of Terror, were allowed to the captives  
tune, were withdrawn. Such luxuries, it was  
were an insupportable indulgence to the rich  
crats, while, without the prison walls, the poor  
starving for want. In consequence they established  
refectories, where the whole prisoners, of whatever  
rank or sex, were allowed only the coarsest and  
unwholesome fare. None were permitted to procure  
better provisions for themselves; and, to prevent  
possibility of their doing so, a rigorous search  
made for money of every description, which was  
taken from the captives. Some were even denied  
the sad consolation of bearing their misfortunes  
together; and to the terrors of solitary confinement  
were added those of death, which daily became  
more urgent and inevitable. The prodigious numbers  
which were thrust into the prisons, far exceeding  
possible accommodation, produced the most filthy  
filth in some places, the most insupportable  
filth in all. Amidst the scanty fare, deep depravation  
accumulated filth, and universal crowding of  
gloomy abodes, contagion made rapid progress.  
mercifully relieved many from their sufferings.

they only aggravated the sufferings of the survivors  
the bodies were overlooked or forgotten, and  
not removed for days together. Not content  
with the real terrors which they presented, the ingenuity  
of the jailers was exerted to produce imaginary  
anxiety; the long nights were frequently interrupted  
by visits from the executioners, solely intended  
to excite alarm; the few hours of sleep allowed

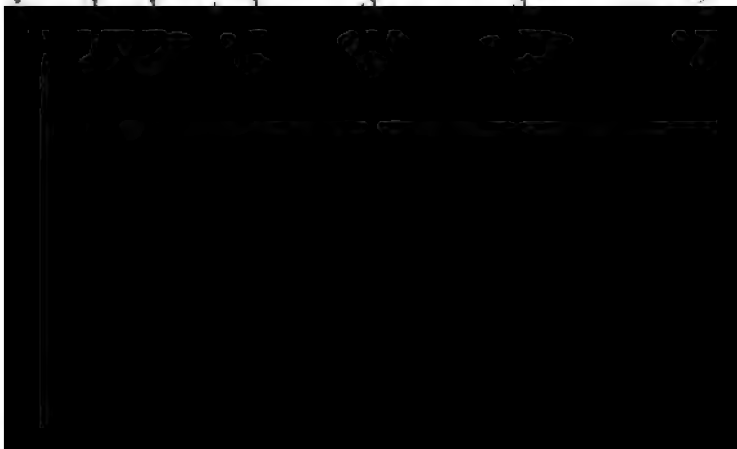
<sup>1</sup> Tableau  
des Prisons  
de Paris,  
pendant la  
Terreur, i.  
7, 11. Th.  
vi. 18, 149,  
150, 319.  
Rioulle,  
83. Lac.  
ii. 149.  
Toul. iv.  
358, 360.

ims were broken by the rattling of chains, and CHAP.  
 rring of doors, to induce the belief that their XV.  
 w-prisoners were about to be led to the scaffold; 1794.  
 the warrants for death against eighty persons in  
 place of confinement, were made the means of  
 ing six hundred in agony.

espair of life, recklessness of the future, pro-  
 d their usual effects on the unhappy crowd of Extraordi-  
 ves. Some sank into sullen indifference; others nary feel-  
 ged in immoderate gayety, and sought to amuse ings of the  
 ven to the foot of the scaffold. The day before prisoners.  
 execution, the poet Ducorneau composed a beau-  
 ode, which was sung in chorus by the whole  
 ners, and repeated, with a slight variation,  
 his execution.\* At other times the scene  
 ged; in the midst of their ravings the prisoners  
 destined for the scaffold, were transported by  
 'hedon of Plato and the death of Socrates; in-  
 ty in its last moments betook itself with de-  
 to the sublime belief of the immortality of the

The prisoners, whose hearts were overflowing  
 domestic sorrow, were in a peculiar manner  
 to the generous emotions; friendships were  
 ed in a few hours; common dangers excited,

Riouffe,



during this period, which necessarily sent forth its victims

to the scaffold. Grey hairs, and youthful countenances blooming with health, and fair with suffering ; beauty and talent, rank and poverty were indiscriminately rolled together to the doors. With truth might have been written their portals what Dante placed over the portals of the infernal regions :—

“ *Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate.*”

Sixty persons often arrived in a day, and were on the following morning sent out to execution. Night and day the cars incessantly discharged their victims to the prison : weeping mothers and fatherless orphans, greyhaired sires and youthful sons, were thrust in without mercy with the weak and the powerful : the young, the beautiful, the fortunate, seemed in a peculiar manner the victims of the assassins. Nor were the means of evacuation of the prisons augmented in a less fearful proportion. When only twelve were at first placed on the chariot, the number was soon augmented to thirty, and

aily employed in emptying the blood of the victims to that reservoir.\*

CHAP.  
XV.

The female prisoners, on entering the jails, and frequently during the course of their detention, were subjected to indignities so shocking, that it was even worse than death itself. Under pretence of searching for concealed articles, money, or jewels, they were obliged to undress in presence of their fatal jailers, who, if they were young or handsome, subjected them to searches of the most rigorous and revolting description.\* This process was so common that it acquired a name, and was called "Rapiotage." Many monsters made their fortunes by this infamous robbery. A bed of straw alone awaited them when they arrived in their wretched cells: the heat was such, from the multitudes thrust into them, that they were to be seen crowding to the windows, with pale and cadaverous countenances, striving through the bars to inhale the fresh air. Fathers and mothers, surrounded by their weeping children, were to be seen in agonies of grief when the fatal hour of separation arrived.<sup>1</sup> The parents

1794.

Indecent  
searching  
of the fe-  
male pri-  
soners.

Tableau  
des Prisons  
de Paris,  
pendant la  
Terreur, ii.  
83, 87.  
Deux  
Amis, xii.  
204, 207.

\* Ils avaient tout disposé pour en envoyer cent-cinquante à la fois place du supplice. Déjà un aqueduc immense, qui devait voiturer l'eau, avait été creusé à la Place St Antoine. Tous les jours le





frigntful  
condition  
of the pri-  
soners in  
the jail.

last confined, where above ten thousand persons  
tion could conceive. The following descrip-  
from an eyewitness of their horrors: the  
ousness of modern manners may revolt at  
its details; but the truth of history requi-  
they should be recorded. "From the out-  
where examinations are conducted, you  
two enormous doors into the dungeons: infi-  
damp abodes, where large rats carry on  
nual war against the unhappy wretches who  
accumulated together, gnawing their ear-  
and clothing, and depriving them of a mor-  
spite even by sleep. Hardly ever does  
penetrate into the gloomy abodes: the str-  
composes the litter of the prisoners soon  
rotten from want of air, and from the or-  
excrement with which it is covered; and a  
stench thence arising, that a stranger on  
the door feels as if he was suffocated. Th-  
ers are all either in what are called the str-

apartments, do not differ from the dungeons, except in this, that their inhabitants are permitted to go out at eight in the morning, and to remain out till an hour before sunset. During the intervening period, they are allowed to walk in the court, or huddle together in the galleries which surround it, where they are suffocated by infected odours. There is the same accumulation of horror in their sleeping chambers: no air, rotten straw, and perhaps fifty prisoners thrust into one hole, with their heads lying on their own filth, surrounded by every species of dirt and contagion. Nor were these disgusting circumstances the only degradation which awaited the unhappy prisoners. No one could conceive the wretched state to which the human species can be reduced, who had not witnessed the calling of the roll in the evening, when three or four turnkeys, each with half a dozen fierce dogs held in a leash, call the unhappy prisoners to answer to their names, threatening, swearing, and insulting, while they are supplicating, weeping, imploring: often they ordered them to go out and come in three or four times over, till they were satisfied that the trembling troop was complete. The cells for the women were as horrid

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Tableau  
des Pri-  
sons de  
Paris pend.  
la Terreur,  
i. 17. 19.  
Hist. de





day after their execution," says Riouffe, "of the prison looked like a garden bereaved of flowers by a tempest." On another occasion women of Poitou, chiefly the wives of peasants placed together on the chariot; some died on the way, and the wretches guillotined their limbs; one kept her infant in her bosom until it reached the foot of the scaffold; the executioners tore the innocent from her breast, as she sobbed for the last time, and the screams of maternal agony were only stifled with her life. In removing the prisoners from the jail of the Maison Lazare, the women declared herself with child, at the point of delivery: the hard-hearted jailers compelled her to move on: she did so, uttering piercing shrieks, and at length fell on the ground, and was crushed by the feet of an infant in presence of her persecutors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Riouffe, 85, 87. Tableau, Hist. de la Maison Lazare, Rév. Mém. xxiii. 226.

Such accumulated horrors annihilated all social ties and intercourse of life. Before daybreak the shops of the provision merchants were beset by crowds of women and children clamouring



and which the law of the *maximum* in general pre-  
 sented them from obtaining. The farmers trembled  
 in bringing their fruits to the market, the shopkeepers  
 expose them to sale. The richest quarters of the  
 town were deserted; no equipages or crowds of pas-  
 sengers were to be seen on the streets; the sinister  
 words, *Propriété Nationale*, imprinted in large cha-  
 racters on the walls, every where showed how far the  
 work of confiscation had proceeded. Passengers he-  
 sitated to address their most intimate friends on  
 meeting; the extent of calamity had rendered men  
 suspicious even of those they loved the most. Every  
 one assumed the coarsest dress, and the most squalid  
 appearance; an elegant exterior would have been the  
 certain forerunner of destruction. At one hour only  
 were any symptoms of animation to be seen; it was  
 when the victims were conveyed to execution:—the  
 humane fled with horror from the sight; the infuri-  
 ated rushed in crowds to satiate their eyes with the  
 spectacle of human agony. Night came, but with it no  
 diminution of the anxiety of the people. Every family  
 early assembled its members; with trembling looks  
 they gazed round the room, fearful that the very walls  
 might harbour traitors. The sound of a foot, the

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Dreadful  
espionage  
in Paris  
and the  
other  
towns.<sup>1</sup> Lac. ii.  
151, 152.



preme  
Being.  
May 7,  
1794.


on the quantities suited to a republic. He  
a certain number of the decennial fêtes to the  
Being, to Truth, to Justice, to Modesty, to  
ship, to Frugality, to Good Faith, to Glo  
Immortality! Barere prepared a report on  
pression of mendicity, and the means of rel  
indigent poor. Robespierre had now rea  
zenith of his popularity with his faction; he  
nominated the Great Man of the Republic  
tue, his genius, his eloquence, were in eve  
The speech which Robespierre made on  
sion was one of the most remarkable of  
career. "The idea," said he, "of a Supre  
and of the immortality of the soul, is a con  
to justice; it is therefore a social and r  
principle. Who has authorized you to de  
the Deity does not exist? Oh, you who s  
such impassioned strains so arid a doctrine  
vantage do you expect to derive from the  
that a blind fatality regulates the affairs of  
that the soul is nothing but a breath of air

You who weep over the remains of a child or a wife, are you consoled by the thought that a handful of dust is all that remains of the beloved object? You, the unfortunate, who expire under the strokes of an assassin, is not your last voice raised to appeal to the justice of the Most High? Innocence on the scaffold, supported by such thoughts, makes the tyrant turn aside on his triumphal car. Could such an ascendant be felt, if the tomb leveled alike the oppressor and the victim?

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

“Observe how, on all former occasions, tyrants have sought to stifle the idea of the immortality of the soul. With what art did Cæsar, when pleading before the Roman Senate in favour of the accomplices of Catiline, endeavour to throw doubts on the belief of its immortality; while Cicero invokes against the traitor the sword of the laws and the vengeance of heaven! Socrates, on the verge of death, discoursed with his friends on the ennobling theme; Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, on the eve of executing the most heroic design ever conceived by man, invited his companions to a banquet in another world. The principles of the Stoics gave birth to Brutus and Cato, even in the ages which witnessed the expiry





the beaux-esprits: We owe to them the philosophy which reduced egotism to a regarded human society as a game of chance; success was the sole distinction between just and unjust; probity as an affair of taste; breeding; the world as the patrimony of dexterous of scoundrels.

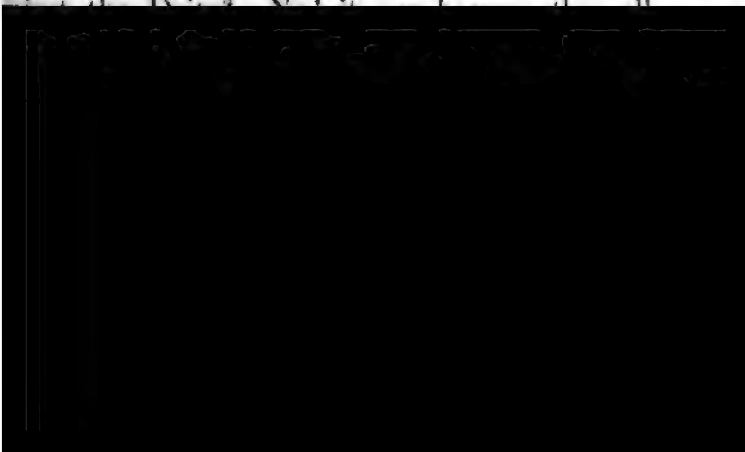
“ Among the great men of that period was distinguished by the elevation of his soul and nobleness of his character, who showed himself preceptor of the human race.\* He attacked with boldness; he spoke with enthusiasm of Deity. His masculine and upright eloquence in colours of fire the charms of virtue; it the consoling doctrines which reason afford to the human heart. The purity of his doctrine, his profound hatred of vice, his supreme contempt for the intriguing sophists who usurped the place of philosophers, drew upon him the hatred and persecution of his rivals and his friends. He witnessed our Revolution, of which he

ctters in general have dishonoured themselves in this  
 evolution ; and, to the eternal disgrace of talent, the  
 ason of the people alone accomplished its triumphs.

CHAP.  
 XV.

1794.

“ What strange coalitions have we seen in persons  
 nbracing the most opposite opinions in favour of  
 e doctrines which I combat ! Have we not heard,  
 a popular society, the traitor Guadet denounce  
 citizen for having pronounced the name of Provi-  
 nce ? Have we not, some time after, heard Hebert  
 using another of having written against atheism ?  
 as it not Vergniaud and Gensonné who, in your  
 ry presence, have descanted with fervour from  
 ur tribune on the propriety of banishing from  
 e preamble of the constitution the name of the  
 upreme Being, which you had placed there ? Dan-  
 n, who smiled with pity at the words glory, virtue,  
 sterity—Danton, whose system it was to vilify  
 whatever can dignify the mind—Danton, who was  
 dd and mute in the midst of the greatest dangers  
 f liberty, was warm and eloquent in support of the  
 me atheistical principles. Whence so singular a  
 nion on this subject among men so divided on  
 thers ? Did they wish to compensate their indul-  
 ence for aristocracy and tyranny by their war



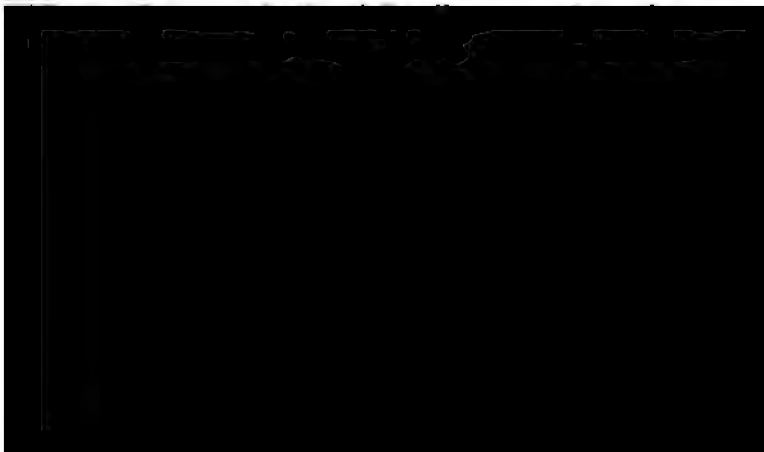
How different is the God of nature from of the church!—(Loud applause.) The priests figured to themselves a god in their own they have made him jealous, capricious, cruel, implacable; they have enthroned him in the heavens as a palace, and called him to them only to demand, for their behoof, tithes, pleasures, honours, and power. The truth of the Supreme Being is the universe; his virtue; his fêtes the joy of a great people, and under his eyes to tighten the bonds of social order, and present to him the homage of pure and honest hearts.” In the midst of the acclamations, by these eloquent words, the Assembly unanimously that they recognised the existence of the Supreme Being, and of the immortality of the soul, and that the worship most worthy of him was the practice of the social virtues.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
Parl. xxxii.  
368, 369.

Reflec-  
tions on

This speech is not only remarkable as containing the religious views of so memorable an act, but also as being uttered in the bloodiest periods of the Revolution, but as it

Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul! CHAP.  
[It seemed as if Providence had permitted human XV.  
wickedness to run its utmost length, in order, 1794.  
amidst the frightful scene, to demonstrate the neces-  
sity of religious belief, and vindicate the majesty of  
its moral government. In vain an infidel generation  
sought to establish the frigid doctrine of Materi-  
alism; their principles received their full develop-  
ment:—the anarchy they are fitted to induce was  
experienced; and that recognition was wrung from a  
suffering which had been denied by a prosperous age.  
Nor is this speech less striking as evincing the  
fanaticism of that extraordinary period, and the  
manner in which, during revolutionary convulsions,  
the most atrocious actions are made to flow from  
the most pure and benevolent expressions. If you  
consider the actions of Robespierre, he appears the  
most sanguinary tyrant that ever desolated the earth;  
if you reflect on his words, they seem dictated only  
by the noblest and most elevated feelings. There  
is nothing impossible in such a combination; the  
history of the world exhibits too many examples of its  
occurrence; it is of the nature of fanaticism, whether  
religious or political, to produce it. The Inquisition



CHAP. trepid man, of the name of L'Admiral, who tried to  
XV. assassinate Collot d'Herbois; the second by a young

1794. woman, named Cecile Renaud. L'Admiral, when brought before his judges, openly avowed that he had intended to assassinate Robespierre before Collot d'Herbois. When called on to divulge what prompted him to the commission of such a crime, he replied firmly—"That it was not a crime; that he wished only to render a service to his country; that he had conceived the project without any external suggestion; and that his only regret was that he had not succeeded." Cecile called at his house, and entreated in the most earnest manner to see Robespierre: the urgency of her manner excited the suspicion of his attendants, and she was arrested. Two knives, found in her bundle, afforded a presumption of the purpose of her visit; but there was no other evidence against her, and she positively denied on her examination having intended to injure any one. Being asked what was her motive for wishing to see him, she replied—"I wished to see how a tyrant was made. I admit I am a Royalist, because I prefer one king to fifty thousand." She behaved on the scaffold with the firmness of Charlotte Corday; a great number of other persons, sixty in all, were involved in her fate, among whom were a number of young men, bravely combating on the frontier in defence of their country. Among the rest was a youth named Hypolite Montmorency Laval, of distinguished talents and fine figure, whose only offence was the name he bore and the genius he had inherited; and a beautiful young woman, named Saint Amaranthe, a friend of Robespierre, who was executed with her mother for an expression accidentally dropped when in company with himself,

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
302, 305.  
Mig. ii.  
322. Lac.  
ii. 162, 163.  
Th. vi.  
321, 323,  
326. Bull.  
du Trib.  
Rév. No.  
64.



dinner at his own house, on the number of deputies who were about to be brought to punishment. The whole sixty were conducted together in red shirts to the place of execution as if they had all been assassins; though not one stroke had been given, and hardly one knew another even by sight. The trial of the whole before the Revolutionary Tribunal at took two hours.\*

Meanwhile, a magnificent fête was prepared by the convention in honour of the Supreme Being. Two days before it took place, Robespierre was appointed president, and entrusted with the duty of Supreme Pontiff on the occasion. He marched fifteen feet in advance of his colleagues, in a brilliant costume, carrying flowers and fruits in his hands. His address, which followed, to the people was both powerful and eloquent. "God," said he, "*has not created kings to devour the human race*; he has not created priests to harness them like vile animals to the chariots of kings, and to exhibit to the world examples of perfidy, avarice, and baseness; but he has created the universe to attest his power, and man to aid him in the glorious undertaking—to love his fellows, and arrive at happiness by the path of virtue. It is

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Fête in  
honour of  
the Su-  
preme  
Being.

June 7.





equality, has traced the sentence of death

He has bound together all mortals by the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. love—perish the tyrants who would  
Parl. break it!”  
xxxiii.179.

These eloquent words excited, as well as

These the warmest hopes in all present that E  
hopes are was about to put his principles in practice  
all destroy- length bring the reign of blood to a close  
ed by his concluding words. they were speedily dashed to the earth by

which closed his address—“People! to-

give ourselves up to the transports of pas-

ness; to-morrow we will with increased

combat vice and the tyrants!” The ceremony

this occasion, which was arranged under

the direction of the painter David, was very magnificent

An amphitheatre was placed in the garden

Tuileries, opposite to which were statues

representing Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness, were

destined to be burned by the hand of Robespierre

Beautiful music opened the ceremony, and

Robespierre, after an eloquent speech, seized a

and set fire to the figures, which were soon consumed

<sup>2</sup> Deux ..

is taken by the young, and homage offered to the CHAP.  
 same Being. XV.

These measures and declarations, on the part of 1794.  
 Robespierre, produced a great impression in Europe. Great im-  
 Other nations, who had been horrified by the awful pression  
 trophies of the Reign of Terror, had beheld produced  
 undisguised satisfaction the execution of Danton by these  
 steps in  
 Europe.

his party, who had commenced the revolution,  
 brought the King to the scaffold; and of Hebert  
 the Anarchists, who had carried its atrocities  
 impiety to their most dreadful length. When,  
 before, they beheld the government which had  
 led their destruction, expressing such humane  
 sentiments, in such beautiful language, the hope  
 became general that a reaction had at length set in:  
 Robespierre had acquired the mastery of the  
 revolution, and that out of the excesses of anarchy  
 arisen the power which could coerce it. Foreign  
 powers, accordingly, began to entertain sanguine  
 hopes that the Revolution had reached its limit,<sup>1</sup>  
 that a government had at last arisen with  
 which it might be possible to negotiate, and possibly  
 to conclude a durable peace.<sup>1</sup>

The effects of these steps was not less remarkable

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Great im-  
pression  
produced  
by these  
steps in  
Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
452. Hist.  
Parl.  
xxxii. 389,  
391.





‘ He would become a god ! he is no longer priest of the Supreme Being.’ ” The Committee of Public Salvation being now avowedly in possession of supreme power, their adulators in the Convention and Jacobin Club offered them the ensigns of sovereignty. But they had the good sense to perceive that the people were not yet prepared to undergo change, and that the sight of guards or bayonets might shake a power which two hundred captives in chains could not expose to

<sup>1</sup> Vilate, Causes, &c. “ The Members of the Committee,” said ( de la Rév. “ have no desire to be assimilated to despots du 9th Therm. have no need of guards for their defence 196. own virtue, the love of the people, Providence 188, 189. watch over their days ; they have no occasion Hist. Parl. any other protection. When necessary, 1 xxxiii. 176, 178. Th. know how to die at their post in defence of France vi. 329. ”

But the retreat from crime is not to nations

Additional more than individuals, on a path strewn with flowers ; and many and woful were the calamities conferred on the Republic through which France had to pass, before it

2d Prairial, for increasing the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, passed on the motion of Couthon. CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

By this sanguinary law, every form, privilege, or usage, calculated to protect the accused, were swept away. "Every postponement of justice," says Couthon, "is a crime; every formality indulgent to the accused is a crime: the delay in punishing the enemies of the country, should not be greater than the time requisite for identifying them." The right of prosecution was extended to the Convention, the Committee of Public Salvation, the Committee of General Safety, the commissioners of the Convention, and the public accuser: no distinction was to be made between members of the Convention and ordinary individuals. The right of insisting on an individual investigation, and of being defended by counsel, had been withdrawn by a previous decree on June 2. In addition to those struck by former laws, there were included in this new decree, "all those who have seconded the projects of the enemies of France, either by favouring the retreat of, or shielding from punishment, the aristocracy or conspirators; or by persecuting and calumniating the patriots; or by corrupting the mandatories of the people; or by abusing the principles of the Revolution, of the laws, or of the government, by false or perfidious applications; or by depriving the representatives of the people; or by spreading discouragement or false intelligence; or by misleading the public by false instruction or depraved example." The proof requisite to convict of these multifarious offences was declared to be—

Every piece of evidence, material, moral, verbal, or written, which is sufficient to convince a reasonable understanding."<sup>1</sup> The Revolutionary Tribunal

<sup>1</sup> Decree, 22d Prairial (9th May) 1794  
Hist. Parl. xxxiii. 193,  
194. Moniteur, 10th June 1794.  
Lac. ii.  
160, 161.

CHAP. was divided into four separate courts, each pos  
 XV. ing the same powers as the original, a public  
 1794. cuser, and a sufficient number of judges and  
 men, awarded to each, to enable them to pro  
 with rapidity in the work of extermination.

Accustomed as the Convention was to blind ol  
 Debate on ence, they were startled with this project. "[  
 it in the mand an adjournment: If this law passes, not  
 Assembly. remains," says Ruamps, "but to blow out  
 brains." Alarmed at the agitation which preva  
 Robespierre mounted the tribune. "For lo  
 said he, "the Assembly has argued and decide  
 the same day, because for long it has been liber  
 from the empire of faction. Two opinions, stro  
 pronounced, divide the Republic. The one i  
 punish severely and inexorably all attempts ag  
 liberty; the other is the cowardly and crui  
 opinion of the aristocracy, who have never ce  
 since the commencement of the Revolution, to  
 mand, directly or indirectly, an amnesty for  
 conspirators and enemies of the country. For  
 months the Convention has sat under the swoi  
 assassins; and the very moment when libert  
 pears to have gained its greatest triumph, is  
 cisely the one when the conspirators against  
 country act with most audacity. Citizens, be  
 sured the conspirators wish to divide us—they  
 to intimidate us! Have we not defended a pe  
 the Assembly\* against the poniards which wic  
 ness and a false zeal would have drawn ag  
 them? We expose ourselves to individual assa  
 to destroy those who would ruin the Republic.  
 know how to die, provided the Convention and  
 country are saved. I demand that the project be

\* The seventy-three arrested Girondists.

ted, article by article, and without an adjourn- CHAP.  
 mt. I have observed that for long the Conven- XV.  
 e have discussed and decreed at once, because a 1794.  
 at majority were really intent on the public good.<sup>1</sup> Hist.  
 lemand that, instead of pausing on the proposal Parl.  
 adjournment, we sit till eight at night if neces- xxiii. 198,  
 ry, to discuss the project of the law which has now 202. Moni-  
 en submitted to it." The Assembly felt its mas- teur, June  
 t, and in *thirty minutes* the law was passed.<sup>1</sup> 12, 1794.  
 I.ac. ii.  
 160, 161.

On the following day some members, chiefly ad-  
 rents of the old party of Danton, endeavoured to Ineffectual  
 ertthrow this sanguinary decree of the Assembly. efforts to  
 ourdon de l'Oise proposed that the safety of the modify the  
 law.  
 embers of the Assembly should be provided for by  
 special enactment, to the effect that they should  
 t be indicted but in pursuance of a decree of  
 emselves. He was ably supported by Merlin;  
 nd the Legislature seemed inclined to adopt the  
 roposal. Couthon attacked the Mountain, from  
 hich the opposition seemed chiefly to emanate.  
 ourdon replied—"Let the members of the Com-  
 mittee know," said he, "that if they are patriots, so  
 re we. I esteem Couthon, I esteem the Committee;  
 ut, more than all, I esteem the unconquerable Moun-

Assembly. mand an adjournment: if this law pass  
remains," says Ruamps, "but to blow  
brains." Alarmed at the agitation which  
Robespierre mounted the tribune. "I  
said he, "the Assembly has argued and  
the same day, because for long it has been  
from the empire of faction. Two opinions  
pronounced, divide the Republic. The  
punish severely and inexorably all attempts  
liberty; the other is the cowardly and  
opinion of the aristocracy, who have never  
since the commencement of the Revolution  
mand, directly or indirectly, an amnesty  
conspirators and enemies of the country.  
months the Convention has sat under the  
assassins; and the very moment when  
appears to have gained its greatest triumph  
precisely the one when the conspirators in  
country act with most audacity. Citizens  
sured the conspirators wish to divide us—  
to intimidate us! Have we not defended  
the Assembly\* against the poniards which  
passion and a false zeal would have drawn



the project of this law, as it struck at nearly all the members both of the government and the Convention, accordingly warmly combated in both the Committees and the Assembly. It was brought forward in the latter with the knowledge only of Couthon, and, as soon as the discussion was over, it was vehemently assailed in the Committee of Public Salvation.\* The

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Robespierre, de Danton, et de Chaumette, une foule des personages bien connus de l'échafaud eussent été justement frappés, il déplorait néanmoins de viles passions, que la haine et la vengeance, et non pas l'amour de la patrie et de l'équité, eussent discerné et marqué les têtes qu'il fallait frapper. Il voyait que les exécutions n'avaient en rien diminué les crimes. Autour de lui, aux premiers postes de la République, il voyait des hommes sans probité, sans mœurs, souillés pour la plupart par les infâmes, et cependant environnés d'une popularité à travers laquelle il était presque impossible de les atteindre. Il voyait se grouper autour d'eux d'autres hommes qui n'avaient aidé la bonne cause que par toutes sortes de mauvais moyens, et qui déployaient maintenant pour défendre eux-mêmes toutes les ressources, de l'intrigue, du mensonge, et de la calomnie, avec l'habileté qu'ils avaient acquise par une longue suite de six années. Ainsi il était en proie au dégoût et aux désirs. Qu'importait que nos armées étaient victorieuses de l'étranger ? A l'intérieur et dans le centre même de sa force et de sa puissance, la nation était possédée par des scélérats ? N'était-il pas évident que l'anarchie, la contre-révolution, et la restauration de l'ancienne république étaient les conséquences prochaines et inévitables d'un tel état de choses ? Pendant les derniers jours qu'il fréquenta les comités, Robespierre disait habituellement—' Tout est perdu ; il n'y a plus de ressources : Je ne vois plus personne pour sauver la patrie.' Il proposa le 22 Prairial dans l'unique but de créer un pouvoir à brider





Robespierre's  
secret motives  
in  
passing  
this law.

ing of this terrible law ; for the consciences told them, what is now known to have been that its almost unlimited powers were misused against themselves. From the invaluable found in Robespierre's possession after the Courtois, and first published in 1828, it is known that the secret views of Robespierre opposing this sanguinary law, were to destroy a portion of the Convention. He was in the universal profligacy, selfishness, and with which he was surrounded in all the of administration, civil and military ; in the struggle and self-government, instead of producing a better set of public functionaries who had owed their appointment to the Convention, he brought up one *so infinitely worse*, that he was the incarnation of the democratic principle, that the first step in social regeneration was to destroy them all. He was nearly in the situation of the commonwealth, and the issue of the vast streams of blood he had caused to produce any, even the slightest, principle.

Armed by this accession of power, the proscriptions proceeded during the next six weeks with redoubled violence. The power of Robespierre was prodigious, and wielded with an energy to which there is nothing comparable in the history of modern Europe. The ruling principle of his government was to destroy the whole aristocracy both of rank and talent.<sup>1</sup> It was on this foundation that his authority rested; the mass of the people ardently supported a government which was rapidly destroying every thing which was above them in station, or superior in ability. Every man felt his own consequence increased, and his own prospects improved, by the destruction of his more fortunate rivals. Inexorable towards individuals or leaders, Robespierre was careful of protecting the masses of the community; and the lower orders, who always have a secret pleasure in the depression of their superiors, beheld with satisfaction the thunder which rolled innocuous over their heads, striking every one who could by possibility stand in their way. The whole physical force of the Republic, which must always be drawn from the labouring classes, was thus devoted to his will. The armed force of Paris, under the orders of Henriot, and formed of

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Renewed  
violence of  
the go-  
vernment.  
Means by  
which the  
support of  
the people  
was se-  
cured.<sup>1</sup> Brissot's  
Mémoires,  
ii. 22.

CHAP. every department of France. Universally the lowest  
 XV. class considered Robespierre as identified with the  
 1794. Revolution, and as centring in his person all the  
 projects of aggrandizement which were afloat in their  
 minds. None remained to contest his authority but  
 the remnants of the Constitutional and Girondist  
 parties, who still lingered in the Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 338, 340.  
 Mig. ii.  
 326, 327.

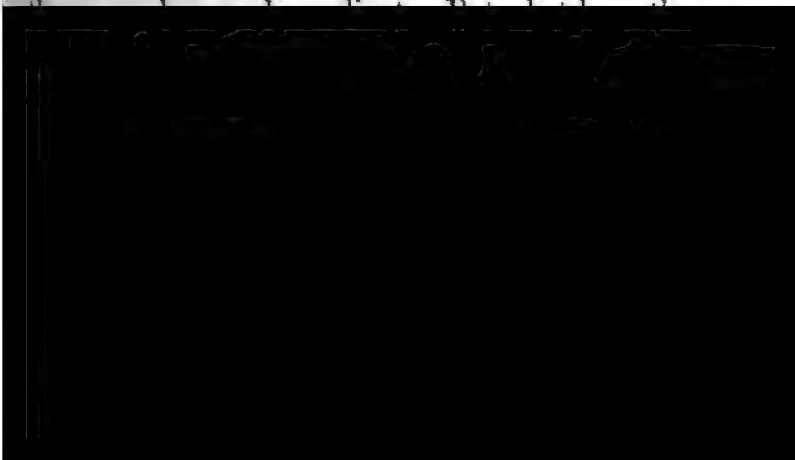
Decree  
 establish-  
 ing the  
 Polytech-  
 nic School.  
 June 1,  
 1794.

In pursuance of these principles, the government of Robespierre, amidst all its severity to those who were either elevated by birth, possessed of fortune, distinguished by talent, or allied by habit or inclination to any of these classes, had made several steps towards the establishment of institutions calculated for the elevation and relief of the labouring classes, and which, if combined with a just and rational government in other respects, might have been attended with the most salutary effects. "Education," said Barere, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, "is the greatest blessing which man can receive: it is the only blessing which the vicissitudes of time cannot take away. The incalculable advantage of revolutions is, that merit obtains the rank which is due to it, and that each citizen fills the situation for which he is qualified by the species of talent which he possesses. The Republican, therefore, should be instructed in such a manner, as to be prepared for every situation either of peace or of war." In pursuance of these principles, it was decreed that six young men should be sent to Paris from every district in the Republic, to be educated at the public expense in the *Ecole de Mars*, and placed under the immediate direction of the Committee of Public Salvation, to be instructed in the art of war and fortification.<sup>2</sup> This was immediately carried into effect, and became the foundation of the far-famed

<sup>2</sup> Decree,  
 June 1,  
 1794.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii. 134.

Polytechnic School, which furnished such an inexhaustible supply of skilled officers for the armies of the empire. CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

The frightful misery in the interior of the empire, the natural result of the Revolution, at the same time attracted the attention of government, and they prepared to meet it in a noble spirit. "While the cannon," said Carnot, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, "thunders on the frontier, *mendicity*, that scourge of monarchies, has made frightful progress in the interior. Yet is it an evil disgraceful to a republic, incompatible with a popular government. The shameful word *beggar* should be unknown in a republican dictionary, and the picture of mendicity on the earth has hitherto been nothing but that of constant conspiracies of the class of proprietors against that of non-proprietors. Let us leave to insolent despotism the construction of hospitals, to bury the unfortunate whom it has created, or to support for a moment the slaves whom it could not devour. That horrible generosity of the despot only aids him in deceiving the people. They have favoured the mendicants only because



CHAP. principles, a great variety of regulations were  
 XV. brought forward and decreed for the relief, *in their*  
 1794. *own homes*—not in hospitals or by money charity—of  
 orphan and destitute children, and their education;  
 for the succour of middle-aged men and women in a  
 state of temporary destitution; and the permanent  
 support of widows, the aged, and the impotent, as  
 well as those who had been mutilated in the public  
 service, and their widows and children. “*Fas est*  
*et ab hoste doceri.*”—The true principles of the  
 management of the poor are to be found in the re-  
 port of the Committee of Public Salvation, and regu-  
 lar governments will never act so wisely for their  
 own as well as their people’s interest, as when they  
 take this leaf out of the book of their enemies.<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> See De-  
 cree, May  
 20, 1794.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii. 24,  
 56.

Robespierre, shortly before his fall, thus summed  
 up the principles of his administration. “I have  
 spoken of the virtue of the people; but that virtue,

\* The provisions of this law, evidently drawn by Robespierre, and  
 agreed to by the Committee of Public Salvation and the Convention, are  
 very remarkable, and may serve as a model for many governments,  
 which in other respects with justice decry their proceedings. Its de-  
 tails are far too minute for a work of general history, but the principles  
 on which they were founded were these:—1. That the succour of the  
 destitute, the orphans, and the impotent, is a duty of the state, and  
 should be discharged by the public functionaries, and from the state  
 funds. 2. That the distribution of relief should be made by a public  
 officer, to be appointed for that purpose in each of the departments of  
 the Republic. 3. That in each department there shall be opened a  
 register, to be entitled “Book of National Beneficence,” in which shall  
 be a title, 1st, For infirm or aged cultivators; 2d, For infirm or  
 aged artisans; 3d, For mothers and widows. For the first class it was  
 calculated that there would be required in all the departments:—

	Francs.	£.
For the first, . . .	7,144,000	or 285,760 a-year.
For the second, . . .	2,040,000	... 81,600 ...
For the third, . . .	3,060,000	... 122,400 ...
For the sick poor in their own houses, . . .	160,000	... 6,400 ...
	12,404,000	... 496,160 ..

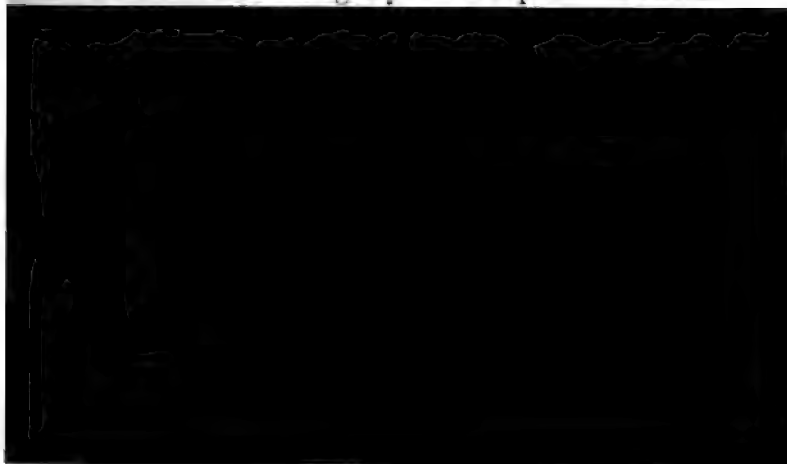
demonstrated by the whole Revolution, would not alone suffice to defend us against the factions who never cease to corrupt and tear asunder the Republic. Why is that? Because there are two wholly different people in France. The mass of the citizens, pure, simple, loving justice, and friendly to liberty; that mass which has conquered its enemies within, and shaken the throne of tyrants. The other is a mass of rascals and intriguers, of aristocrats and charlatans, who would convert power and instruction to no other purpose but their own aggrandizement. As long as that impure race exists, the condition of the Republic will be unhappy and precarious. Let them reign for a day, and the country is lost. It is for you to deliver yourselves from them by imposing energy and unalterable concert. In saying these words, I am perhaps sharpening poniards against myself, and it is for that very reason that I pronounce them. You will persevere in your principles and your triumphant march; you will stifle crime and save your country.

“ I have lived enough. I have seen the French people start from the depth of servitude and debasement to the summit of glory and of republican virtue.

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Remark-  
able speech  
of Robe-  
spierre on  
the princi-  
ples of the  
govern-  
ment.



CHAP. narchy, and the inexperience of the first periods of  
 XV. the Revolution, could hardly have permitted us to  
 1794. hope—an assembly invested with the power of the  
 French nation, marching with a firm and rapid step  
 towards the public happiness; devoted to the people,  
 and to the triumph of equality, worthy of giving to  
 the world the signal of liberty and the example of  
 every virtue. Complete, then, citizens, your sub-  
 lime work! You have placed yourselves in the front  
 rank, to sustain the first efforts of the enemies of  
 humanity. We will deserve that honour, and we  
 will trace with our blood the path of immortality.  
 May you ever display that unalterable energy, which  
 is required to enable you to resist the monsters of  
 the universe combined against you, and enjoy in  
 peace the fruits of your virtues and the blessings of  
 the people!”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii. 132,  
 133.

But in the midst of these warm anticipations and  
 eloquent declamations, the finances of the Republic  
 were daily falling into a more deplorable condition,  
 and its prodigious expenditure, external and inter-  
 nal, was sustained only by a ceaseless and constantly  
 increasing issue of assignats. By a report of Cam-  
 bon, the minister of finance, on 16th May 1794, it  
 appeared that the assignats which had been created  
 up to that period amounted to the enormous sum  
 of 8,778,000,000 francs (L.351,120,000 sterling;) of  
 which number there still remained in circulation  
 5,898,000,000 francs, or L.235,920,000. So im-  
 mense a mass of paper, amounting at the very lowest  
 estimate to three times the whole present circulation  
 of either France or England, taking both specie and  
 bank-notes into view, of course could not exist in  
 circulation without producing a depreciation in its  
 value to almost nothing; the more especially as the

Prodigious  
 and in-  
 creasing  
 issue of  
 assignats.



whole transactions between man and man in the country were at a stand, in consequence of the blasting operation of the law of the maximum; and foreign commerce, equally with domestic expenditure, were alike at an end. But as they bore a forced circulation, and the refusal to take them at par would probably lead to a denunciation at the nearest revolutionary committee, there was no alternative but to shun the pestilence as much as possible, and avoid either selling any thing, or making any transaction whatever in which money was employed. But creditors could not do this, and fraudulent debtors gladly bought up assignats, and forced a discharge of their debts for a fiftieth or hundredth part of their real value.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Rapport de Cam-  
bon, May  
16, 1794.  
*Moniteur*,  
May 18,  
1794.  
p. 973.

While the assignats were thus sweeping away the whole capital of the state, the march of the Revolution was equally devastating and relentless in the destruction of human life. The proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal, after the law of 22d Prairial had passed, were so brief as hardly to deserve the name of a trial; while the columns of the *Moniteur* of the following day exhibited fatal proof, that to be brought before that tribunal, and sent to the guillo-

Increased  
executions  
by the Re-  
volution-  
nary Tri-  
bunal.



CHAP. ceeding for life and death against a crowd of men  
 XV. and women, total strangers to each other, but who  
 1794. had all, from some ground or other, awakened the  
 jealousy of the Decemvirs. The slightest symptom  
 of disapprobation at the existing *régime*—a word, a  
 look, a gesture, a sigh, a tear, were sufficient, if  
 spoken to by the most infamous witness, to produce  
 an immediate condemnation; and upon a charge of  
 conspiracy with others whose principles and connec-  
 tions were diametrically opposed to each other. In  
 this way crowds of Royalists and Anarchists were  
 sent to the scaffold together, because the one had  
 been connected with those who blamed the Revolu-  
 tion for going too far, the other for not going far  
 enough. A deplorable *equality* was observed be-  
 tween the number of persons indicted one day be-  
 fore the Revolutionary Tribunal, and that which ap-  
 peared next day in the columns of the *Moniteur* as  
 having perished on the scaffold.\* And so generally

\* The following were the numbers daily executed in Paris during  
 the latter period of the Reign of Terror:—

						Executed.
17	Prairial or	5	June	1794,	...	25
18	—	6	—	...	...	26
19	—	7	—	...	...	27
20	—	8	—	...	...	26
21	—	9	—	...	...	23
22	—	10	—	...	...	18
23	—	11	—	...	...	27
24	—	12	—	...	...	25
25	—	13	—	...	...	30
26	—	14	—	...	...	43
27	—	15	—	...	...	33
28	—	16	—	...	...	41
29	—	17	—	...	...	56
1	Messidor	18	—	...	...	29
2	—	19	—	...	...	37
3	—	20	—	...	...	48
4	—	21	—	...	...	27
5	—	22	—	...	...	31

was the danger of expressing sympathy with the victims understood, that no tears were shed, nor did mournful visages appear even in the streets when the melancholy procession proceeded along, conveying them to the scaffold ; and, if a dead body was seen on the wayside, the traveller averted his eyes lest he should be seen to shudder, and denounced at the Jacobin Committee as a counter-revolutionist.<sup>1</sup>

						Executed.
6	Messidor or	23	June 1794, ...	...	...	52
7	—	23	—	...	...	47
8	—	24	—	...	...	51
9	—	25	—	...	...	30
11	—	26	—	..	...	32
12	—	27	—	...	...	31
13	—	28	—	...	...	33
14	—	29	—	...	...	37
15	—	30	—	...	...	31
16	—	1	July	...	...	33
17	—	2	—	...	...	31
18	—	3	—	...	...	30
19	—	4	—	...	...	76
21	—	6	—	...	...	78
22	—	7	—	...	...	81
23	—	8	—	...	...	29
24	—	9	—	...	...	32
25	—	13	—	...	...	53
27	—	15	—	...	...	49

CHAP. The trial of these unhappy captives was as brief  
 XV. as during the massacres in the prisons. "Did you  
 1794. know of the conspiracy of the prisons, Dorival?"

Excessive "No."—"I expected no other answer, but it will not  
 brevity of the trials. avail you." To another—"Are not you an ex-noble?"  
 "Yes." To a third—"Are you not a priest?" "Yes,  
 but I have taken the oath." "You have no right to  
 speak; be silent."—"Were not you architect to  
 Madame?" "Yes, but I was disgraced in 1788."  
 —"Had you not a father-in-law in the Luxembourg?"  
 "Yes." Such were the questions which constituted  
 the sole trial of the numerous accused; often no wit-  
 nesses were called; their condemnations were pro-  
 nounced almost as rapidly as their names were read  
 out; the law of 22d Prairial had dispensed with the  
 necessity of taking any evidence when the court were  
 convinced by moral presumptions. The indictments  
 were thrown off by hundreds at once, and the name  
 of the individual merely filled in; the judgments  
 were printed with equal rapidity, in a room adjoin-  
 ing the court; and several thousand copies circu-  
 lated through Paris by little urchins, exclaiming,  
 amidst weeping and distracted crowds—"Here are  
 the names of those who have gained prizes in the  
 lottery of the holy guillotine!" The accused were  
 executed soon after leaving the court, or at latest  
 on the following afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Procès de  
 Fouquier  
 Tinville.  
 Bull. du  
 Trib. Rév.  
 p. 54, 57.  
 Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 Tableau  
 des Pri-  
 sons, xi. 98.  
 Th. vi. 366,  
 367.

Increased Since the law of the 22d Prairial had been passed,  
 rapidity in the execu- the heads fell at the rate of fifty or sixty a-day.  
 tions. "This is well," said Fouquier Tinville; "but we must  
 get on more rapidly in the next decade: four hun-  
 dred and fifty is the very least that must then be  
 served up." To facilitate this immense increase,  
 spies were sent into the prisons in order to extract  
 from the unhappy wretches their secrets, and desig-

the public accuser those who might first be  
These infamous wretches soon became  
or of the captives. They were enclosed as  
d persons; but their real mission was soon  
from their insolence, their consequential airs,  
erence shown them by the jailers, and their  
the doors of the cells with the agents of  
ce. As they were sent there to get up a  
aspiracy in the prisons, they were not long  
mplishing their purpose. A hundred and  
were denounced at the Luxembourg alone.  
es, whose mission was soon discovered,  
ressed, implored by the trembling pri-  
and received whatever little sums they  
able to secret about their persons, to keep  
nes out of the black list; but in vain. The  
such as they chose to denounce were made  
list, called in the prisons "The Evening  
" and the public chariots were sent at night-  
convey them to the Conciergerie, preparatory  
trial on the following morning. When the  
ate captives heard the rolling of the wheels  
ars which were sent to convey them, the  
onizing suspense prevailed in the prisons,  
eked to the wickets of their corridors

CHAP.

XV.

1794.

CHAP. following night, when the rolling of the chariot wheels  
XV. renewed the universal agony of the captives.

1794. To such a degree did the torture of suspense prey  
Agony of upon the minds of the prisoners, that they became  
the pri- not only reckless of life, but anxious for death. The  
soners. inhabitants who had reason to apprehend detention,  
Death of the Prin- became indifferent to all the precautions requisite to  
cess of secure their safety; many who had escaped volun-  
Monaco. tarily, surrendered themselves to their persecutors, or  
waited, on the high-road, the first band of the Na-  
tional Guard to apprehend them. The young Prin-  
cess of Monaco, in the flower of youth and beauty,  
after receiving her sentence, declared herself preg-  
nant, and obtained a respite; the horrors of surviving  
those she loved, however, so preyed upon her mind,  
that the next day she retracted her declaration.  
“Citizens,” said she, “I go to death with all the  
tranquillity which innocence inspires.” Soon after,  
turning to the jailer who accompanied her, she gave  
him a packet, containing a lock of her beautiful  
hair, and said—“I have only one favour to implore of  
you, that you will give this to my son: promise  
this as my last and dying request.” Then turning  
to a young woman near her, recently condemned, she  
exclaimed—“Courage, my dear friend! Courage!  
Crime alone can show weakness!” She died with  
sublime devotion, evincing in her last moments, like  
Madame Roland and Charlotte Corday, a serenity  
scarce ever witnessed in the other sex.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tableau  
des Prisons,  
ii. 39, 40.  
Deux  
Amis, xii.  
329, 330.  
Lac. ii. 164,  
166.

Madame Lavergne had hoped that, by her inter-  
cession, she would move the hearts of the judges in  
favour of her husband, the commandant of Longwy.  
When she saw that all was unavailing, and that  
sentence of death was pronounced, a cry of *Vive le  
Roi* was heard; all the spectators trembled at the  
fatal words. *Vive le Roi!* exclaimed Madame in

more energetic terms ; and when those next her  
 exclaimed that she had lost her reason, she repeated  
 the same words in a calmer voice, so as to leave no  
 room for doubt as to her deliberate intention. She  
 obtained the recompense she desired in dying beside  
 her husband. Soon after a sister followed the same  
 method to avoid surviving her brother, and a young  
 woman, to accompany the object of her affection to  
 another world. Servants frequently insisted upon ac-  
 companying their masters to prison, and perished with  
 them on the scaffold. Many daughters went on  
 their knees to the members of the Revolutionary  
 Committee, to be allowed to join their parents in  
 captivity, and, when brought to trial, pleaded guilty,  
 though innocent, to the same charges. The efforts  
 of the court and jury were unable to make them  
 separate their cases ; the tears of their parents even  
 were unavailing ; in the generous contention, filial  
 affection prevailed over parental love. A father  
 and son were confined together in the Maison La-  
 zare ; the latter was involved in one of the fabri-  
 cated conspiracies of the prison ; when his name  
 was called out to stand his trial, his father came  
 forward, and, by personating his son, was the means

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Heroic  
devotion of  
several  
prisoners.

of saving his life, by dying in his stead. "Del Ira"

the scaffold, he said, "I am the son of D'un  
presented his arms to be bound. Florian,  
quent novelist, pleaded in vain, in an eloqu  
tion from prison, that his life had been de  
the service of mankind, that he had been th  
with the Bastile for some of his producti  
that the hand which had drawn the poem of  
Tell, and depicted a paternal governmen  
Numa, could not be suspected of a leanin  
potism. He was not executed, as the fall o  
spierre prevented it; but he was so horr  
with the scenes he had witnessed in prison  
died after the hour of deliverance had  
Lavoisier was cut off in the midst of his  
chemical researches; he pleaded in vain for  
to complete a scientific discovery; almost  
members of the French Academy were in p  
hourly expectation of their fate. Roucher, an  
poet, a few hours before his death, sent his w  
to his children, accompanied by these  
lines—

" Ne vous étonnez pas, objets charmans et doux,  
Si quelque air de tristesse obscurcit mon visage;  
L'ameur des amours ne peut ternir mon image.



former was engaged, immediately before his execution, in composing some pathetic stanzas, among which is to be found the following—

CHAP  
XV.

1794.

"Peut-être, avant que l'heure en circle promenée,

Ait posé sur l'émail brillant,

Dans les soixante pas où sa route est bercée,

Son pied sonore et vigilant,

Le sommeil du tombeau pressera ma paupière"—

<sup>1</sup> Vie de  
Florian,  
Œuvres, l.

181, 183.

Iac. xi. 48,

49, and Pr.

Hist. ii.

166, 167.

Th. vi.

428.

D'Israeli,

Lit. Char.

ch. 15, p.

236. Deux

Amis, xii.

332, 333.

At this unfinished stanza the pensive poet was summoned to the guillotine. His brother André, who had the power to save his life, refused to do so—even to the tears of their common parent present before him: literary jealousy steeled the young revolutionist against the first feelings of nature. A few weeks longer would have swept off the whole literary talent, as well as dignified names of France.

In the midst of the general massacre, Malesherbes, the generous and intrepid defender of Louis XVI., was too immaculate a character to escape destruction. For some time he had lived in the country, in the closest retirement; a young man accused of emigration, concealed in his house, furnished a pretext for the apprehension of the venerable old man and all his family. When he arrived at the prison all the captives rose up and crowded

Execution  
of Males-  
herbes and  
his whole  
family,  
with  
D'Espre-  
menil.  
April 22,  
1794.

CHAP. him to prison. Throwing herself into her arms  
XV. exclaimed—"You have had the good for

1794. save your father, and I have the glory of dying  
mine!" Malesherbes stumbled over a stone  
crossed the court, with his arms bound, to the  
chariot: he said, with a smile—"That is a battle  
a Roman would have turned back." Recalled  
with the malice of demons, the heroic man  
which he had come forward to defend the king  
Louis, the monsters invented a new and  
species of torture for this noble character  
was selected as the *last* victim for execution  
had the agony of seeing his daughter and two  
daughters, with her husband, guillotined  
his eyes, ere death put a period to his sufferings.  
When bound to the plank, his grey hair  
observed to be sprinkled with the blood of the  
children he had seen suffer before him. With  
included in the indictment M. D'Espremenil,  
the idol of the populace of Paris, and who had  
so much in its earlier stages to urge on the  
147, 157. tion. He was condemned and executed with  
Biog. Univ. herbes, and evinced the same sublime cons  
xxvi. 366, his last moments.  
367.


<sup>1</sup> Boissy  
d'Anglas,  
Vie des  
Malesher-  
bes, ii. 274.  
Lac. ii.  
147, 157.  
Biog. Univ.  
xxvi. 366,  
367.

Of Ma-  
dame  
Elizabeth.  
May 16.

Madame Elizabeth, sister to Louis XVI  
the next victim. When she was brought before  
Revolutionary Tribunal, the judges and  
manifested an unusual degree of impatience  
condemnation. Like the King and Queen she  
fested the utmost composure and serenity through  
examination; her answers, clear, distinct, and  
fectly true, left no room for suspicion or miscon-  
ception. Being accused of having succoured soldiers  
who had been wounded in the Champs Elysées  
occasion of the revolt, she replied—"Humanity  
led me to dress their wounds; I needed no

into the origin of their sufferings to feel the obligation to relieve them. I never thought this a merit, but I cannot see how it can be considered as a crime." CHAP. XV. 1794.

—"Admit, at least," said the president, "that you have nourished in the young Capet the hope of regaining the throne of his father."—"I devoted myself," said she, "to the care of that infant, who was the more dear to me, as he had lost those to whom he owed his being." Being accused of being an accomplice of the tyrant—"If my brother had been a tyrant," she replied, "neither you nor I would have been where we now are." She was sentenced along with many others of illustrious rank and dignified virtue. On being taken to the room where the condemned were assembled, she exhorted them to die with so much calmness and serenity, as they were all encouraged to by her example. On the chariot she declared that one of her companions had disclosed to her that she was pregnant, and thus was the means of saving her from destruction. When she had ascended the scaffold, having been made purposely to die the last, the executioner rudely undid the clasp which closed the veil across her breast. "In the name of modesty," she said, "cover



CHAP. Custine, son of the celebrated general of the same  
 XV. name, was executed for having let fall some expressions  
 1794. of attachment to his father; Alexander Beauharnais  
 Of Cus- for having failed to raise the siege of Mayence. The  
 tine's son, letters of both to their wives, the night before their  
 Luckner, execution, exhibited the most touching strains of elo-  
 Biron, and quence. Marshal Luckner, whom the Jacobins  
 Dietrich. had so long represented as the destined saviour of  
 France; General Biron, whose amiable qualities,  
 notwithstanding the profligacy of his character, had  
 long endeared him to society; General Lamarliere,  
 whose successful war of posts had so long covered  
 the northern frontier, and many other distinguished  
 warriors, were sent to the scaffold. All showed the  
 same heroism in their last moments; but not greater  
 than was displayed by pacific citizens and young  
 women, who had been totally unaccustomed to face  
 danger. It was in the class of nobles that the  
 greatest courage was shown: they firmly protested  
 their devotion to their God and their king, and  
 their readiness to die in their service. The priests  
 died like worthy martyrs of their faith, bestowing, to  
 their last moments, the succours of religion on the  
 captives about to die, with whom they were sur-  
 rounded. Many of the peasants and poorer classes  
 piteously bewailed their fate in being cut off, they  
 knew not why, and condemned, they knew not with  
 whom. Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, one of the  
 most ardent friends of liberty, wrote to his son the  
 night before his execution—"As he valued his last  
 blessing, never to attempt to revenge his death."  
 One prisoner alone, excited the indignation of the  
 spectators, by raising piteous cries on the chariot,  
 and striving in a frenzy of terror with the execu-  
 tioners on the scaffold: it was Madame du Barri,  
 the associate of the infamous pleasures of Louis XV.

She piteously prayed for a minute's respite, and uttered shrieks when bound to the plank which froze every heart with horror. Yet was this lamentable spectacle not without a beneficial effect: it recalled the people to a sense of the horror of the punishment, which, from the general heroism or resignation of the victims, had come, strange to say, to be almost forgotten.<sup>1</sup> \*

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
91. Lac.

ii. 160.

Duval,  
Souv. de  
la Terreur,  
iv. 169,  
175.

While prostituted beauty was thus evincing a fearful picture of the weakness of splendid guilt in its last moments, the courage with which a number of young women, supported by the recollections of virtue and the influence of religion, underwent the same fate, excited universal astonishment and sympathy. Two in particular, at the very close of the Reign of Terror, attracted general notice, and contributed in no small degree to produce a general heart-sickening at the reign of blood. They are thus described by an eyewitness of these melancholy scenes:—"On the 28th of May fourteen young women of Verdun were brought out for execution together, for no other crime but that of having presented bouquets of flowers to the King of Prussia, when he entered the town in 1792.

Execution  
of the  
young  
women  
from Ver-  
dun and  
Montmar-  
tre.



CHAP. beauty, their innocent air, touched even the most  
XV. savage hearts with pity, and many tears were secretly

1794. shed at the sight of so many innocent human beings  
being taken together to the scaffold. It was gene-  
rally observed, after they had been guillotined, that  
it was like cutting the spring out of the year. A  
few days after, the whole nuns of the Abbey of Mont-  
martre, with the lady-abbess at their head, were  
executed together. They began to chant the *Salve*  
June 1. *Regina* as they left the doors of the Conciergerie,  
continued singing during their whole passage along  
the streets, and the mournful strain had not ceased,  
though they were eighteen in number, till the head  
of the last had fallen under the guillotine. Their  
constancy, piety, and resignation produced a profound  
impression on the multitude, long unaccustomed to  
impressions of that description, and for once silenced  
the furies of the guillotine,\* who usually danced round  
the loaded chariots, singing revolutionary songs, from  
the time they left the doors of the Conciergerie till  
they reached the scaffold in the Place Louis XV.  
It was chiefly in consequence of the mournful im-  
pression produced by this execution, that the place

<sup>1</sup> Duval, of punishment was removed, first to the place St.  
Souv. de la Terreur, Antoine on the 2d June, and on the 7th to the  
iv. 376, Barrier de Trône, in the Faubourg St Antoine."<sup>1</sup>  
377.

Dreadful as were these scenes at Paris, the career  
of revolutionary revenge was, if possible, more  
strongly evinced in the provinces than in the  
metropolis. A full account of these atrocities would  
fill many volumes; but a few details, in addition  
to those contained in the former chapters, may  
serve as an example of the rest. The distur-  
bances on the northern frontier led to the special  
mission of a monster named Le Bon to these dis-

Cruelties  
in the pro-  
vinces. Le  
Bon at  
Arras.

\* "Les lecheuses de la guillotine."

tricts, armed with the power of the Revolutionary Government. His appearance in these departments could be compared to nothing but the apparition of those hideous furies so much the subject of dread in the times of paganism. In the city of Arras, above two thousand persons, brought there from the neighbouring departments, perished by the guillotine. Mingling treachery and seduction with sanguinary oppression, he turned the despotic powers with which he was invested into the means of individual gratification. After having disgraced the wife of a nobleman, who yielded to his embraces in order to save her husband's life, he put the man to death before the eyes of his devoted consort; a species of treachery so common, says Prudhomme, that the examples of it were innumerable. Children whom he had corrupted were employed by him as spies upon their parents; and so infectious did the cruel example become, that the favourite amusement of this little band was putting to death birds and small animals, with little guillotines made for their use.<sup>1\*</sup>

\* This monster was very amorous in his disposition, and mingled lechery with his cruelties. "Il ne caressait sa femme ou sa maitresse qu'il ne dit pas en même temps "cette belle tête sera pourtant coupée des que j'aurai commandé." . . . "Le Bon est revenu de Paris: tout de

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Th. vi.

376, 377.

Prud-

homme,

Victimes

de la Revo-

lution, iv.

274. Cha-

teaub.

Etud. Hist.

i. 102.

Preface.

CHAP. XV. The career of Carrier at Nantes, where the popular vengeance was to be inflicted on the Royalists of 1794. the western provinces, was still more relentless.\* Five hundred children of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were led out to the same spot to be shot. Never was so deplorable a spectacle witnessed. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets, at the first discharge, to fly over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and with supplicating hands and agonized looks, sought for mercy. Nothing could soften these assassins; they put them to death even when lying at their feet. A large party of women, most of whom were with child, and many with babes at their breast, were put on board the boats in the Loire. The innocent caresses, the unconscious smiles of these little innocents, filled their mothers' breasts with inexpressible anguish; they fondly pressed them to their bosoms, weeping over them for the last time. One of them was delivered of an infant on the quay; hardly were the agonies of childbed over, when she was pushed, with the new-born innocent, into the galley. After being stripped naked, their hands were tied behind their backs; their shrieks and lamentations were answered by strokes of the sabre; and while struggling betwixt terror and shame to conceal their nudity from the gaze of the executioners, the signal was given, the planks cut, and the shrieking victims for ever buried in the waves.<sup>1</sup> Human cruelty, it would be supposed, could hardly go beyond these

<sup>1</sup> Prudhomme, v. 27. Cha tea b. Etud Hist. i. 102. Louvet, 123.

\* "Tout sans exception est incendié, massacré, devasté; des villes, des bourgs, des villages, habités par des patriotes ont disparu, et le fer a acheté ce que la flamme épargnait. C'est ainsi qu'on a resuscité la Vendée."—*Rapport de JULIEN, fils à ROBESPIERRE, 30 Ventose 1794; Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE, No. lxxiii.*



executions, but it was exceeded by Le Bon\* at Bordeaux. A woman was accused of having wept at the execution of her husband; she was condemned, amidst the applauses of the multitude, to sit several hours under the suspended blade, which shed upon her, drop by drop, the blood of the deceased, whose corpse was above her on the scaffold, before she was released by death from her agony.†

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

One of the most extraordinary features of these terrible times, was the apathy which the better classes both in Paris and the provinces evinced, and the universal disposition to bury anxiety in the delirium of present enjoyment. The people who had escaped death went to the operas daily, with equal unconcern whether thirty or a hundred heads had fallen during the day. The class of proprietors at Bordeaux, Marseilles, and all the principal towns, timid and vacillating, could not be prevailed on to quit their hearths; while the Jacobins, ardent, reckless, and indefatigable, inured to crime, plunged a merciless sword into the bosom of the country. The soldiers every where supported their tyranny; the prospect of ransacking cellars, ravishing women, and plundering coffers, made them universally faithful to the government! "When in a country which was least

General  
apathy of  
the class of  
proprietors.

CHAP. evident that all assemblages of men, once dignified  
 XV. with the name of the people by such fools as myself,  
 1794. are, in truth, nothing more than an imbecile herd,  
 too happy to be permitted to crouch under the yoke  
 of a despotic master."

The Committee of Public Salvation incessantly  
 urged Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, to ac-  
 celerate the executions. He himself declared, in his  
 subsequent trial—"That on one occasion they ordered  
 him to increase them to one hundred and fifty a-day,  
 and that the proposal filled his mind with such hor-  
 ror, that, as he returned from the Seine, the river  
 appeared to run red with blood, and the pavement  
 on the streets to be strewn with decapitated human  
 heads." The pretended conspiracy in the prisons  
 served as an excuse for a frightful multiplication in  
 the number of victims. One hundred and sixty vic-  
 tims were denounced in the prison of the Luxem-  
 bourg alone; and from one to two hundred in all  
 the other prisons of Paris. A fabricated attempt at  
 escape in the prison of La Force, was made the  
 ground for sending several hundreds to the Revolu-  
 tionary Tribunal. Fouquier Tinville had made such  
 an enlargement of the hall of that dreaded court,  
 that room was afforded for one hundred and sixty to  
 be tried at once; and he proposed to place at the  
 bar the whole prisoners charged with the conspiracy  
 in the Luxembourg at one sitting. He even went so  
 far as to erect a guillotine in the court-room, in order  
 to execute the prisoners the moment the sentence  
 was pronounced; but Collot d'Herbois objected to  
 this, as tending "to demoralize punishment." A  
 guillotine had been prepared, however, with four  
 blades placed crossways, which could behead four  
 prisoners at once.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 365, 374.  
 Th. vi.  
 363, 364.  
 Lac. ii.  
 161. Hist.  
 de la Conv.  
 iii. 386,  
 388.  
 Duval,  
 Souv. de  
 la Terreur,  
 iv. 381.

But there is a limit to human suffering; an hour

n indignant nature will no longer submit, and CHAP.  
 age arises out of despair. To that avenging XV.  
 time was fast approaching. The lengthened 1794.  
 of prisoners daily led to the scaffold had long  
 ed the commiseration of the better classes in  
 s; the shops in the Rue St Honoré were shut, the num-  
 its pavement deserted, when the melancholy ber and  
 session, moving towards the Place de la Révolu- descent of  
 tions.

passed along. Alarmed at these signs of dis-  
 faction, the committee changed the place of  
 ution, and fixed it first on the Place St An- June 2.  
 3, and soon after at the Barrier de Trône, in June 7.

faubourg St Antoine; but even the workmen  
 at revolutionary district manifested impatience  
 ie constant repetition of the dismal spectacle.

middle classes, who constituted the strength of  
 National Guard at Paris, began to be alarmed  
 ie rapid progress and *evident descent* of the  
 criptions. At first the nobles and ecclesiastics  
 were included; by degrees the whole landed  
 rietors were reached; but now the work of  
 uction seemed to be fast approaching every  
 above the lowest. On the list of the Revolu-  
 ary Tribunal, in the latter days of the Reign of



CHAP. XV. 1794. The Convention eagerly embraced the same sentiments; their conspicuous situation rendered it probable that they would be among the first victims, and every one, in the hope of saving his own life, ardently prayed for the downfall of the tyrants. It was well known in that Assembly that Robespierre had let fall some expressions, indicating an intention to destroy many of its members; and the law of 22d Prairial was regarded as a means of attaining that object. The Committee of Public Salvation was not ignorant of these dispositions. But these expressions of public feeling only inspired their oppressors with greater impatience for human blood. "Let us put," said Vadier, "a wall of heads between the people and ourselves."—"The Revolutionary Tribunal," said Billaud Varennes, "thinks it has made a great effort when it strikes off seventy heads a-day; but the people are easily habituated to what they always behold: to inspire terror we must double the number."—"How timid you are in the capital!" said Collot d'Herbois; "can your ears not stand the sound of artillery? It is a proof of weakness to murder your enemies; you should mow them down with cannon." The judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, many of whom came from the galleys of Toulon, laboured incessantly at the work of extermination, and mingled indecent ribaldry and jests with their unrelenting cruelty to the crowds of captives who were brought before them. An old man, who had lost the use of speech by a paralytic affection, being placed at the bar, the president exclaimed—"No matter; it is not his tongue, but his head that we want."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, xii. 351, 354. Lac. xi. 53, 56. Th. vi. 370. Mig. ii. 327.

The superstition or terrors of Robespierre fur-

the first pretext for a combination to shake  
 er. The members of the different commit-  
 armed for their own safety, were secretly  
 uring to undermine his influence, when the  
 sm of an old woman, named Catharine Theot,  
 sm the means of extending their apprehen-  
 a larger circle. She proclaimed herself the  
 of God, and announced the approaching  
 of a regenerating Messiah. An ancient ally  
 spierre, Dom Gerle, was the associate of her  
 they held nocturnal orgies, in which Robe-  
 was invoked as the Supreme Pontiff. The  
 tee of Public Salvation, who were acquainted  
 their proceedings, and from whom Robe-  
 was now almost entirely estranged, beheld, or  
 to behold, in these extravagances, a design to  
 m the head of a new religion, which might add  
 orce of political power the weight of spiritual

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

Vadier was entrusted by the Committee  
 e duty of investigating the mysteries; his  
 which was read amidst loud laughter in the  
 tion, represented the "conspiracy as the  
 artly of the immeasurable malice of the  
 partly of the formidable faction which the  
 ere had destroyed!" It turned the fanatics



CHAP. he was absent for the next six weeks, and confined  
 XV. himself to the club of the Jacobins, where his power  
 1794. was still predominant.

Naturally suspicious, the apprehensions of the  
 tyrant now increased to the highest degree. His  
 house was guarded by a body of Jacobins, armed  
 with pistols, chiefly composed of jurymen from the  
 Revolutionary Tribunal. He never went out but  
 attended by this obnoxious band. His table was  
 covered by letters, in which he was styled the  
 "Envoy of God," the "New Messiah," the "New  
 Orpheus." On every side his portrait was to be  
 seen in marble, bronze, or canvass, and below each,  
 lines in which the Jacobinical poets extolled him  
 above Cato and Aristides. In the bed of Catharine  
 there was found a letter addressed to Robespierre,  
 in which he was styled, "the Son of the Supreme  
 Being," "the Eternal Word," "the Redeemer of  
 the Human Race," "the Messiah designed by the  
 Prophets." Old women wrote to him in the strain  
 of the Song of Simeon, rejoicing they had lived to see  
 the advent of the day of salvation. Children over  
 the whole Republic were called after his name; the  
 admiration with which he was surrounded approach-  
 ed to idolatry. But all his efforts, and all the adu-  
 lation of his satellites, could not dispel the terrors  
 which had seized his mind. On his desk, after his  
 death, was found a letter in the following terms:—

<sup>1</sup> Papiers  
 Trouvés  
 chez Robe-  
 spierre, i.  
 57. Deux  
 Amis, xii.  
 363, 364.  
 Mig. ii.  
 328. Lac.  
 xi. 63, 66.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii, 244. "You yet live! assassin of your country, stained  
 with the purest blood in France. I wait only the  
 time when the people shall strike the hour of your  
 fall. Should my hope prove vain, this hand which  
 now writes thy sentence, this hand which presses  
 thine with horror, shall pierce thee to the heart.  
 Every day I am with thee; <sup>1</sup> every hour my uplifted

arm is ready to cut short thy life.<sup>1</sup> Worst of men, CHAP.  
live yet a few days to be tortured by the fear of my XV.  
vengeance ; this very night, in seeing thee, I shall 1794.  
enjoy thy terrors : but thy eyes shall seek in vain  
my avenging form.”<sup>1</sup>

His violent partisans strongly urged the immediate  
adoption of the most vigorous measures. Henriot, <sup>Henriot</sup>  
and the Mayor of Paris, were ready to commence <sup>and St</sup>  
a new massacre, and had a body of three thousand <sup>Just urged</sup>  
young assassins ready to aid those of September 2d ; <sup>vigorous</sup>  
St Just and Couthon were to be relied on in the Com- <sup>measures.</sup>  
mittee of Public Salvation ; the president Dumas, and  
the vice-president Coffinhal, were to be depended on  
in the Revolutionary Tribunal. “Strike soon and  
strongly,” said St Just. “DARE ! that is the sole  
secret of Revolutions.” The secret designs of Robe-  
spierre are clearly revealed in the following letter,  
written to him at this period by Payan, mayor of  
Paris, and entirely devoted to him :—“The change,  
of all others most essential, is to augment the powers  
of the central government—all our authority is use-  
less ; it is by augmenting the central power that  
alone any good can be done. Would you crush  
the refractory deputies, obtain great victories in



vernment were all arrayed on the other side of the mountain, therefore, was compelled to come to the attack in the Convention : he expected to be overpowered by the terror of his voice ; or if, contrary to former precedent, they held out, his reliance

• Deux

Amis, xii.  
354, 361.

Hist. Parl.  
xxxiii. 356,  
397, 398.

Papiers In-  
édits  
trouvés

chez Robe-  
spierre, i.

52, 55.

the municipality, and an insurrection of a similar kind to that which had been so successful on the 31st May. By their aid he hoped to effect the proscription of the Committee of Public Safety and their associates in the Mountain, as he had done that of the Girondists, and of the Convention of Twelve.\*

In a meeting of the Jacobins, held

Insurrec-  
tion agreed  
on at the  
Jacobins.  
21st July  
1794.

Thermidor, (21st July,) he prepared the audience for a revolt against the Convention. "The Assembly," said he, "labouring under the influence of corruption, and unable to throw off its impurities, is incapable of saving the Republic; both will perish; the proscription of the Convention is the order of the day. For myself, I have resigned myself to the grave; in a few days I shall place myself in the grave."



it; the result is in the hands of Providence. You see between what shoals we are compelled to steer; but we shall avoid shipwreck. Generally speaking, the Convention is pure: it is above fear as above crime. It has nothing in common with a knot of conspirators. For my own part, happen what may, I declare to the counter-revolutionists, who seek their own safety in the ruin of their country, that, despite all intrigues directed against me, I will continue to unmask the traitors, and to succour the oppressed." The Jacobins were by these and similar addresses prepared for a revolutionary movement; but the secret of the insurrection, which was fixed for the 9th Thermidor, was confided only to Henriot and the Mayor of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of the Convention and of the Committees, on their side, were not idle. The immediate pressure of danger had united all parties against Robespierre. He made no secret, in the Popular Society, of his resolution to decimate the Assembly. At leaving one of the meetings where his designs had been openly expressed, Barere exclaimed—"That Robespierre is insatiable; because we won't do every thing he wishes, he threatens to break with us. If he speaks

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Mig. ii.  
329, 331.  
Lac. xi. 68.  
Th. vi. 355,  
411.  
Journ. de  
la Mont.  
No. 85, p.  
690.

Measures  
of the Con-  
vention to  
resist it.

CHAP. the object of dread. Tallien was the leader of the  
 XV. party, an intrepid man, and an old supporter of the  
 1794. revolutionary tyranny ; but who had been awakened,  
 during his sanguinary mission to Bordeaux, to better  
 feelings, by the influence of a young woman with  
 whom he lived, afterwards well known as Madame  
 Tallien, of extraordinary beauty, and more than  
 masculine firmness of character.

Robe- Meanwhile the leaders of the opposite parties,  
 spierre at length in- Convention, were diverging from each other as much  
 clines to stop the in the measures which they severally advocated, as  
 effusion of blood. in the preparations they were making for mutual  
 hostility. Alienated from his colleagues in the  
 committees, disgusted with the universal turpi-  
 tude and corruption with which government was  
 surrounded, and seriously alarmed at the growing  
 influence of public opinion, which daily called loudly  
 for a stop to the carnage, Robespierre began at length  
 to see the necessity of arresting the terrible effusion  
 of blood, which had doubled in Paris since he had  
 ceased to attend the Committee of Public Salvation;  
 and he meditated the destruction of Collot d'Her-  
 bois, Barere, and Billaud Varennes, as well as nearly  
 all the members of the Committee of General Safety.  
 He began to see the hopelessness of going on de-  
 stroying till every Royalist, Intriguer, Dantonist, or  
 guilty functionary was no more ; he became alive  
 to the dreadful nature of the system of government  
 when it had ceased to be immediately directed by  
 himself, and threatened a dangerous reaction. He  
 was seldom, between the 15th June and the 24th  
 July, to be seen at the Convention ; but his speeches  
 at the Jacobin club loudly repelled the accusations  
 of cruelty brought against the committee,<sup>1</sup> professed

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii. 320  
 328, 341.  
 Journ. de  
 la Mont.  
 Vol. v. No.  
 77, p. 625.

position to return at last to a more moderate  
 n of government, and openly announced the  
 sity of destroying the tyrants who were oppress-  
 nocence throughout France.\*

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

ring Robespierre's secession from the Com-  
 of Public Salvation, however, that terrible  
 had lost none of its fearful and bloodthirsty  
 y. The daily executions in the capital had  
 ed, and now sometimes rose as high as seventy  
 ighty in a day; and on the 6th Thermidor,  
 days before the fall of Robespierre, the Com-  
 of Public Salvation, "to judge more quick-  
 enemies of the people, in detention over the  
 republic," had agreed on a decree appointing  
 opular commissions to try without juries the  
 prisoners in the different jails in the depart-  
 .† The name of Robespierre is not affixed to

Measures  
 of the Com-  
 mittee of  
 Public Sal-  
 vation dur-  
 ing Robe-  
 spierre's  
 absence.  
 July 23.

is appears more particularly in the debate at the Jacobins on  
 ly (23 Messidor) 1794, of which a very imperfect report is pre-

Robespierre then said:—"Les principes de l'orateur sont  
 l'effusion du sang humain versé par le crime. Les auteurs  
 plots dénoncés n'aspirent au contraire qu'à immoler tous  
 riotes, et surtout la Convention Nationale, depuis que le  
 a indiqué les vices dont elle devoit se purger. Quels sont  
 i sans cause ont distingué l'erreur du crime, et qui ont de-  
 s patriotes égarés?—Ne sont-ils pas les membres du Comité?



CHAP. this resolution; but it was entirely in conformity  
XV. with a plan which Payan, his intimate friend, pro-  
1794. posed to him, in order to dispose of nine thousand  
prisoners at Orange, who were summarily judged  
by a commission sent down from Paris, which de-  
stroyed them with unheard-of rapidity.\* And from

<sup>1</sup> *Papiers Trouvés chez Robespierre, No. 94. Deux Amis, xii. 344, 350.* a manuscript note in his own handwriting, found among Robespierre's papers after his death, there is one which openly announces the intention of cutting off the whole middle classes, and for that purpose arming against them the lower.<sup>1</sup>

At length, on the 8th Thermidor, (26th July,) the contest began in the National Convention. The discourse of Robespierre was dark and enigmatical; but earnest and eloquent. "Citizens," said he, "let others lay before you flattering pictures.

Contest  
begins in  
Assembly.  
Robe-  
spierre's  
speech.

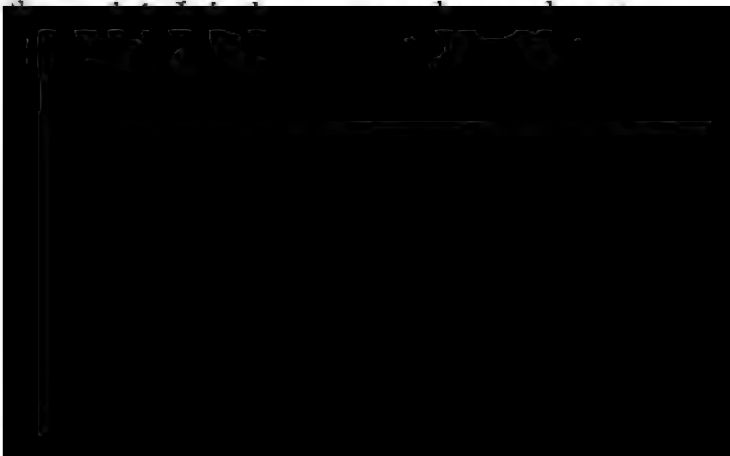
5. Il sera distribué à chaque commission un arrondissement de plusieurs départements. (*Signé*) B. Barrere, Dubarran, C. A. Prieur, Louis du Bas Rhin, Lavicomterie, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot, Couthon, R. Lindet, Saint Just, Billaud Varennes, Voulard, Vadier, Amar, M. Bayle."—*Hist. Parl.* xxxiii. 395.

\* "Neuf à dix mille personnes à mettre en jugement à Orange: impossibilité de les transférer à Paris. On propose, 1. Créer un Tribunal Révolutionnaire, qui siégera à Orange à l'effet de juger les contre-révolutionnaires du département de Vaucluse, et ceux des Bouches du Rhone. 2. Le composer d'un accusateur public et de six juges. 3. L'autorité à se diviser en deux sections. 4. Il jugera Révolutionnairement, *sans instruction écrite*, et sans assistance du jury." This tribunal, accordingly, was instituted, and the president, in a few days, wrote to Payan,—"Nous avons plus fait dans les six premiers jours de notre activité qu'a fait dans un mois le Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Nîmes; nous avons rendu 197 jugemens dans 18 jours."—*Deux Amis*, xii. 344, 345; and *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*.

"Il faut une volonté—une. Les dangers intérieurs viennent des bourgeois—il faut rallier le peuple. Il faut que les Sans-Culottes soient payés et restent dans les villes. Il faut leur procurer des armes, les colorer en ce que l'insurrection s'étend de proche en proche et sur le même plan. Il faut proscrire les écrivains comme les plus dangereux ennemis de la patrie, et punir surtout les députés et les administrations coupables."—*Note écrite de la main de ROBESPIERRE, Deux Amis*, xii. 353. *Papiers Trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, i. 36.

will unveil the real truth. I come not to increase terrors spread abroad by perfidy; I come to defend your outraged authority, and violated independence; I also will defend myself; you will not be taken by surprise, for you have nothing in common with the tyrants who attack me. The cries of oppressed innocence will not offend your ears; their cause cannot be alien to you. Tyrants seek to destroy the cause of freedom, by giving it the name of tyranny; patriots reply only by the force of truth. Think not I am here to prefer accusations; I come to discharge duty: to unfold the devious plots which threaten the ruin of the Republic. We have not been too severe. I attest the Republic, which yet breathes—the Convention, surrounded by the respect of the people—the patriots, who groan in the dungeons which wretches have opened for them. It is not we who have plunged the patriots in prisons; it is the monsters whom we have accused. Is it we who, forgetting the crimes of the aristocracy, and protecting the traitors, have declared war against peaceable citizens, and erected to crimes things indifferent, to find guilty persons every where, and render the Revolution terrible even

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.



CHAP. to which I belong? It is yourselves! What is the  
 XV. party which, since the commencement of the Revo-  
 1794. lution, has crushed all other factions—has annihi-  
 lated so many specious traitors? It is yourselves; it  
 is the people; it is the force of principles! There is  
 the party to which I am devoted, and against which  
 crime is every where banded together.

“I am ready to abandon my life without regret. I have seen the past; I foresee the future. What lover of his country would wish to live when he can no longer succour oppressed innocence? Why should he wish to remain in an order of things where intrigue eternally triumphs over truth; where justice is deemed an imposture; where the vilest passions, the most ridiculous fears, fill every heart, instead of the sacred interests of humanity? Who can bear the punishment of seeing that horrible succession of traitors, more or less skilful in concealing their hideous vices under the mask of virtue, and who will leave to posterity the difficult task of determining which was most atrocious? In contemplating the multitude of vices which the Revolution has let loose pell-mell with the civic virtues, I own I sometimes fear I shall be sullied in the eyes of posterity by their calumnies. But I am consoled by the reflection, that if I have seen in history all the defenders of liberty overwhelmed by calumny, I have seen their oppressors die also. The good and the bad disappear alike from the earth; but in very different conditions. No, Chaumette, ‘Death is not an eternal sleep!’—Citizens, efface from the tombs that maxim engraven by sacrilegious hands, which throws a funereal crape over nature, which discourages oppressed innocence; write rather, ‘Death is the commencement of immortality!’ I leave to the

oppressors of the people a terrible legacy, which well becomes the situation in which I am placed : it is the terrible truth, 'Thou shalt die !'

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

"We no longer tread on roses ; we are marching on a volcano. For six weeks I have been reduced to a state of impotence in the Committee of Public Salvation ; during that time has faction been better restrained, or the country more happy ? Representatives of the people, the time has arrived when you should assume the attitude which befits you ; you are not placed here to be governed, but to govern the depositaries of your confidence. Let it be spoken out at once : a conspiracy exists against the public freedom ; it springs from a criminal intrigue in the bosom of the Convention ; that intrigue is conducted by the members of the Committee of General Safety ; the enemies of the Republic have contrived to array that Committee against the Committee of Public Salvation ; even some members of this latter committee have been infected ; and the coalition thus formed seeks to ruin the country. What is the remedy for the evil ? To punish the traitors ; to purge the committees of their unworthy members ; to place the Committee of General Safety under the control of that of Public Salvation ; to establish the unity of government under the auspices

CHAP. its enemies, agreed to the proposal. The members  
 XV. of the Committee of General Safety, seeing the  
 1794. majority wavering, deemed it now necessary to take  
 decisive steps. "It is no longer time," said Cam-  
 bon, "for dissembling; one man paralyses the  
 Assembly, and that man is Robespierre."—"We  
 must pull the mask off any countenance on which  
 it is placed," said Billaud Varennes; "I would  
 rather that my carcass served for a throne to the  
 tyrant, than render myself by my silence the accom-  
 plice of his crimes."—"It is not enough," said  
 Vadier, "for him to be a tyrant; he aims further,  
 like a second Mahomet, at being proclaimed the en-  
 voy of God." Freron proposed to throw off the hated  
 yoke of the committees. "The moment is at last  
 arrived," said he, "to revive the liberty of opinion.  
 I propose that the Assembly reverse the decree  
 which permitted the arrest of the representatives of  
 the people; who can debate with freedom when im-  
 prisonment is hanging over his head?" Some ap-  
 plause followed this proposal; but Robespierre was  
 felt to be too powerful to be overthrown by the Con-  
 vention, unaided by the committees; this extreme  
 measure therefore was rejected, and the Assembly  
 contented itself with reversing the decree which  
 ordered the publication of his address, and sent it to  
 the committees for examination. "Had Robespierre,"  
 said Barere, "for the last four decades attended the  
 Committee, or attended to its operations, he would  
 have suppressed his address. You must banish  
 from your thoughts the word *accused*." In the end  
 Robespierre retired, surprised at the resistance he  
 had experienced, but still confident of success on  
 the following day, from the insurrection of the Ja-  
 cobins and of the municipality.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiii. 449,  
 452. Journ.  
 de la Mont.  
 9th Ther-  
 midor, vol.  
 vi. No. 91.  
 Jac. xi.  
 79. 80.  
 Th. vi.  
 421, 424.

.. In the evening he repaired to the Popular Society,



where he was received with enthusiasm. Henriot, CHAP. XV.  
 Dumas, Coffinhal, and his other satellites, surrounded him, and declared themselves ready for action. 1794.  
 After reading the speech he had delivered in the Convention, Robespierre said—"That speech is my Extraordi-  
 nary meet-  
 ing at the  
 Jacobins.  
 last testament. I see how it is; the league against me is so powerful that I cannot hope to escape it. I die without regret. I bequeath to you my memory. You will defend it." "I know," says Henriot, "the road to the Convention, and I am ready to take it again."—"Go," said Robespierre, "separate the wicked from the weak; deliver the Assembly from the wretches who enthrall it; render it the service which it expects from you, as you did on the 31st May and the 2d June. March! you may yet save liberty!" After describing the attacks directed against his person, he added, "I am ready, if necessary, to drink the cup of Socrates."—"Robespierre," exclaimed David, "I am ready to drink it with you; the enemies of Robespierre are those of the country; let them be named, and they shall cease to exist."\* Couthon then proposed the immediate expulsion of all the members of the Convention who had voted against the printing of his speech, and they were instantly, including Collot D'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, turned out by the shoulders, in

CHAP. During the whole night they sat in deliberation.  
XV. It was felt by every one that a combination of all

1794. parties was required to shake the redoubted power

Mutual  
prepara-  
tions.

of Robespierre. All their efforts, accordingly, were directed to this object. St Just continued firm to his leader; but, by unremitting exertions, the Jacobins of the Mountain succeeded in forming a coalition with the leaders of the Plain and of the Right. "Do not flatter yourselves," said Tallien to the Girondists, "that he will ever spare you; you have committed an unpardonable offence in being freemen. Let us bury our ruinous divisions in oblivion. You weep for Vergniaud—we weep for Danton; let us unite their shades by striking Robespierre." "Do you still live?" said he to the Jacobins; "has the tyrant spared you this night? yet your names are the foremost on the list of proscription. In a few days he will have your heads, if you do not take his. For two months you have shielded us from his strokes; you may now rely on our support as our gratitude." The *Côté droit* long resisted the energetic efforts made by the Jacobins in the Convention to bring them over to a coalition, but at length they acquiesced: unable, as they themselves said, to bear any longer the sight of fifty heads falling a-day. The friends of Danton were so exasperated at the death of their leader, that they repelled at first all advances towards a reconciliation; but at length, moved by the entreaties of the Plain and the Right, they agreed to join the coalition. Before daybreak, all the Assembly had united for the overthrow of the tyrant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Durand  
de Mail-  
lane, ch. x.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxiv. 5.  
Deux Amis,  
xii. 389.  
Lac. vi. 88,  
93. Th. vi.  
430, 431.

At an early hour on the morning of the 9th Thermidor, (27th July,) the benches of the Convention were thronged by its members; those of the Mountain were particularly remarkable for the serried ranks and determined looks of the coal-

tion. The leaders walked about the passages, confirming each other in their resolution. Bourdon de l'Oise pressed Durand Maillane by the hand, Roveré and Tallien followed his example—"Oh, the gentlemen of the *Côté droit* are honest men!" said that determined Jacobin. Tallien evinced that undoubting confidence which is so often the presage and cause of success—"Take your place," said he, entering from the lobby where he had been walking with Durand Maillane; "I have come to witness the triumph of freedom; this evening Robespierre is no more." At noon St Just mounted the Tribune: Robespierre took his station on the bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by his look. But he could not bear the glance of Tallien, whose countenance expressed the greatest determination, and whom he with justice regarded as his most formidable adversary. Already his weakness on the approach of personal danger was manifest. His knees trembled, the colour fled from his lips as he ascended to his seat; the hostile appearance of the Assembly already gave him an anticipation of his fate.<sup>1</sup>

St Just commenced a speech from the Tribune. "I belong," said he, "to no party; I will combat them all. The course of events has possibly determined that this Tribune should be the Tarpeian

CHAP.

XV.

1794.

Meeting of  
the 9th  
Thermi-  
dor.  
July 27,  
1794.<sup>1</sup> Durand  
de Mail-  
lane, ch. x.  
Lac. xi. 94.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxiv. 6.  
Deux Amis,  
xii. 389,  
396. Th.  
vi. 432.  
Hist. de la  
Conv. iv.  
123.Vehement  
eloquence  
of Tallien.

CHAP. enigmatical expressions of the tyrant yesterday from  
 XV. that place, can we doubt what St Just is about to

1794. propose? You are about," said he, "to raise the veil; I will tear it asunder!" Loud applauses on all sides followed this exclamation. "Yes," exclaimed he, "I will tear it asunder! I will exhibit the danger in its full extent; the tyrant in his true colours! It is the whole Convention which he now proposes to destroy: he knows well, since his overthrow yesterday, that, however much he may mutilate that great body, he will no longer find it the instrument of his tyrannical designs. He is resolved that no sanctuary should exist for freedom, no retreat for the friends of the Republic. He has in consequence resolved to destroy you all; yes, this very day, ay, in a few hours. Two thousand assassins have sworn to execute his designs; I myself last night heard their oaths, and fifty of my colleagues heard them with me. The massacre was to have commenced in the night with the Committee of Public Salvation and of General Safety, all of whom were to have been sacrificed except a few creatures of the tyrant; the fidelity of the soldiers, who feared the Convention, alone has preserved them from this terrible calamity. Let us instantly take measures commensurate to the magnitude of the danger; let us declare our sittings permanent till the conspiracy is broken, and its chiefs arrested. I have no difficulty in naming them; I have followed their steps through their bloody conjuration: I name Dumas, the atrocious president of the Revolutionary Tribunal; I name Henriot, the infamous commander of the National Guard."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journ. de la Mont. vol. v. No. 92, p. 745. Hist. Parl. xxxiv. 6, 21.

Here Billaud Varennes interrupted the orator, and gave some fuller details on the conspiracy which had been matured in the Society of the Jacobins, and denounced Robespierre as its chief. "Yester-

Speech of Billaud Varennes.

aid he, "at the Jacobins, were several base  
es; hardly one of them had tickets of admis-  
it they fully developed the plan of massacring  
vention. There I saw the most infamous  
vented against the men who have never de-  
from the Revolution. I see on the Mountain  
ome of the men who menaced the national  
ntation." At these words a cry arose—  
him, seize him!" and the individual alluded  
dragged from his seat, and hurled out amidst  
oplause. "The Assembly will perish," he  
ed, "if it shows the least signs of weakness."  
shall never perish!" exclaimed the members,  
n a transport of enthusiasm from their seats.

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

resumed: "Can there be any doubt now  
he reality of the conspiracy? have you con-  
so many tyrants only to crouch beneath the  
the most atrocious of them all? I see among  
ew Cromwell. The charge against Robe-  
is already written in your hearts. Is there  
among you which will declare that he is not  
essor? If there is, let him stand forth; for  
ve I offended. Tremble, tyrant, tremble!  
what horror freemen shrink from your pol-





seemly.

with death, constantly drowned his voice his bell. In vain he looked for support former satellites of his power ; all, frozen shrunk from his gaze. "*A bas le tyran!*" from all sides of the hall. Barere then, of the Committee of Public Salvation, an officer of the Allies, made prisoner in Belgium, had said—"All your successes avail you ; we are not the less confident conclude a peace with *a fraction of the* and soon change the government. The cannot conceal that this moment of danger The committees are attacked ; their members covered with calumnies ; the conspirators destroy whatever intelligence or energy the country, but denounce members on whom you are now to pronounce." On his motion decreed, by acclamation, that all the National Guard above that of chief of a legion be suppressed, that each commander of a legion command in his turn, and that the municipality of Paris should answer with the the security of the Convention. This

not to lose, he is every hour collecting his strength. CHAP.  
 He accumulates charges, when his conduct is en- XV.  
 veyed on every heart? Let him perish by the arm 1794.  
 which he has invented to destroy others. To what ac-  
 count did *he* ever give the right of speaking in his  
 presence? Let us say with the juries of the Revolu-  
 tionary Tribunal, 'Our minds have long been made

If you declare him *hors la loi*, can he complain  
 who has put *hors la loi* nine-tenths of France? Let  
 there be no formalities with the accused, you cannot  
 much abridge their punishment; he has told  
 so himself a hundred times. Let us strike him  
 from the bosom of the Assembly; let his associates  
 perish with him on the bench of the Revolutionary  
 Tribunal, in the club of the Jacobins, at the head  
 of the traitorous Municipality.<sup>1</sup>

'Were I," continued Tallien, "to recount the acts  
 of individual oppression of which he has been guilty,  
 I could say that, during the time when Robespierre  
 was charged with the general police, they have  
 been committed, and that the patriots of the  
 Revolutionary Committee of the Section of Indivi-  
 duality have been arrested."—"It is false!" cried  
 Robespierre, "I"—Loud cries drowned his voice.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
 xxxiv 25,  
 29. Journ.  
 de la Mont.  
 Vol. v. No.  
 92, p. 756.  
 Lac. xi.  
 100, 102.  
 Mig. ii.  
 338, 339.

Contest of  
 Tallien and  
 Robe-  
 spierre.



CHAP. last time, President of Assassins," said he, turning  
XV. to the chair, "will you allow me to speak?" The

1794. continued noise drowned his voice. "You shall not have it but in your turn;" and soon "Never, never!" resounded on all sides. He then sank on his seat pale and exhausted; his voice, which had become a shrill scream from agitation and vehemence, at length totally failed; foam issued from his mouth. "Wretch!" exclaimed a voice from the Mountain, "You are choked by the blood of Danton." "Ah! you would avenge Danton," rejoined Robespierre; "cowards, why did you not defend him?" "I demand the arrest of Robespierre," cried Loiseau. "Agreed! agreed!" resounded on all sides. "Citizens," exclaimed Billaud Varenne, "liberty is about to be restored."—"Say rather," replied Robespierre, "that crime is about to prevail: the Republic is abandoned to brigands." The act of accusation was then carried amidst the most violent agitation. The younger brother of Robespierre had the generosity to insist that he should be included in the charge. "I am as culpable as my brother," said he; "I share his virtues, I am willing to share his fate." Le Bas followed his example. At length the two Robespierres, Le Bas, Couthon, St Just, Dumas, and Henriot, were unanimously put under arrest and sent to prison; and the Assembly broke up, in the utmost agitation, at five o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xi.

104. Toul.

iv. 382,

383. Le-

vasseur, iii.

147. Hist.

Parl.

xxxiv. 31,

34. Journ.

de la Mont.

No. 92, pp.

751, 752.

Prepara-  
tions to  
support  
Robe-  
spierre at  
the Hôtel  
de Ville.

During this frightful contest the partisans of Robespierre were collecting at the hall of the Jacobins, and the Hôtel de Ville. They expected that he would be victorious in the Convention, and that the armed force would only be called on to support its decrees. Part of the National Guard were assembled



at the rendezvous, when a messenger arrived from the Convention requiring the mayor to appear at the bar, and give an account of the state of the capital. Return to your associates," said Henriot, "and say that we are in deliberation here how to purify their ranks. Tell Robespierre to remain firm and fear nothing." At half-past four they received intelligence of the arrest of Robespierre and his accomplices, which soon circulated with the rapidity of lightning through Paris. Instantly they gave orders to sound the tocsin, close the barriers, convoke the General Council, and assemble the Sections. The Jacobins declared their sittings permanent, and the most rapid means of communication were established between these two great centres of the insurrection.\* To exhort the people to revolt, Henriot, with a drawn sabre in his hand, at the head of his staff, traversed the streets, exclaiming, "To arms to save the country!" In his course through the Faubourg St Antoine, he met the procession of forty-nine prisoners proceeding as usual to execution:<sup>1</sup> the crowd had stopped the chariots, and loudly demanded that they

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxiv. 41,  
47. Journ.  
de la Mont.  
No. 92.  
Deux Amis,  
xii. 398,  
401. Mo-  
niteur,  
July 30,  
1794, p.  
1276.

Lac. xi.  
105, 109.  
Toul. iv.  
384, 385.  
Th. vi. 442,  
443. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
vi. 164.

\*The following proclamation was immediately issued from the Hôtel de Ville. "Brothers and Friends, the country is in imminent danger: the wicked have mastered the Convention, where they hold in chains



CHAP. should be released, which Samson, the long-practised  
XV. executioner, had the humanity to support: but Henrio  
1794. had the barbarity to order them to be led on, and  
they all suffered. On his return, two deputies of  
the Convention met him in the Rue St Honoré, and  
prevailed on some horsemen to obey the orders of  
the Convention, and arrest his person; he was hand-  
cuffed, and conducted to the Committee of General  
Safety. About the same time the national agent,  
Payan, was seized; the Convention seemed triumph-  
ant, its principal enemies were in confinement.

But the insurgents regained their advantage be-  
tween six and seven o'clock, in consequence of the  
dispersion of the members of the Assembly, and the  
energetic measures of the municipality. Robespierre  
had been sent to the Luxembourg, where he was  
refused entrance, on the ground that the commune  
had prohibited them from receiving any prisoner  
but such as they had committed. He was then taken  
to the central police-office, where he was at once re-  
ceived in triumph by the officers of the municipality.  
— The younger Robespierre had been taken to  
Saint Lazare, Couthon to the Bourbe, St Just to the  
Ecossais, and the other conspirators to the different  
prisons of Paris. The magistrates sent detachments  
to deliver them; Robespierre was speedily brought  
in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was re-  
ceived with the utmost enthusiasm, and soon joined  
by his brother and St Just. Coffinhal set off at the  
head of two hundred cannoniers to deliver Henriot;  
he arrived in the Place de Carrousel, and having  
forced the guard of the Convention, penetrated to  
the rooms of the Committee of General Safety, and  
delivered that important leader.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mig. ii.  
342. Th.  
iv. 445.  
Deux Amis,  
xii. 401.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxiv.  
41, 49.  
Lac xi.  
109.

The Assembly met at seven o'clock. Intelligence

was immediately brought of the fearful successes of the insurgents, their insurrectionary measures, the liberation of the Triumvirs, the assemblage at the Hôtel de Ville, the convocation of revolutionary committees, and of the sections. In the midst of the alarm, the members of the two committees, driven from their offices, arrived in consternation with the account of the forcing of the Tuileries, the delivery of Henriot, and the presence of an armed force round the Convention. The agitation was at its height, when Amar entered and announced, that the terrible cannoniers had pointed their guns against the walls of their hall. "Citizens," said the President, covering his face with his robe, "the hour is arrived to die at our posts; the conspirators have made themselves masters, with an armed force, of the Committee-room of General Safety."—"We are ready to die," exclaimed the members. Animated by a sublime resolution every one spontaneously resumed his seat, and the Assembly unanimously took the oath. At this moment Goupilleau entered and announced that Henriot had been delivered, and was brought to the neighbourhood in triumph. An universal shudder upon this ran through the Assembly. The

CHAP.

XV.

1794.

Hist. Parl.

xxxiv. 63,

65. Lac.

xi. 112.

Th. vi. 446,

447. Toul.

iv. 380,

383, 386.

Hist. de la

Conv. iv.

179. Moni-

teur. July

29. 1794, p.

confused crowd in the gallery at the same time.



CHAP. let us include the rebellious municipality in the de  
 XV. cree ; let us besiege him in the centre of his power

1794. let us instantly convoke the sections, and allow the public horror to manifest itself by actions. Name the commander of the armed force ; there must be no hesitation ; in such a strife, he who assumes the offensive commands success." All these decrees were instantly passed ; Henriot was declared *hors la loi*, and Barras named to the command of the military force ; Freron, Bourdon de l'Oise, Roveré, Leonard Bourdon, and other determined men, associated with him in the perilous duty. The Committee of Public Salvation, as the other committee-room was lost, was now fixed on as the centre of operations ; the *général* beat, and emissaries were instantly dispatched to all the sections, to summon them to the defence of the Convention ; while a macer was dispatched to summon the municipality to the bar of the Assembly : but such was the arrogance of that body in the anticipation of immediate victory, that they returned for answer—"Yes, we shall come to their bar, but at the head of the insurgent people."—"I invite," said Tallien, who had now taken the chair, "our friends to set out with the armed force. Let not the sun set till the heads of the conspirators have fallen."—"The moments are precious," said Billaud ; "when you are on a volcano you must act. Robespierre has just said that, before two hours had elapsed, he would march on the Convention. Shall we sleep ? It is for us to anticipate him, and our enemies will be annihilated." Amidst loud shouts the commanders of the armed force set out on their perilous mission, to summon the National Guard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Montteur, July 29, 1794, p. 1276. Journ. de la Mont. No. 93, Vol. v. p. 756. Toul. iv. 387. Th. vi. 447, 448. Lac. xi. 112, 113. Hist. de la Conv. iv. 177. Hist. Parl. xxxiv. 72, 74.

While the government were adopting these energetic measures, Henriot was haranguing the cannoneers in the Place de Carrousel. The fate of France

hung on their decision; could he have persuaded  
 them to act, the Convention would have been de-  
 stroyed before the tardy succours could arrive from  
 the remote quarters of the capital. Happily they  
 could not be brought to fire on the legislature, and  
 their refusal decided the fortune of the day. Dis-  
 pirited at this unwonted failure with the troops,  
 and alarmed at the cries which broke from the mul-  
 titude as soon as the decrees of the Assembly were  
 known, he withdrew to the Hôtel de Ville, the  
 armed force followed his example, and the Conven-  
 tion, so recently besieged within its walls, speedily  
 became the assailing party. Paris was soon in the  
 most violent state of agitation. The tocsin sum-  
 moned the citizens to the Hôtel de Ville, the *général*  
 called them to the Convention, the deputies of the  
 Assembly, and the commissioners of the municipi-  
 ality, met in the sections, and strove for the mas-  
 sery in those important bodies. On all sides the  
 people hastened to arms; the streets were filled by  
 multitudes crowding to their different rallying-points;  
 cries of *Vive la Convention! Vive la Commune!*  
 broke forth in the different columns, according to  
 the prevailing opinion of their members; while the

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

The can-  
noniers  
desert  
Henriot in  
the Place  
de Carrou-  
sel. Dread-  
ful agita-  
tion at  
Paris.

Deux  
Amis, xii.  
402, 404.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxiii. 73,  
75. Lac.  
xi. 113,  
115. Toul.



CHAP. were in concealment in the city. With trembling  
 XV. steps they issued from their hiding-places, and,

1794. approaching the columns of their fellow-citizens, besought them to assist in dethroning the tyrant. The minds of many were already shaken, those of all in a state of uncertainty, when, at ten o'clock, the commissioners of the Convention arrived with the intelligence of their decrees, of the summons to assist them, of the appointment of a new commander-in-chief, and of a rallying-point at the Hall of the Assembly. Upon this they no longer hesitated; the battalions of the National Guard from all quarters marched towards the Convention, and defiled through the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause. At midnight, above three thousand men had arrived. The forces being deemed sufficient set out. A few battalions and pieces of artillery were left to guard the Assembly, and the remainder of the forces, under the command of Barras, marched at midnight against the insurgents. The night was dark, a feeble moonlight only shone through the gloom; but the forced illumination of the houses supplied a vivid light, which shone on the troops, who in profound silence, and in serried masses, marched from the Tuileries along the quays of the river towards the Place de Grève, the headquarters of the insurgents.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxxiv. 74, 75. Deux Amis, xii. 404, 405. Mig. ii. 343, 344. Lac. xi. 114, 116. Toul. iv. 389. Hist. de la Conv. iv. 189, 190.

The armed citizens who had come to the Tuileries to take part with Henriot and the commune, dismayed by their retreat to the Hôtel de Ville, now glided into the ranks of the attacking force, and the columns which marched down the quays towards the Place de Grève. Every one held his breath as they passed; the intense interest of life or death almost choked respiration. But in more distant quarters the agitation was more open; and a confused sound,

The tumult is heard in the prisons.

rolling of distant thunder, was heard in all  
 of the city. By degrees the tumult became so  
 that at length the sound reached the prisons.  
 unhappy inmates of the gloomy cells put their  
 the bars of the windows, listened to every  
 and yet trembled lest the agitation should  
 prelude to a general massacre of the captives.  
 However, the downcast looks of the jailers,  
 whispered to the ears of the framers of the  
 and the consternation of these wretches, threw  
 of hope through their despairing minds.  
 After, it was discovered, by half-suppressed,  
 heard in the streets, that Robespierre was in  
 ; the relations of the captives placed them-  
 under the windows, and informed them by  
 of what was passing, and then the exhilaration  
 prisoners broke out into the most vehement  
 multuous joy.<sup>1</sup>

While the adherents of Robespierre, consist-  
 most entirely of the cannoniers, and of the  
 force commanded by Henriot, who were com-  
 of the very lowest of the rabble, had assembled  
 at force at the Hôtel de Ville. The Place de  
 was filled with artillery, bayonets, and pikes ;  
 piers had been received with the utmost en-

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Deux  
Amis, xii.  
404. Th.  
vi. 450,  
451. Mém.  
de Jose-  
phine, par  
Cresset, i.  
252, 253.Prepara-  
tions at the  
Hôtel de  
Ville.

CHAP. dying of famine, does he expect to satisfy us by the  
XV. daily spectacle of a hundred aristocrats dying on

1794. the scaffold? Does he suppose we are cannibals, to  
feed on human flesh, and drink human blood? He  
has done nothing for us; we will do nothing for  
him." Such was the language of the populace in the  
most revolutionary quarter of Paris: the fever of in-  
novation had exhausted itself; even the lowest of the  
people were dissatisfied with the rulers they had  
chosen for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
404, 405.  
Lac. xi.  
114, 115.  
Mig. ii.  
344. Toul.  
iv. 389.

The can-  
noniers  
desert  
Robe-  
spierre.

At midnight the rumour began loudly to spread  
through the ranks of the insurgents, that the muni-  
cipality had been declared *hors la loi*, that the sec-  
tions had joined the Convention, and that their  
forces were advancing against the insurgents. To  
obviate its impression, Payan read aloud in the  
council-room the decree of the Convention, and  
inserted in it the names of all those of their party  
whom he observed in the gallery, hoping thereby to  
attach them from desperation to the cause of Robe-  
spierre; but an opposite effect immediately ensued,  
as they all instantly took to flight, leaving the gal-  
lery deserted. Nor did affairs wear a more promising  
aspect out of doors. There were about two thou-  
sand men stationed in the Place de Grève, with a  
powerful train of artillery; but their dispositions  
were already much shaken by the obvious defection  
of their fellow-citizens, when the light of the torches

<sup>2</sup> Méda sur  
le 9 Ther-  
midor.  
Rev. Mem.  
xlii. 383.  
Deux  
Amis, xii.  
4, 5. Th.  
vi. 482.  
Mig. ii.  
344. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
xv. 193.

showed the heads of the columns of the National  
Guard appearing in all the avenues which led to  
the square. The moment was terrible; ten pieces  
of the artillery of the Convention were placed in  
battery, while the cannoniers of the municipality,  
with their lighted matches in their hands, stood be-  
side their guns on the opposite side.<sup>2</sup> But the autho-  
rity of the law prevailed; the decree of the Legisla-



was read by torchlight, and the insurgent troops  
 ed to resist it. Some emissaries of the Con-  
 ion glided into the ranks of the municipality,  
 raised the cry, *Vive la Convention*: the insur-  
 s were moved by the harangue of Meda, the  
 nander of the national artillery, and in a  
 t time the Place de Grève was deserted, and  
 whole cannoniers retired to their homes, or  
 ed themselves on the side of the Assembly.  
 enriot descended the stair of the Hôtel de Ville;  
 seeing the square deserted, he vented his ex-  
 ons on his faithless followers, who had for the  
 part abandoned the King in the same manner  
 the 10th August, and hastened back to his com-  
 s. The conspirators, finding themselves unsup-  
 ed, gave way to despair; the National Guard  
 ed rapidly up the stair, headed by Bourdon de  
 se, with a pistol in each hand and a naked sabre  
 s teeth, and entered the room where Robespierre  
 the leaders of the revolt were assembled. Robe-  
 re was sitting with his elbow on his knees, and  
 head resting on his hand; Meda discharged his  
 ol, which broke his under jaw, and he fell under  
 able. St Just implored Le Bas to put an end  
 e life. "Coward, follow my example!" said he

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Arrest of  
Robe-  
spierre and  
all his  
party.

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Dreadful  
scene at  
his seizure.

Robespierre and Couthon being supposed to be dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river ; but it being discovered, when day returned, that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board, and carried to the Assembly between one and two o'clock in the morning. The members having refused to admit them, they were conveyed to the Committee of General Safety, where Robespierre lay for nine hours stretched on a table in the *salle d'audience*, with his broken jaw still bleeding, and suffering alike under bodily pain, and the execrations and insults of those around him. During the whole time that this cruel torture lasted, he evinced a stoical apathy ; foam merely issued from his mouth, which the humanity of some around him led them to wipe off ; but his finger, still with convulsive energy, was fixed on the holster of the pistol which he had not had the courage to discharge. At six in the morning a surgeon was sent for, who found the left jaw broken : he took out two or three teeth which were crushed by the shot, bandaged the jaw, and placed beside him a glass of water, with which he occasionally washed away the blood which filled his mouth. As he lay extended on the table, numbers reviled and spit upon him, and, to their eternal disgrace, some of his former colleagues in the committees insulted him, while the clerks of the office pricked him with their penknives.<sup>1</sup> \* At length he arose and sat down on a chair : he then gazed around

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de la Conv. iv. 203. Levas. iii. 155. Deux Amis, xii. 407. Hist. Parl. xxxiv. 92. 93. Riouffe, Mem. xxiii. 70. Mig. ii. 345. Meda, Rev. Mem. xlii. 386. Th. vi. 456. Lac. xi. 118, 119.

a pistol in his hand is certain ; but Levasseur de la Sarthe and Meda, the gendarmes who arrested him, agree in stating that his jaw was broken by a shot fired by the last of these parties.—See LEVASSEUR, iii. 154 ; MEDA, 385.

\* “ Les collègues des comités vinrent l'insulter, le frapper, lui cracher au visage ; des commis de bureau le piquèrent de leurs canifs.”—*Derniers momens de Robespierre ; Hist. Parl. xxxiv. 94.*

fixing his eyes chiefly on the clerks in the office, he recognized. But he exhibited great impassion-  
 especially in the dressing of the wound, which  
 ioned acute pain. From thence, he was sent  
 to Conciergerie, where he was confined in the  
 cell which had been occupied by Danton, He-  
 and Chaumette. From thence he was brought,  
 all his associates, to the Revolutionary Tribunal,  
 as soon as the identity of their persons was  
 lished, they were condemned.

four in the morning, on the 29th July, all  
 was in motion to witness the death of the  
 t. He was placed on the chariot, between  
 riot and Couthon, whose remains were as muti-  
 as his own, the last in the vehicle, in order  
 with the usual barbarity of the period, which he  
 elf had allowed, he should see all his friends  
 h before him; the crowd, which for long had  
 d to attend the executions, manifested the  
 st joy at their fate. He was conducted to the  
 de la Révolution; the scaffold was placed on  
 pot where Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette  
 suffered. Never had such a crowd been wit-  
 ed on any former occasion: the streets, despite  
 arliness of the hour, were crowded: every win-

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

Executed  
 with St  
 Just, Hen-  
 riot, Cou-  
 thon, and  
 all their  
 party.



CHAP. France!" Twenty of his comrades were executed  
XV. before him; during the time they were suffering he

1794. lay on the scaffold with his eyes shut, never uttering  
a word. When lifted up to be tied to the fatal  
plank, the executioner tore the bandage from his  
face; the lower jaw fell upon his breast, and he  
uttered a yell which filled every heart with horror.  
For some minutes the frightful figure was held  
up, fixed to the board, to the multitude; he was  
then placed under the axe, and the last sounds  
which reached his ears were the exulting shouts,  
which were prolonged for some minutes after his  
death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xii.  
408, 409.  
Mig. ii.  
346. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
iv. 213.  
Toul. iv.  
391. Th.  
vi. 457.  
Lac. xi.  
120. Le-  
vasseur, iii.  
184, 187.

Trans-  
ports of  
the public,  
and exe-  
cution of  
the rest of  
his party.

Along with Robespierre were executed, Henriot,  
Couthon, St Just, Dumas, Coffinhal, Simon, and all  
the leaders of the revolt. St Just alone displayed  
the firmness, which had so often been witnessed  
among the victims whom they had sent to the scaf-  
fold. Couthon wept with terror; the others died utter-  
ing blasphemies, which were drowned in the cheers  
of the people. The spectators shed tears for joy,  
they embraced each other in transport, they crowded  
round the scaffold to behold the bloody remains of  
the tyrants. "Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!"  
said a poor man as he approached the lifeless body  
of one so lately the object of dread; his fall was felt  
by all present as an immediate manifestation of the  
Divinity. Seventy-three of his party were executed  
next day, comprising all the leaders of the revolt at  
the municipality; but Barere, Billaud Varennes, and  
Collot D'Herbois, were in the ranks of the victorious  
party, and, though the worst of the whole, suffered  
at that time no punishment for their crimes. The  
whole theatres of Paris were open, as usual, during  
these scenes of horror, as they had been during all  
the continuance of the Reign of Terror.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Lac. xi.  
120. Th.  
vi. 457.  
Moniteur,  
Aug. 24,  
1794. p.  
1380.

Thus terminated the Reign of Terror, a period CHAP. XV.  
 taught with greater political instruction than any of 1794.  
 equal duration which has existed since the begin-  
 ing of the world. In no former period had the Reflections  
 efforts of the people so completely triumphed, or the on the  
 ghastly orders been so thoroughly crushed by the Reign of  
 Terror. The throne had been overturned, the altar Terror.  
 destroyed, the aristocracy leveled with the dust; With the  
 the nobles were in exile, the clergy in captivity, the prodigious  
 country in affliction. A merciless sword had waved number of  
 over the state, destroying alike the dignity of rank, its victims.  
 the splendour of talent, and the graces of beauty.  
 All that excelled the labouring classes in situation,  
 fortune, or acquirement, had been removed; they  
 had triumphed over their oppressors, seized their  
 possessions, and risen into their stations. And  
 what was the consequence? The establishment of a  
 more cruel and revolting tyranny than any which  
 mankind had yet witnessed; the destruction of all  
 the charities and enjoyments of life; the dreadful  
 spectacle of streams of blood flowing through every  
 part of France. The earliest friends, the warmest  
 advocates, the firmest supporters of the people, were  
 swept off indiscriminately with their bitterest ene-



CHAP. The facility with which a faction, composed  
XV. few of the most audacious and reckless of the n

1794. not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that the author compiled it was an ardent supporter of the Revolution—an intimate friend and political agent of Danton's; and that, in his well revolutionary journals, the "Révolutions de Paris," he had just massacres in the prisons in September 1792. See No., September 1792.

# CONVENTION NATIONALE.

Du 21 Septembre 1792, au 25 Octobre 1795  
ou, ère républicaine, ann. 3.

Individus guillotinés	.	.	.	.
Dont	Ci-devant nobles	.	.	1278
	Femmes, <i>idem</i>	.	.	750
	Religieuses	.	.	360
	Prêtres	.	.	1135
	Femmes d'artisans	.	.	1467

Individus périés dans la guerre intestine, suite de la  
journée du 31 Mai 1793 (à Lyon)

## LYON.

Morts de frayeur et par la famine pendant le siège	.	.	.	184
Périés par les démolitions	.	.	.	45
Femmes enceintes et en couche	.	.	.	348
Egorgés après la réaction du 9 Thermidor	.	.	.	145
Morts en prison	.	.	.	32
Suicidés	.	.	.	45
Maisons démolies.	.	.	.	1674.

Total —

## MARSEILLE.

Combat de Carteaux, en route pour Mar- seille	.	.	.	650
Morts en prison	.	.	.	79

Total —

## TOULON.

Pendant le siège	.	.	.	9000
Egorgés ou noyés à la fuite des Anglois	.	.	.	3100
Morts en prison	.	.	.	160
Fusillés	.	.	.	800
Femmes et enfans tombés à la mer	.	.	.	1265

Total —

## BEDOIN.

Destruction et dispersion des habitans de cette ville, dont le nombre des maisons se porte à plus de	.	.	.	1600
--	---	---	---	------

phed over the immense majority of all the CHAP.  
 rs of property in the kingdom, and led them XV.

	Midi.	Carry	Morts.	1794.
us gorgés dans tout le Midi, après la			65,666	
ion du 9 Thermidor	.	.	750	
rations	.	.	360	
ctions	.	.	140	

## GUERRE DE LA VENDÉE.

prochant les massacres, égorgemens, fusillades,  
 les, et les morts dans les différens combats, *entre*  
*paix*, la perte s'évalue à peu près au nombre de  
 vidus)

		900,000
{ Femmes	15,000	
{ Enfans	22,000	
uerre a fait disparaître, soit villages, hameaux,		
iries, ou fermes, plus de	20,000	
es sous le proconsulat de CARRIER, à Nantes		32,000
{ Enfans fusillés	500	
{ <i>Idem</i> , noyés	1500	
{ Femmes fusillées	264	
{ <i>Idem</i> , noyées	500	
{ Prêtres fusillés	300	
{ <i>Idem</i> , noyés	460	
{ Nobles, <i>idem</i>	1400	
{ Artisans, <i>idem</i>	5300	
{ Individus morts en prison par la		
{ peste	8000	

—Les individus guillotines à Lyon, Marseille,  
 et Bédoin, se trouvent compris dans la masse  
 us, de 18,613.





mighty, crimes with absolute impunity, kept on  
thousand of their fellow-citizens in cap  
daily led out several hundred persons, o  
blood in France, to execution. Such is  
of the unity of action which atrocious v  
produces; such the consequence of re  
cupidity of the lower orders; such the a  
which, in periods of anarchy, is acquired b  
savage and lawless of the people. The  
and inoffensive citizens lived and wept i  
terror crushed every attempt at combin  
extremity of grief subdued even the firm  
In despair at effecting any change in th  
sufferings, apathy universally prevailed, s  
sought to bury their sorrows in the deliri  
sent enjoyments, and the theatres were m  
than during the whole duration of the  
Terror. Ignorance of human nature can

<sup>1</sup> Prud-  
homme,  
Vict. de  
la Rév.  
Vol. vi.  
Table n.  
209

executed after the fall of Robespierre, and are also in the .  
*damnés*, Nos. X. and XI.<sup>1</sup>

It is in an especial manner remarkable in this dismal c  
large a proportion of the victims of the Revolution were  
middle and lower ranks of life. The priests and nob



us to ascribe this to any peculiarity in the French character ; the same effects have been observed in all parts and ages of the world, as invariably attending a state of extreme and long-continued distress.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

How, then, did a faction, whose leaders were so extremely contemptible in point of numbers, obtain the power to rule France with such absolute sway ? The answer is simple. It was by an expedient of the plainest kind, and by steadily following out one principle, so obvious that few have sought for the cause of such terrible phenomena in its application. This was by promoting, and to a great extent actually giving, to the working-classes the influence and the possessions of all the other orders in the state.

<sup>1</sup> Louvet, 124, 125.

so Mercier, Tableaux de Paris, and Moniteur throughout.

*Egestas cupida novarum rerum*, was the maxim on which they acted ; it was to this point, the cupidity and ambition of those to whom fortune had proved adverse, that all their measures were directed. Their principle was to keep the revolutionary passions of the people constantly awake by the display of fresh objects of desire ; to represent all the present misery which the system of innovation had occasioned, as the consequence of the resistance which the holders of property had opposed to its

Principle which led to the triumph of the Revolution.



CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

In the later stages of the Revolution, this universally aroused cupidity of the working-classes was powerfully supported, and the strength of Jacobin vigour increased, by the terrors of punishment among the leaders of the populace for the innumerable crimes they had committed. This terror went to such a length as to be often ridiculous: for a few words from a handful of children or old women were often sufficient to make the leaders tremble who had defeated the armies of all Europe. They would be inexplicable did we not know that "conscience makes cowards of us all." These terrors and this system succeeded perfectly as long as the victims of spoliation were the higher orders and considerable holders of property; it was when they were exhausted, and the edge of the guillotine began to descend upon the shopkeepers and the more opulent of the labouring classes, that the *general* reaction took place which overturned the Reign of Terror. When society is in so corrupt and profligate a form, that a faction, qualified by their talents and energy to take the lead in public affairs, can be found who will carry on the government on these principles, and they are not crushed in the outset by an united effort of all the holders of property, it can hardly fail of obtaining temporary success. It is well that the friends of order of every political persuasion, and they are to be found as much among the supporters of rational freedom as the advocates of monarchical power, should be aware of the deadly weapon which is in the possession of their adversaries, and the necessity of uniting to wrest it from their hands the moment that it is unsheathed: and it would be fortunate if the agents of revolution would contemplate, in the Reign of Terror and the

fate of Robespierre, the necessary effects of using it to their country and themselves.

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

In contemplating the progress of the Revolution, nothing appears more extraordinary than the universal and rapid destruction which it occasioned of all the ranks from the throne to the cottage. The king supported it and perished; the nobles supported it and perished; the clergy supported it and perished; the merchants supported it and perished; the public creditors supported it and perished; the shopkeepers supported it and perished; the artisans supported it and perished; the peasants supported it and perished. The nobles, whose passion for innovation and misguided declamations in favour of equality, had first led to the convocation of the States-General, who early set the example of submission to the popular will, and voluntarily abdicated their titles, their privileges, and their rights, to place themselves at the head of the movement, were the first to be destroyed. Decimated by the guillotine, exiles from their country, destitute wanderers in foreign lands, they beheld their estates confiscated, their palaces sold, their children proscribed, themselves undone. While by the waters of Babylon they

CHAP.  
XV.

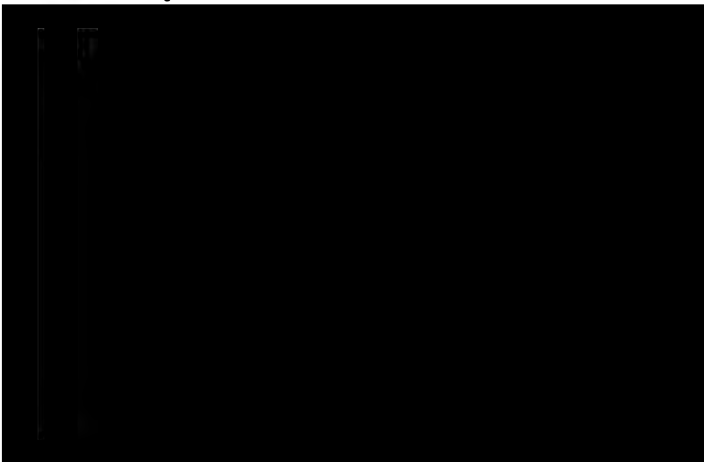
1794.

lished, their churches closed, their property confiscated, themselves subjected to cruel and tyrannical enactments, compelled to wander in utter destitution in foreign lands, or purchase a miserable pittance by violating their oaths, and earning the contempt of all the faithful among their flocks. The commercial classes, whose jealousy of the unjust privileges of the noblesse had first fostered the flame of liberty, were consumed in the conflagration which it had raised; the once flourishing colonies of the monarchy were in flames, its manufacturing cities in ruins, its public wealth destroyed, its sails banished from the ocean, its naval establishments in decay. Blasted by a ruinous system of paper currency, and crushed in the grasp of a relentless despotism, manufacturing industry was withered, and commercial capital annihilated. The public creditors, once so loud in their praises of the first movements of the Revolution, whose enthusiasm had raised the public funds thirty per cent in one day, when Necker was restored to power, in 1788, on the shoulders of the democracy, were now crushed beneath its wheels; the once opulent capitalists, ruined by the fall of the public securities, deprived of their property by a fictitious paper, paid by their debtors in a nominal currency, had long since sunk to the dust; while the miserable *rentiers*, cheated out of almost all their income by the payment of their annuities in assignats, were wandering about in utter despair, supporting a miserable existence by charity, or terminating it by acts of suicide.

Destruction of the middle and working classes.

The shopkeepers, whose unanimous shouts had so long supported the Constituent Assembly, whose bayonets had first upheld the fortunes of the Revolution, at last tasted its bitter fruits; as its movement advanced, and they became the objects of

isy to still lower ambition, the fury of plebeian  
 ge was directed against their ranks ; insensibly CHAP.  
XV.  
 melted away under the axe of the guillotine, or 1794.  
 destroyed by the law of the *maximum*, and la-  
 ed with unavailing tears the convulsions which  
 leprived them at once of the purchasers of their  
 nodities, the security for their property, and the  
 disposal of their industry. The artisans, who  
 expected a flood of prosperity from the regene-  
 n of society, whose pikes had so often, at  
 bin command, issued from the Faubourgs to  
 awe the legislature, were speedily steeped in  
 ry from the consequences of their actions ; im-  
 nt of restraint, unable to endure a superior,  
 were at last subjected to the most galling bond-  
 destitute of employment, fed only by the bounty  
 overnment, they were fettered in every action of  
 · lives ; debarred the power of purchasing even  
 necessities of life for themselves, they were forced  
 to wait half the day as needy suppliants at the  
 es of the committees who issued their tickets,  
 then to watch half the night round the bakers'  
 s, to procure the wretched pittance of a pound of  
 k bread a-day for each member of their families.



CHAP. an indigent and worthless rabble in the great cities  
 XV. of the Republic.

1794. Consequences so extraordinary, so unlooked for to every class of society from the throne to the cottage, are singularly instructive as to the consequences of revolutions; but yet, if the matter be considered dispassionately, it is evident that they must in every age attend any considerable convulsion in society. When a tree is felled, it is the leaves and the extremities which first begin to wither, because they are soonest affected by a stoppage in the supplies by which the whole is nourished. It is the same with society. Upon the occurrence of a revolution, the working-classes are the first to suffer, because they have no stock to maintain themselves during a period of adversity, and being wholly dependent on the daily wages of labour, are the earliest victims of the catastrophe which has interrupted them. It is this immediate effect of a revolution, in spreading misery through the labouring poor, which in the general case renders its march irresistible, when not arrested in the outset by a firm combination of all the holders of property, and precipitates society into a series of convulsions, from which it can hardly emerge without the destruction of the existing generation. The shock given to credit, the stoppage to speculation, the contraction to expenditure, is so excessive, that the lower orders are immediately involved in distress; and the same causes which increase their discontent, and augment their disposition to revolt, disable government, by the rapid fall of the revenue, either from administering relief or exerting force. The consequence is, that fresh insurrections take place; more extravagant and leveling doctrines become popular; a lower but

But it necessarily results from the development of the revolutionary passion.

more energetic class rises to the head of affairs ; desperate measures of finance are adopted, the public expenditure is increased, while the national income is diminished ; and, after a succession of vain attempts to avoid the catastrophe, national bankruptcy takes place, and the accumulations of ages are swept off in a general, public, and private insolvency.

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

The different steps of this disastrous but unavoidable progress are clearly marked in the successive stages of the French Revolution. Within six months after the Revolution broke out, it was discovered that the revenue had fallen, in consequence of the general uncertainty of the future, from L.24,000,000 a-year to L.17,000,000, and that at the very time when the embarrassment of the finances had been the principal cause of the convocation of the States-General. No resource could be found to meet the pressing difficulties of the Exchequer, but the confiscation of the property of the church, and subsequently that of the emigrant nobles. These measures again engendered evils which tended to perpetuate the difficulties from which they sprang ; the confiscation of the church property rendered neces-

Successive  
steps of its  
disastrous  
progress.



CHAP. France. This prodigious issue of paper necessarily  
 XV. led to its rapid depreciation ; all obligations of debt  
 1794. and credit were overturned by the necessity of ac-  
 cepting payment in a nominal currency ; the rapid  
 rise in the price of provisions compelled the govern-  
 ment to adopt a *maximum*, and interfere with the  
 arm of force in the care of public subsistence.  
 Thence the forced requisitions, the compulsory  
 sales, the distribution of rations, and all the innumerable  
 tyrannical regulations which fettered industry in every  
 department ; and at length, by exciting the passions of the  
 people against each other, brought down even to the humblest  
 class the horrors which they had originally inflicted on their  
 superiors.

Manner in which the public mind is corrupted during a Revolution.

Such a survey of the consequence of human violence, both vindicates the justice of Providence, by demonstrating how rapidly and unavoidably the guilt of every class in society brings upon itself its own punishment, and tends to make us judge charitably of the conduct of men placed in such a terrible crisis of society. Harshly as we may think of the atrocities of the Revolution, let no man be sure, that, placed in similar circumstances, he would not have been betrayed into the same excesses. It is the insensible gradation in violence, the experienced necessity of advancing with the tide, which renders such convulsions so perilous to the morals as well as the welfare of nations. The authors of many of the worst measures in the Revolution, were restored to private life as innocent and inoffensive as other men ; the most atrocious violations of right had been so long foreseen and discussed, that their occurrence produced little or no sensation. "Of all the lessons derived from the history of human passion," says Lavalette, "the most important is



the utter impossibility which the best men will always experience of stopping, if they are once led into the path of error. If, a few years before they were perpetrated, the crimes of the Revolution could have been portrayed to those who afterwards committed them, even Robespierre himself would have recoiled with horror. Men are seduced, in the first instance, by plausible theories; their heated imaginations represent them as beneficial, and easy of execution; they advance unconsciously from errors to faults, and from faults to crimes, till sensibility is destroyed by the spectacle of guilt, and the most savage atrocities are dignified by the name of state policy." <sup>1</sup> Such always will be the case; it is the pressure of external circumstances which ultimately produces guilt, as much as guilt which at first induces the difficulties of public affairs. The leaders of a revolution are constantly advancing before the fire which they themselves have lighted; the moment they stop, they are consumed in the flames.

One circumstance is manifest from the whole history of the Revolution, upon which it well becomes the people of this country to ponder if they shall

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Lava-  
lette, l.  
178.Inefficacy  
of juries as  
a check on

CHAP. shield of oppressed innocence. That it has often  
 XV. proved so in former times, when power was wielded  
 1794. by monarchs or aristocratic bodies, and juries were  
 taken from the lower, is certain. But what ensues  
 when the lower orders themselves are the oppressors,  
 and the sword of power is wielded by those whom they  
 have placed in the seats of justice? Will they permit the  
 accused aristocrats to be tried by their peers, as was the  
 case with themselves when the nobles were in power? Unquestionably  
 they will not; the first thing they invariably do, is to place  
 the most violent of their own class and faction into the  
 lists of jurymen. Juries then become what Tocqueville  
 says they are in America, nothing better than the judicial  
 committee of the majority. Actuated by their passions,  
 inflamed by their fears, they are then more dangerous to  
 real liberty, and perpetrate injustice on a greater scale,  
 than permanent judges ever could venture to do; for, in  
 their case, numbers remove responsibility without lessening  
 cruelty, and obscurity shelters crime without fostering  
 virtue. In democratic times the deepest wounds to the  
 cause of freedom will often be inflicted by the hands of  
 jurymen.

Robespierre was to the internal march of the Revolution what Napoleon was to its external passions. Both rose to eminence, and were sustained in power by surrendering themselves to the all-powerful current of public passion, and directing it to the objects which the ambition of the great bulk of men at the time most ardently desired. Both owed the long continuance of their power to the opinion generally and deservedly entertained, that they were perfectly sincere in their enthusiasm, and without selfishness in their intentions, and with

Robespierre was the incarnation of the Revolution in internal government.

invincible moral resolution in their hearts. The  
 dreadful catastrophes to which the rule of both led,  
 re to be regarded as the result, not of their indivi-  
 dual crimes, but of the false, and, in their ultimate  
 consequences, terrible principles on which they pro-  
 ceeded. The maxim of Robespierre and St Just,  
 that what constituted a republic was the destruc-  
 tion of every thing that opposed it, was precisely  
 the principle which led Napoleon to his insatiable  
 foreign conquests. Invincible necessity urged both  
 when they had launched on the career of crime ;  
 and that necessity was, the moral law of nature  
 which dooms outrageous sin to punishment from  
 the consequences of the very acts which itself most  
 ardently desires. The 9th Thermidor was the  
 counterpart of the Moscow retreat. Instead, then,  
 of regarding Robespierre as a mere individual man,  
 and ascribing the horrors of his career to his wicked  
 propensities, it is more consonant to historic justice,  
 as well as the cause of virtue, to represent him as  
 the INCARNATION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE  
 REVOLUTION. And probably no Avatar sent on such  
 mission could be imbued with fewer vices.

Extravagant as the opinions of Robespierre now

CHAP.  
 XV.  
 1794.

CHAP. are innocent, and that the prevailing evils of society  
XV.

1794. were all owing to the vices of a few, that was the cause of all the unspeakable misery he brought upon mankind. He was a stern and relentless fanatic of the school of Rousseau. He constantly expected, that when he had destroyed the whole superior classes of society, general virtue would rise up on the foundation of universal equality; instead of this, he found to his unspeakable horror, that the republican authorities, whom his principles had created, were infinitely more corrupt and oppressive than the aristocratic or monarchical had been, and he adventured on the attempt to destroy the unparalleled mass of iniquity which had risen to the direction of affairs under his own system of universal suffrage, and was crushed by its weight:—

“ Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis : at ille  
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.”

Robespierre's career was thus not the offspring of any individual character: it was the result of the delusion of the age, and affords a *reductio ad absurdum* of its errors. And that delusion was the belief of the natural innocence of man: those errors, that it was lawful to do evil that good might come of it, and that mankind might safely be entrusted with the powers of self-government.

It is altogether a delusion, therefore, to represent the atrocities of the Revolution as the work merely of the guilty men who were at its head. It is evident, from every page of its annals, that these men rose to eminence only because they were the representatives of its spirit, and resolutely determined to do its work. Equally with Napoleon during his career of foreign conquest, Robespierre always marched with the opinions of five millions of men.

Real cause  
of the atrocities of  
the Revolution.

was the force of guilty passion, the thirst for illi-  
 gratification, the passion for general destruction, CHAP.  
 which raised up this infernal army of satellites in the XV.  
 case, as it was the desire of plunder, the thirst for 1794.  
 ration, the passion for glory, in the last. Robe-  
 erre never had any guards; he had no private  
 tune, and made none in the Revolution; he died  
 poor as he lived. What, then, was the secret of  
 astonishing power? Nothing but the uniform  
 ardent support of the people, who justly regarded  
 as thoroughly identified with their supposed in-  
 ests, and heart and soul actuated by their real  
 sions. The Jacobin club composed his janissa-  
 s, the Revolutionary committees his regular forces.  
 At these janissaries and these forces were them-  
 selves unarmed; their influence was entirely a moral  
 e: they governed the armed force of the National  
 ard, because they partook of its passions, and  
 re identified with its objects. The whole standing  
 ny of France was congregated on the frontier  
 ring the Reign of Terror; fifteen hundred thou-  
 and national guards were in arms in the interior;  
 en they spoke out, the tyranny was at an end.  
 ree thousand men in the Place de Grève over-



CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Elevated  
points of  
their cha-  
racters.

life.\* Even the Jacobins of Paris were not destitute of good qualities; history would deviate equally from its first duty, and its chief usefulness, if it did not bring them prominently forward. With the exception of some atrocious characters, such as Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Carrier, and a few others, who were villains as base as they were inhuman, almost entirely guided by selfish motives, they were in part men possessed of some qualities, in which the seeds of a noble character are to be found. In moral courage, energy of character, and decision of conduct, they yielded to none in ancient or modern times: their heroic resolution to maintain, amidst unexampled perils, the independence of their country, was worthy of the best days of Roman patriotism. If this noble desire could be separated from the obvious necessity of repelling the Allies to avoid punishment for the numberless crimes which they had committed, it would be deserving of the highest admiration: mingled, as it necessarily was in their case, with a large portion of that baser alloy, it is still a redeeming point in their character. Some of them, doubtless, were selfish or rapacious, and used their power for the purposes of individual lust or private emolument; but others, among whom we must number Robespierre and St Just, were entirely

\* At the trial of Burke in Edinburgh, on December 24, 1828, a remarkable instance of this occurred. He was indicted for three cold-blooded murders, perpetrated on unsuspecting victims, whom he lured into his den to sell their bodies. Subsequently, it was ascertained he had murdered *sixteen* in this way. Yet this monster, who was tried along with a young woman, his associate, with whom he lived, no sooner heard the verdict of the jury, which found him guilty and acquitted her, than he threw his arms round her neck and kissed her, saying—"Thank God! Mary, you are saved." It occurred to the author, who conducted the prosecution on the part of the crown—"How many are there among his judges, jury, or accusers, who, in similar circumstances, would have done the same?"

from that degrading contamination, and in the cities they committed, were governed, if not by public principle, at least by private ambition. Even blood which they shed was often the result, in their estimation, not so much of terror or danger as of overbearing necessity: they deemed it essential to the success of freedom; and regarded the victims who perished under the guillotine, as the melancholy sacrifice which required to be laid on its altars.

In arriving at this frightful conclusion, they were, doubtless, mainly influenced by the perils of their situation: they massacred others because they were conscious that death, if vanquished, justified them; but still the weakness of humanity in their, as in many similar cases, deluded them by the magic of words, or the supposed influence of purer motives, and led them to commit the greatest crimes, while constantly professing the noblest intentions. There is nothing surprising or incredible in this: we have only to recollect, that all France was kindled in a crusade against the Albigeois, and that its bravest warriors deemed themselves secure from eternal punishment, by consigning thousands of wretches to temporal flames: we have only to go back in imagination to the Crusades, to the Inquisition, to the

CHAP.  
XV.  
1794.

Similarity  
of the re-  
volution-  
ary to reli-  
gious fana-  
ticism.



CHAP. rant men ; unacquainted with the real working of  
 XV. delusion or wickedness in the human heart, and  
 1794. calculated to mislead, rather than direct, future  
 ages on the approach of times similar to that in which  
 they obtain their ascendancy. Vice never appears  
 in such colours : it invariably conceals its real de-  
 formity. It is by borrowing the language and assu-  
 ming the garb of virtue, that its greatest triumphs  
 are gained. It is the "deceitfulness of sin" which  
 constitutes its greatest danger ; its worst excesses  
 ever attest the truth of Rochefoucault's maxim,  
 that "hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to  
 virtue." If other states are ever to be ruled by a  
 Jacobin faction, the advent of their power will not  
 be marked by sanguinary professions, or the hideous  
 display of heartless atrocity ; it will be ushered in  
 by the warmest expressions of philanthropy, by  
 boundless hopes of felicity, and professions of the  
 utmost regard for the great principles of public  
 justice and general happiness.<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Levas-  
 seur de la  
 Sarthe,  
 i. 24, 80,  
 iii. 164,  
 226.

\* The ablest and most interesting apology for the Jacobins is to be found in the Memoirs of Levasseur de la Sarthe, himself no inconsiderable actor in their sanguinary deeds. It is highly satisfactory to have such a work to do justice to their intentions : and it is a favourable symptom of the love of impartiality in the human heart, that even Robespierre and St Just have had their defenders. Napoleon was of opinion that the character of the former of these men had been too severely handled by subsequent writers. "He was of opinion," says Las Cases, "that Robespierre had neither talent, nor force, nor system ; that he was the true emissary of the Revolution, who was sacrificed the moment that he strove to arrest it in its course—the fate of all those who before himself had engaged in the attempt ; but that he was by no means the monster that was commonly believed." "Robespierre," said he, "was at last desirous to stop the public executions. He had not been at the Committees for six weeks before his fall ; and in his letters to his brother, who was attached to the army at Nice, which I myself saw, he deplored the atrocities which were going forward, and ruining the Revolution by the pity which they excited. Cambaceres, who is to be regarded as an authority for that epoch, said to me, in relation to the condemnation of Robespierre, 'Sire, that was a case in which judg-



There is no opinion more frequently stated by the annalists and historians of the Revolution on the popular side in France, than that the march of the Revolution was inevitable; than an invincible fatality attends all such convulsions; and that by no human exertions could its progress have been changed, or its horrors averted. The able works of Thiers, Mignet, and many others, are mainly directed to this end; and it constitutes, in their estimation, the best apology of the Revolution. Never was an opinion more erroneous. There is nothing in the annals of human affairs which warrants the conclusion, that improvement necessarily leads to revolution; and that in revolution, a succession of rulers, each more sanguinary and atrocious than the preceding, must

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

Great  
error of  
the revo-  
lutionary  
historians  
on this  
subject.

ment was pronounced without hearing the accused.' (' Un procès jugé, mais pas plaidé.') You may add to that, that his intentions were different from what is generally supposed: He had a plan, after having overturned the furious factions whom he required to combat, to have returned to a system of order and moderation." " Some time before his fall," said Cambacères, " he pronounced a discourse on that subject, full of the greatest beauties: it was not permitted to be inserted in the *Moniteur*, and all traces of it have, in consequence, been lost." —*LAS CASES*, i. 366. Levasseur de la Sarthe also strenuously supports the same opinion: maintaining that Robespierre was cut off just at the moment when he was preparing to return to a system of humanity and beneficence. —*LEVASSEUR*, iv. 110, 111. If this be true, it only aug-



CHAP. be endured before the order of society is restored.  
 XV. It is not the career of reform, it is the career of  
 1794. *guilt*, which leads to these consequences; this de-  
 plorable succession took place in France, not because  
 changes were made, but because boundless crimes in  
 the course of these changes were committed. The  
 partisans of liberal institutions have fallen into a  
 capital error, when, in their anxiety to exculpate the  
 actors in the Revolution, they have laid its horrors  
 on the cause of the Revolution itself: to do so, was  
 to brand the cause of freedom with infamy, when it  
 should have been confined to its wicked supporters.  
 It was the early commission of crime by the leaders  
 of the Movement which precipitated and rendered  
 irretrievable its subsequent scenes; the career of  
 passion in nations is precisely similar to its excesses  
 in individuals, and subject to the same moral laws.  
 If we would seek the key to the frightful aberrations  
 of the Revolution, we have only to turn to the expo-  
 sition, by the great English divines, of the career of  
 guilty designs in the individual; the description of  
 the one might pass for a faithful portrait of the  
 other.\*

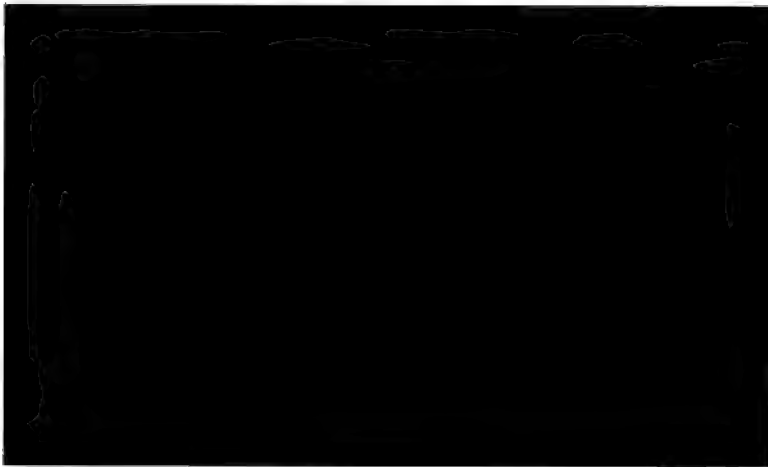
\* Take, for example, the following passage from Archbishop Tillot-  
 son:—"All vice stands upon a precipice; to engage in any sinful course  
 it to run down the hill. If we once let loose the propensities of our  
 nature, we cannot gather in the reins and govern them as we please;  
 it is much easier not to begin a bad course, than to stop it when begun.  
 'Tis a good thing for a man to think to set bounds to himself in any  
 thing that is bad; to resolve to sin in number, weight, and measure,  
 with great temperance and discretion; that he will commit this sin, and  
 then give over; entertain but this one temptation, and after that, shut  
 the door and admit no more. Our corrupt hearts, when they are once  
 set in motion, are like the raging sea, to which we can set no bounds,  
 nor say to it, Hitherto shall thou come, and no further. Sin is very  
 cunning and deceitful, and does strangely gain upon men when once  
 they give way to it. It is of a very bewitching nature, and hath strange  
 arts of address and insinuation. The giving way to a small sin does  
 marvellously prepare and dispose a man for a greater. By giving way

There is a necessity to which both are subjected: it is not a blind fatality or a necessary connexion between change and convulsion, but the moral law of nature, that vice, whether in nations or private men, is made to work out its deserved punishment in the efforts which it makes for its own gratification.

CHAP.  
XV.

1794.

The death of Hebert and the Anarchists was that of guilty depravity; that of Robespierre and the *De-* Provision  
*for the*  
*correction*  
*of these*  
*excessive*  
*evils.* *emirs*, of sanguinary fanaticism; that of Danton and his confederates, of stoical infidelity; that of Madame Roland and the Girondists, of reckless ambition and deluded virtue; that of Louis and his family, of religious forgiveness. The moralists will contrast the different effects of virtue and wickedness in the last moments of life; the Christian will mark with thankfulness the superiority in the supreme hour, to the sublimest efforts of human virtue which was evinced by the believers in his own faith. It is this superiority which provides a remedy for the injustice which has occasioned it. Posterity invariably declares for the cause of virtue. The march of democracy, though not prevented by the wisdom of man, is speedily stopped by the laws of



CHAP. Nature. The people in the end learn from their own  
XV. suffering, if they will not from the experience of  
1794. others, that the gift of unbounded political power is  
fatal to those who receive it; that despotism may  
flow from the workshop of the artisan as well as the  
palace of the sovereign; and that those who, yield-  
ing to the wiles of the tempter, will eat of the forbidden  
fruit, must be driven from the joys of Paradise, to  
wander in the suffering of a guilty world. Genius,  
long a stranger to the cause of order, resumes its  
place by her side; she gives to a suffering, what she  
refused to a ruling cause. The indignation of vir-  
tue, the satire of talent, is bestowed on the panders  
to popular gratification; the sycophancy of journals,  
the baseness of the press, the tyranny of the mob,  
employs the pencil of the Tacitus who portrays the  
decline and fall of such convulsions. It is this  
reaction of Genius against Violence, of Virtue  
against Vice, which steadies the march of human  
events, and renders the miseries of one age the source  
of elevation and instruction to those which are to  
succeed it; and, whatever may be the temporary  
ascendency of violence or anarchy, there can be  
but one opinion as to the final tendency of the laws  
of Nature. We can discern the rainbow of peace,  
though not ourselves destined to reach the ark of  
salvation; and look forward with confidence to the  
future improvement of the species, from amidst the  
storm which is to subvert the monarchies of Europe.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1794.

## ARGUMENT.

Military strength and naval weakness of France, in consequence of the Revolution—State of the respective Navies of the two Powers—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Treason Trials in England and Scotland—Supplies voted for the year 1794, and Forces put on foot by Great Britain—British Conquests in the West Indies, and in the Mediterranean—Great naval Victory on 1st June, by Lord Howe—Tactics by which the Victory was gained—Its great moral effect in England—Vast military Preparations of France—Talent with which it was wielded—Forces of the Allies and of the French—Plan of Allied Campaign—Landrecy taken—Ineffectual efforts of the Republicans to raise the Siege—Defeat of Clairfait—Jourdan ordered up from the Rhine to the Sambre with forty-five thousand men—Various indecisive Actions on the Sambre—French at length driven over the River—Battle of Turcoing—Pichegru takes the command in West Flanders—French indecisive Actions—The French again cross the Sambre; invest Charleroi, and are driven across the River again—Arrival of Jourdan with forty thousand Men—Sambre again crossed, and Charleroi reinvaded—Separation of the Austrians and English—Pichegru attacks Clairfait—Imperialists assemble to succour Charleroi—Battle of Fleurus—Allies, though not defeated, retreat—Pichegru drives back Clairfait in West Flanders—Jourdan and Pichegru unite at Brussels—English retreat towards

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

- CHAP. XVI. 1794. pulation, Commerce, and Revenue—Form of Government—Pichegru makes a general attack on the Allied position—Walmoden retires towards Hanover—Dutch in vain sue for Peace—French cross the Waal—Stadtholder embarks for England—Revolution at Amsterdam, which admits the French troops—Dutch Fleet captured by the French cavalry—Violent measures of Spoliation adopted by the French towards the Dutch—Concluding operations on the Rhine—Army of the Moselle occupies Treves—Allies driven over the Rhine, and Mayence invested—Conclusion of the Campaign in Savoy—Renewal of the war in La Vendée—Storming of Thurreau's intrenched Camps—Rise of the Chouan War—Its vast extent—Immense results of the Campaign—The prodigious Forces of the Republic—Great issues of Assignats to support the enormous Expenditure of Government—Progressive increase of the French forces during the Campaign—The period of success for the Allies was past—General Reflections on the Campaign—Great military effect of the French frontier Fortresses.

Military strength of France in consequence of the Revolution. "THE war," says Jomini, "so rashly provoked by the declamations of the Girondists, was not commenced in good earnest; and it was already evident that all the established relations and balance of power in Europe were to be dissolved in the struggle. France and England had hardly yet joined in mortal conflict, and yet it was easy to foresee that the one was destined to become irresistible at land, and the other to acquire the dominion of the seas."<sup>1</sup> It was not the mere energy of the Revolution, nor the closing of all other avenues of employment, which produced the fearful military power of France. These causes, while they alone were in operation, proved totally insufficient to withstand the shock of the disciplined armies of Germany. It was the subsequent despotism of the Committee of Public Safety which consolidated the otherwise discordant materials of the Revolution, and, by superinducing the terror of authority on the fervour of freedom, favoured the growth of military prowess. The mere strength of enthusiastic feeling, even when exerted in the noblest of causes, that of national defence, can never produce those steady and persevering efforts which are requisite for durable success. It is power

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 3.

d force which can alone mould the fervent ele- CHAP.  
 nts into a lasting form. Liberty without disci- XVI.  
 ne would have perished in licentiousness; disci- 1794.  
 ne without spirit would have proved inadequate  
 the struggle; it was the combination of the two  
 ich became so fatal to the European monarchies,  
 d by turning all the energies of France into one  
 ulated channel, converted the Reign of Terror  
 o the School of Conquest.

But while these changes were in progress on the  
 ninent of Europe, a very different fate awaited the And naval  
 val armaments of France. Power at sea, unlike weakness.  
 tory at land, cannot spring from mere suffering,  
 from the energy of destitute warriors turned  
 t with arms in their hands to plunder and op-  
 ss mankind. Fleets require nautical skill, com-  
 rcial wealth, and extensive credit: centuries of  
 sific exertion, habits acquired during many suc-  
 ssive generations, are essential to greatness on that  
 ment. The general meets with resources of all  
 ds in the countries into which he turns his troops;  
 e admiral finds nothing to support him in the  
 rile waste of the ocean: and before he can even  
 t to sea and brave the fury of the waves, he must



navies of  
the two  
powers.

France, at the commencement of the war, two ships of the line, and seventy-seven of the officers, chiefly drawn from the aristocratic classes, had in great part emigrated at the commencement of the Revolution ; and those of the prior order who supplied their place, were both in the education and experience required for naval service. On the other hand, England had one hundred and twenty-nine ships of the line for sea, besides twenty-four guard ships, and one hundred frigates, of whom ninety of the best description, to the amount of nearly a thousand, were drawn from her inexhaustible resources. Unable to face their enemies

\* New Ann. Register, 1794, pp. 336-342. Jom. v. 278. James, i. App. No. 6. squadrons, the French navy remained inactive ; but their merchants, destitute of employment for their money, fitted out a large number of privateers, which, for a considerable time, proved extremely injurious to the British commerce.

The efforts of Government at the same time were vigorously directed to the suppression of



arrest the contagion. For this purpose the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was proposed in Parliament, by government, and excited the most angry discussions both in the legislature and the nation. Mr Fox objected in the strongest manner to the proposed measure, as destructive to the best principles of English liberty. "Were the government about," he exclaimed, "in their rage at the hatred excited by their tyranny, to erect tribunals to punish the indignant public? Was terror, as in France, to be made the order of the day, and not a voice to be allowed to be lifted against government? Was it resolved to demolish the British constitution, piecemeal after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by French principles? The object of these societies, which they did not scruple to avow, was to obtain universal suffrage. The word Convention was now held up as an object of alarm, as if from it some calamity impended over the country; and yet, what was a convention but an assembly? If the people did any thing illegal, they were liable to be imprisoned and punished at the common law. Did it follow that because improper ideas of government had been taken up by the French, or because liberty

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

CHAP. it is to be withdrawn till the discontented are rooted  
 XVI. out, or the thirst for uncontrolled power assuaged in  
 1794. government, it will never be restored, and the liberties of Englishmen are finally destroyed."

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt, that the question was, "Whether the dangers threatened to the state were not greater than any arising from the suspension proposed, which was only to last for six months, and in the mean time would not affect the rights of any class of society. The truth was, that we were driven to the necessity of imitating French violence, to resist the contagion of French principles. Was lenity to be admitted when the constitution was at stake? Were a Convention upon Jacobin principles once established, who could foresee where it would end? Not to stop the progress of their opinions, were no better than granting a toleration to sedition and anarchy. It is in vain to deny the existence of designs against the Government and Constitution; and what mode of combating them can be so reasonable as the present suspension, which does not oppose the right of the people to meet together to petition for reform or a redress of abuses, but only aims at preventing the establishment of a power in the state superior to that of Parliament itself? The papers produced before the Committee demonstrate clearly that this is their object, and that they are leagued with all the societies which have brought desolation upon France; they have chosen a central spot to facilitate the assembly of demagogues from all quarters. Every society has been requested to transmit an account of its numbers, and arms have been procured and liberally distributed: unless these proceedings are speedily checked, the government will soon be set at nought,<sup>1</sup> and a revo-

May 16,

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Ann.

Reg. 1794,

pp. 268-

274. Parl.

Deb. xxxi.

274-299.

lution with all its horrors overspread the land." CHAP.  
XVI.  
 Moved by these arguments the House of Commons 1794.  
 passed the bill for suspension by a majority of 261  
 to 42. It was adopted by the Lords without a divi-  
 sion.

Various prosecutions took place in Scotland, which terminated in the conviction and transportation of <sup>Treason</sup> the accused; of whom Hardy, Palmer, and Muir <sup>trials in</sup> were the most remarkable. But the result was dif- <sup>England</sup> ferent in England. The attention of the people was <sup>and Scot-</sup> deeply excited by the trial of Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, for treason in London. The documents on which the prosecution was founded left no doubt that these persons had been deeply implicated in designs for the violent change, if not the total subversion of the government, by means of a convention of their own formation, not the constitutional channel of Parliament. The prosecutions, therefore, were justifiable and necessary; and yet so readily does good spring out of the conflicting feelings of a really free community, their acquittal by the independent verdict of a British jury is to be regarded as an eminently fortunate event at that period. After so singular a triumph of popular principle, the most

CHAP. as it had ever been to remodel the Constitution after  
 XVI. the example of the Constituent Assembly.

1794. The continuance of the war again gave rise to  
 Argument animated debates in both Houses of Parliament.  
 against the On the part of the Opposition, it was urged by Mr  
 war by the Fox and Mr Sheridan, " That the conduct of go-  
 Opposi- tion. vernment since the war commenced had been a  
 total departure from the principles of moderation on  
 which they had so much prided themselves before it  
 broke out. They then used language which breathed  
 only the strictest neutrality, and this continued even  
 after the King had been dethroned, and many of  
 the worst atrocities of the Revolution had been per-  
 petrated : but now, even though we did not altoge-  
 ther reject negotiation, we issued declarations evi-  
 dently calculated to render it impossible, and shake  
 all faith in our national integrity. The Allies had  
 first by Prince Cobourg issued a proclamation, in  
 which they engaged to retain whatever strongholds  
 they might conquer, merely in pledge for Louis XVII.,  
 and five days afterwards, to their eternal disgrace,  
 they had revoked that very proclamation, and openly  
 avowed the intention, since uniformly acted upon, of  
 making a methodical war of conquest on France.  
 Supposing that the English government should be  
 able to clear itself of all share in this infamous  
 transaction, what was to be said of the declaration  
 issued by Lord Hood on the 23d August, on the  
 capture of Toulon, wherein he took possession of  
 the town on the express conditions of maintaining  
 the constitution of 1789, preserving the fleet of  
 Louis XVII., and protecting all Frenchmen who  
 repaired to our standard? after which came a dark  
 enigmatical declaration from his Majesty, which,

stripped of the elegant rubbish with which it was loaded, amounted merely to this, that the restoration of monarchy was the only condition on which we would treat with France.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

“Has any thing occurred to alter the probability of success in the war? Have the triumphs of the coalition in Flanders been so very brilliant, the success of Lord Moira’s expedition to Granville so decisive, the efforts at Toulon so victorious, as to afford more cheering prospects than were held out at its commencement? Have the internal condition of that country, and the prospects of the Royalist party, improved so much under the system of foreign attack, as to render it advisable to continue the contest for their sakes? Is not the internal state of France so divided, that it is impossible to say that the Royalist party, even in the districts most attached to monarchical principles, could agree on any form of government? And what have we done to support them? Liberated the garrisons of Valenciennes and Mayence, when they were shut up within their walls, and given them the means, by the absurd capitulation which we granted, of acting with decisive effect against their Royalist fellow-citizens in



CHAP. discovered that the war was burdensome. The  
XVI. Emperor has refused to agree to the clause, and

1794. Prussia has been retained an unwilling and feeble combatant on our side only by the bribe of enormous subsidies. It is evident what the result will be: our allies will one by one drop off, or become so inefficient as to be perfectly useless when the contest proves either perilous or burdensome; and we shall be left alone, with the whole weight of a contest on our own shoulders, undertaken for no legitimate object, continued for no conceivable end.

“ It is in vain to conceal that we have made no advance whatever towards any rational prospect of closing the contest with either honour or advantage. In the first campaign, the Duke of Brunswick was defeated, and Flanders overrun; in the next, the most formidable confederacy ever formed in Europe has been baffled, and a furious civil war in different parts of the Republic extinguished. What have we to oppose to this astonishing exertion of vigour? The capture of a few sugar islands in the West Indies. Of what avail are they, or even the circumscribing the territorial limits of France itself, when such elements of strength exist in its interior? But let us revert to our old policy of attending to our maritime concerns, and disregarding the anarchy and civil wars of the neighbouring states, and then, indeed, the conquests in the East and West Indies would afford an excellent foundation for the only desirable object, a general pacification. All views of aggrandizement on the part of France *are evidently unattainable, and must be abandoned by that power*: so that the professed object of the war,

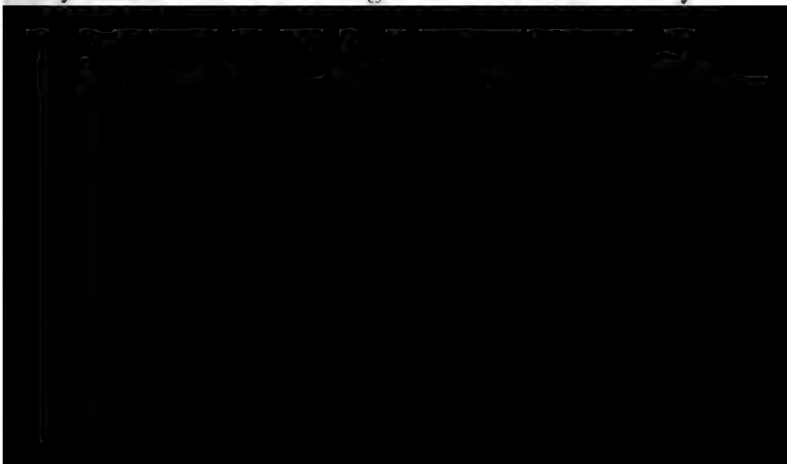
<sup>1</sup>Parl.Hist. permanent security to ourselves, may now securely  
xxxi. 615, be obtained.”<sup>1</sup>  
623, 632.

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt and Mr Jenkinson,\* “ That the real object of the war from the outset had been to obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future. Are either of these objects likely to be obtained at this period? ”

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

Reply by  
Mr Pitt.

At present, there is no security for the continuance of peace, even if it were signed, for a single hour. Every successive faction which has risen to the head of affairs in France, has perished the moment that it attempted to imprint moderation on the external or internal measures of the Revolution. What overthrew the administration of Neckar? Moderation! What destroyed the Orleanists, the Girondists, the Brissotins, and all the various parties which have successively risen and fallen in that troubled hemisphere? Moderation! What has given its long lease of power to the anarchical faction of which Robespierre is the head? The total want of it: the infernal energy, unmeasured wickedness of its measures. What prospect is there of entering into a lasting accommodation with a power, or what the guarantee for the observance of treaties of a faction, whom a single nocturnal tumult may hurl from the seat of government to make way



CHAP. XVI. once a curb on France, and an excellent base for offensive operations. It is impossible to say what

1794: government we are to propose for France in the event of the Jacobins being overthrown, because that must depend on the circumstances of the times, and the wishes of its inhabitants; but this much may safely be affirmed, that, with the sanguinary faction who now rule its councils, accommodation is impossible.

“ The present is not a contest for distant or contingent objects: it is not a contest for power or glory: as little is it a contest for commercial advantage, or any particular form of government: it is a contest for the security, the tranquillity, and the very existence of Great Britain, connected with that of every established government, and every country in Europe. This was the object of the war from its commencement; and every hour tends more strongly to demonstrate its justice. In the outset, the internal anarchy of France, how distressing or alarming soever, was not deemed a sufficient ground for the hostile interference of this country: but could the same be affirmed, when the King was beheaded, and a revolutionary army, spreading everywhere the most dangerous doctrines, overwhelmed the whole Low Countries? Is that danger now at an end? The prospect of bringing the war to a conclusion, as well as the security for any engagements which we may form with France, must ultimately depend upon the destruction of those principles now triumphant in France, which are alike subversive of every regular government, and destructive of all good faith. We do not disclaim any interference in the internal affairs of that country; on the contrary, should an opportunity occur where it may be practised with advantage, we



will not engage to abstain from it: we only say, that which is not the primary object of the contest; and that, if attempted, it will be, as has been the case in former wars, considered as an operation of the war.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

“ There is no contradiction between the proclamation of Lord Hood at Toulon and the declaration of His Majesty of 29th October. Both promise protection to such of the French as choose to declare for a constitutional monarchy; and to both we shall adhere. By entering into a negotiation, we should give confidence and vigour to the French, and entirely dissolve the formidable confederacy formed to overawe its ambition. While the present system continues in France, we can have no peace, on any terms short of absolute ruin and dishonour: by an express revocation of their constitution, any Frenchman who shall enter into a negotiation with this country on any other terms than surrendering our Constitution, deposing our virtuous Sovereign, and introducing to this country the horrible anarchy which prevails in their distracted state, is declared a traitor. Are we prepared to make such sacrifices to obtain the blessings of fraternization with the disciples of Robespierre? Nor let it be supposed that the colonial



CHAP. a regular government as may afford us any chance  
XVI. of an accommodation." On a division, the House,  
1794. by a majority of two hundred and eight to fifty-one,  
supported the government.

Supplies of the year 1794, were proportioned to the increas-  
and forces ing magnitude and importance of the strife in which  
voted for the nation was engaged. For the service of the navy  
the year the eighty-five thousand men were voted; thirty thou-  
1794. sand men were added to the regular native army; and  
the total under arms in the British dominions, includ-  
ing fencibles and militia, raised to 140,000 men, be-  
sides forty thousand foreign soldiers employed on the  
Continent. These numbers were described by Mr Pitt  
as "unparalleled, and such as could hardly be exceed-  
ed;" such was the happy ignorance of those times in  
regard to the exertions of which a nation was capa-  
ble. To meet these extraordinary efforts an income  
of L.20,000,000, besides L.11,800,000 for the charge  
of the debt, were required; and for this purpose a  
loan of L.11,000,000 was voted by Parliament; so  
early in the contest was this ruinous system of laying  
upon posterity the burdens of the moment adopted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist.  
xxx. 557,  
563. Ann.  
Reg. 1794,  
69, 70.

Meanwhile, the ascendancy of the English navy  
soon produced its wonted effects on the colonial pos-  
sessions of their enemies. Soon after the commence-  
ment of hostilities, Tobago was taken by a British  
squadron; and in the beginning of March 1794, an  
expedition was fitted out against Martinique, which,  
after a vigorous resistance, fell on the 23d. Shortly  
after, the principal forts in St Domingo were wrested  
from the Republicans by the English forces, while  
the wretched planters, a prey to the flames lighted  
by Brissot and the friends of negro emancipation, at  
the commencement of the revolution, of which a full

British  
conquests  
in the West  
Indies.  
April  
1793.

March 23.

account will hereafter be given, were totally ruined. CHAP. XVI.  
 No sooner was this success achieved, than the inde- 1794.  
 stigable English commander, Sir John Jarvis, and  
 Sir Charles Grey, turned their arms against St  
 Lucia, which was subjected to the British domi-  
 nions on the 4th April. Gaudaloupe was next at-  
 tacked, and on the 25th, that fine island, with all its  
 dependencies, was added to the list of the con- Ann. Reg. 1794, p. 188, 337, 339, 340. Th. vi. 301, 302.  
 quered colonies. Thus, in little more than a month,  
 the French were entirely dispossessed of their West  
 India possessions, with hardly any loss to the victo-  
 rious nation.<sup>1</sup>

The once beautiful island of St Domingo mean-  
 while continued a prey to the frightful disorders arising from precipitate emancipation. "It had gone  
 wrong," says the Republican historian, "the great-  
 est succession of calamities of which history makes  
 mention." The Whites had at first embraced with  
 enthusiasm the cause of the Revolution, and the Mu-  
 tatoes, to whom the Constituent Assembly had ex-  
 tended the gift of freedom, were not less attached to  
 the principles of democracy, and openly aspired to  
 dispossess the planters, by force, of those political pri-  
 vileges which had hitherto been their exclusive pro-  
 perty. But in the midst of these contests the negroes

Frightful  
state of St  
Domingo.





In the Mediterranean also the power of  
And in the navy was speedily felt. The disaster at T  
Mediterranean, when ing totally paralysed the French navy in  
Corsica is ter, the English fleet was enabled to car  
reduced. forces, now rendered disposable by the ex  
Toulon, to whatever quarter they chose  
was the selected point of attack, which ea  
had shown symptoms of revolt against th  
can authorities. Three thousand soldie  
rines were landed, and after some inc  
successes, nearly effected the subjugat  
island by the capture of the fortress of B  
capitulated at the end of May. The only  
stronghold of the Republicans, Calvi, w  
until the 1st August, when it surrende  
British arms. The crown of Corsica,  
Paoli, and the aristocratical party, to t  
England, was accepted, and efforts immed  
to confer upon the inhabitants a constitu  
to that of Great Britain; a project abor  
cable as it would have been to have  
British plains with the fruits which ripe

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v.  
192. Ann.  
Reg. 1794.

anxious to secure the arrival of a large fleet laden with provisions, which was approaching from America, and promised to relieve the famine which was now felt with uncommon severity in all parts of France, sent positive orders to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse to put to sea. On the 20th of May, the Republicans set sail; and on the 28th, Lord Howe, who was well aware of the expected arrival of the convoy, hove in sight, with the Channel fleet of England, consisting of twenty-six line-of-battle ships. The French were immediately formed in line, in order of battle, and a partial action ensued between the rear-guard of their line and the vanguard of the British squadron; in the course of which, the *Revolutionnaire* was so much damaged that she struck to the *Audacious*, but not being taken possession of by the victors before nightfall, was towed the following morning into Rochefort. During the next day the manœuvres were renewed on both sides, each party endeavouring to obtain the weathergage of the other; and Lord Howe, at the head of his fleet, passed through the French squadron; but the whole ships not having taken the position assigned to them, the action, after a severe commencement, was

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Victory of  
the 1st  
June, by  
Admiral  
Howe.

lish, awaiting the combat, while an agitated sea promised the advantage of the wind to an immediate attack.

CHAP. XVI.

1794.

Lord Howe instantly bore down, in an oblique direction, upon the enemy's line, designing to repeat the manœuvre long known, though seldom as yet practised, in the British navy, first traced to scientific principles by Clerk of Eldin, and so successfully carried into execution by Rodney on the 12th April. Having the weathergage of the enemy, he was enabled to break their line near the centre, and double with a preponderating force on the one-half of their squadron. The signal he displayed was No. 39, the purport of which was, "that having the weathergage of the enemy, the Admiral means to pass between the ships of their line and engage them *to leeward*, leaving, however, a discretion to each captain to engage on the windward or leeward." The French fleet was drawn up in close line, stretching nearly east and west; and a heavy fire commenced upon the British ships, as soon as they came within range. The English did not come perpendicularly upon their adversaries as at Trafalgar, but made sail abreast in such a manner as that each ship should, as soon as possible, cut the line and get alongside of its destined antagonist, and engage it *to leeward*, so that if worsted the enemy could not get away.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's Howe, 232. Brenton, i. 129. James, i. 147.


Com-  
mence-  
ment of  
the action.

Had the Admiral's orders been literally obeyed, or capable of complete execution, the most decisive naval victory recorded in history would in all probability have attended the British arms; but the importance of specific obedience in the vital point of engaging the enemy to leeward was not then generally understood, and the enemy's line was so regular and compact, that in most places it was thought to

be impervious, and five only of the ships succeeded in passing through. The Cæsar, in particular, which was the leading vessel when the signal for close action was flying from the Admiral's mast-head, backed her main-topsails, and engaged on the windward of the enemy; a disheartening circumstance, though arising, as it afterwards appeared, from want of capacity rather than timidity on the part of its captain. Howe, however, was not discouraged, but held steadily on, walking on the front of his poop along with Sir Roger Curtis, Sir Andrew Douglas, and other officers, while the crew were falling fast around him, and the spars and rigging rattled down on all sides, under the terrible and constantly increasing fire of the enemy. With perfect composure the British Admiral ordered not a shot to be fired, but the pilot to lay him alongside of the Montagne of 120 guns, the greatest vessel in the French line, and probably the largest then in the world. So awful was the prospect that awaited the French vessel from the majestic advance of the British Admiral, that Jean Bon Saint André, the French Commissioner of the Convention on board, overcome with terror, took refuge below. After many entreaties,

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.





to alter his course a little, and pass alongside the two vessels, and having thus got between them opened a tremendous fire on both. The British soon made sail, to get out of the destruction, and being to the leeward of the British effected this ; but the Montagne could not do the same, being to the windward, and she would have been taken, as she was hardly able to stand all after the first awful broadside, when the mainmast of the Queen Charlotte came down, and in which the Montagne, taking advantage of the momentary inability of her antagonist to manoeuvre, contrived to sheer off, leaving the British alone and engaged with the two ships second and third in line of her. The Vengeur of seventy-four was warmly engaged at this time with the Brother Harvey ; but another French ship, the Montebello, came up on the other side, and a terrible battle began on the part of the British vessel, though it was on both hands. It was sustained, however, with admirable courage. Captain Harvey was wounded in the hottest part of the engagement.



the Ramillies soon after came up, and opened her fire upon the Vengeur; the load was taken off the Brunswick; by a fortunate shot the rudder of the French vessel was shot away, and a large opening beat in her stern, into which the water rushed with great violence. The Vengeur was now found to be sinking; the Achille made off, followed by the Ramillies, to whom she soon struck; and the Vengeur shortly after went down with two hundred of her crew, four hundred and fifty having been humanely taken off by the boats of the Alfred and Culloden.<sup>1\*</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> James, i.  
162, 165.  
Brenton, i.  
130, 131.  
Barrow's  
Howe, 233,  
234. Jom.  
v. 291.  
Toul. iv.  
247.

The French now began to move off in all quarters, and the British ships with their prizes closed round their Admiral. The damage sustained by the English was inconsiderable, except in four ships, which were disabled for further service; fifteen sail of the line were ready to renew the battle; they had still the weathergage of the enemy; ten of the French line had struck, though six only of them had been secured, and five of their ships were dismasted, and were slowly going off under their sprit-sails. Had Nelson been at the head of the fleet, there can

Results of  
the battle.

\* It was stated in the French Convention, and has been repeated in all the French histories, that when the Vengeur sunk her crew were



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

be little doubt the disabled ships would all have been taken, and perhaps a victory as decisive as Trafalgar totally destroyed the Brest fleet. But the British admirals at that period were in a manner ignorant of their own prowess; the securing of the prizes taken was deemed the great object, and thus the pursuit was discontinued, and the enemy, contrary to all expectation, got their dismasted ships off, and before dark were entirely out of sight. Six ships of the line, however, besides the *Vengeur*, which sunk, remained in the possession of the British Admiral, and were brought into Plymouth; while the remains of the French squadron, diminished by eight of their number, and with a loss of eight thousand men, took refuge in the roads of Berthaume, and ultimately regained the harbour of Brest, shattered, dismasted, riddled with shot: how different from the splendid fleet which had so recently departed amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants! The loss of the British was two hundred and ninety killed, and eight hundred and fifty-eight wounded, in all eleven hundred and forty-eight, being less than that sustained in the six French ships alone which were made prizes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 290. Toul. iv. 248. Ann. Reg. 1794, p. 34. James, i. 172, 174. Brenton, i. 141, 148. Barrow's Howe, 251, 252.

Safe arrival of the American convoy in Brest harbour.

The Republicans were in some degree consoled for this disaster by the safe arrival of the great American convoy, chiefly laden with flour, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, and valued at L.5,000,000 sterling; a supply of incalculable importance to the wants of a population whom the Reign of Terror and civil dissension had brought to the verge of famine. They entered the harbour of Brest a few days after the engagement, having escaped, as if by a miracle, the vigilance of the British cruisers. Their safety was, in a great degree, owing to the

capacity of the Admiral, who traversed the scene of destruction a day or two after the battle, and being from the magnitude and number of the vessels which were floating about, that a terrible battle must have taken place, concluded that the victorious party would not be in a condition for pursuit, and resolved to hold on his course for the French harbour.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Howe gained so decisive a success from the adoption of the same principle, which gave victory to Frederic at Leuthen, to Napoleon at Austerlitz, and Wellington at Salamanca,—viz., to direct an overwhelming force to one point, and reduce one-half the enemy's fleet to be the passive spectator of the destruction of the other.<sup>2</sup> His mode of attack, which brought his whole squadron at once into action with the enemy, seems clearly preferable to that adopted

Nelson at Trafalgar in sailing down in perpendicular lines: for that exposed the leading ships to imminent danger before the succeeding ones came. Had he succeeded in penetrating the enemy's line at all points, or his captains implicitly obeyed his directions in that particular, and engaged the whole windward, he would have brought twenty ships of

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Jom. v.  
291.

Tactics by  
which the  
victory  
was gain-  
ed.

Jom. v.  
288. Ann.  
Reg. 1794,  
p. 344.



CHAP. of war, either as light ships, or as forming the line  
 XVI. of battle itself, promises to assimilate still more  
 1794. closely actions at sea to those at land, and by always  
 putting it in the power of the superior force to  
 bring its opponents to close action and intercept  
 their retreat, promises still greater and more uni-  
 form results to the daring tactics of Howe and  
 Nelson.

Its great  
 moral  
 effect in  
 England.

Never was a victory more seasonable than Lord Howe's to the British Government. The war, preceded as it had been by violent party divisions in England, had been regarded with lukewarm feelings by a large portion of the people; and the friends of freedom dared not wish for the success of the British arms, lest it should extinguish the dawn of liberty in the world. But the Reign of Terror had shocked the best feelings of all the respectable portion of this party, the execution of Louis had caused the film to drop from the eyes of the most blinded, and the victory of 1st June captivated the affections of the patriotic multitude. The ancient but half extinguished loyalty of the British people awakened at the sound of their victorious cannon; and the hereditary rivalry of the two nations revived at so signal a triumph over the Republican arms. From this period may be dated the commencement of that firm union among the inhabitants of the country, and that ardent enthusiasm in the contest, which soon extinguished the seeds of former dissension, and ultimately carried the British empire triumphant through the severest struggles which had engaged the nation since the days of Alfred.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
 1794, p.  
 282, 283.]

Vast were the preparations for war made by the Committee of Public Safety in France. Her territory resembled an immense camp; the decrees of the

23d August and 5th September, had precipitated the whole youth of the republic to the frontiers, and twelve hundred thousand men in arms, were prepared to obey the sovereign mandates of the Convention. After deducting from this immense force the garri- sons, the troops destined to the service of the interior, and the sick, upwards of seven hundred thousand were ready to act on the offensive—a force much greater than all the European monarchies could bring forward to meet them. These enormous armies, though in part but little experienced, were greatly improved in discipline since the conclusion of the preceding campaign; the months of winter had been sedulously employed in instructing them in the rudiments of the military art; the glorious successes at the close of the year had revived the spirit of conquest among the soldiers, and the whole were directed by a central government, possessing, in the highest degree, the advantage of unity of action and consummate military talent. Wielding at command so immense a military force, the Committee of Public Safety were prodigal of the blood of their soldiers. To advance incessantly to the attack, to bring up column after column, till the enemy were wearied

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Vast military preparations of France, and their system of war.



CHAP. fourths of the whole property of France were at its  
XVI. disposal; and on this vast fund a paper currency

1794. was issued, possessing a forced circulation, undamply  
sufficient for the most prodigal expenditure. The  
value of assignats in circulation in the course of the  
year 1794, was not less than L.200,000,000 sterling,  
and there was no appearance of its diminution. The  
rapid depreciation of this paper, arising from the  
enormous profusion with which it was issued, was

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. nothing to a power which enforced its mandates  
1794, 322, by the guillotine; the government creditor was  
324, 345. compelled to receive it at par; and it signified  
Toul. iv. nothing to them though he lost his whole fortune  
321. Jom. v. 28, 30. nothing to them though he lost his whole fortune  
Th. vi. 271. in the next exchange with any citizen of the Re-  
272. Hist. public.<sup>1</sup>  
Parl. xxvi. 431, 437.

Talent  
with which  
it was  
wielded.

What rendered this force still more formidable,  
was the ability with which it was conducted, and the  
talent which was evidently rising up among its ranks.  
The genius of Carnot had from the very commence-  
ment selected the officers of greatest capacity from  
among the multitude who presented themselves; and  
their rapid transference from one situation to an-  
other, gave ample opportunities for discovering who  
were the men on whom reliance could really be  
placed. The whole ability of France, in consequence  
of the extinction of civil employment, was centred in  
the army, and indefatigable exertions every where  
made to communicate to headquarters the names of  
the young men who had distinguished themselves in  
any grade. The central government, guided by that  
able statesman, had discovered the real secret of mi-  
litary operations, and by accumulating an overwhelm-  
ing force upon one part of the enemy's line, soon ac-  
quired a decided superiority over the Austrians, who  
adhered with blind obstinacy to the system of ex-

tending their forces. In the prosecution of this mode of action, the French had peculiar advantages from the unity of their government, the central situation of their forces, the interior line on which they acted, the fortified towns which guarded their frontier, and the unbounded means of repairing losses, which they possessed ; while the Allies acting on an exterior circle, paralysed by divisions among their sovereigns, and at a distance from their resources, were unable either to combine for any vigorous offensive operations, or render each other any assistance when pressed by the enemy. Incredible efforts were made at the same time to organize and equip this prodigious body of soldiers. "A revolution," said Barere, "must rapidly supply all our wants. It is to the human mind what the sun of Africa is to vegetation. Monarchies require peace, but a republic can exist only in warlike energy : slaves have need of repose, but freemen of the fermentation of freedom ; regular governments of rest, but the French Republic of revolutionary activity." The Ecole Militaire at Paris was speedily re-established ; and the youth of the better classes marched on foot from all parts of France, to be there instructed in the rudiments of

CHAP.

XVI.

1794.



CHAP. tion of saltpetre, and gunpowder in immense quan-  
XVI. tities daily forwarded to the armies.

1794. Indefatigable were the exertions made by Mr Pitt  
Mr Pitt's efforts to hold together the alliance. to provide a force on the part of the Allies capable of combating this gigantic foe; and never were the efforts of his master-spirit more required to heal the divisions and extinguish the jealousies which had arisen in the coalition. Poland was the apple of discord which had called forth these separate interests and awakened these jealousies; and in the plans of aggrandizement which they were all pursuing in regard to that unhappy state, is to be found the true secret of their neglect of the great task of combating the French Revolution, and of its rapid and early success. Prussia, intent on territorial acquisition on the shores of the Vistula, and desirous above every thing of securing Dantzic, the key to that stream, and the great emporium of the grain commerce in the north of Europe, had already assembled forty thousand men under the King in person for the siege of Warsaw; and the cabinet of Berlin, unable to bear at the same time the expense of a costly war on the eastern and western frontiers of the monarchy, had in consequence greatly diminished their forces on the Rhine, and openly announced their intention of reducing them to the contingent which they were bound to furnish as a member of the empire, which was only twenty thousand men.

March 11. Orders had even been dispatched to Marshal Moellendorf, who commanded their army on the Rhine, to retreat by divisions towards the Elbe; while, at the same time, with preposterous inconsistency, Frederick William addressed a letter to the Arch-Chancellor of the empire, in which he bewailed in piteous terms the public danger,<sup>1</sup> and urged the immediate con-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
488, 489.



vocation of the anterior circles to deliberate on the most effectual means of withstanding the revolutionary torrent with which they were menaced.\*

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

The cabinet of Vienna were greatly alarmed at this official declaration of the intention of the Prussian government to withdraw from the coalition, and their chagrin was not diminished by the clear perception which they had, that this untimely and discreditable defection was mainly prompted by a desire to secure a share in the partition of Poland, of which they saw little prospect of their being allowed to participate. They used the most pressing instances, therefore, to induce the cabinet of Berlin to recall their resolution, offered to take a large portion of the Prussian troops into their own pay, provided the other states of Germany would take upon themselves the charges of the remainder, and even urged the immediate formation of a levy *en masse* in all the circles of the empire, immediately threatened with invasion, in order to combat the redoubtable forces which France was pouring forth from all ranks of her population. Austria, however, though so desirous to stimulate others to these last and convulsive

Efforts of  
the Cabinet  
of Vienna  
to prevent  
the seces-  
sion of  
Prussia.

\* "As it is impossible for me," said the King in that letter, "any longer to continue at my own charges a war so remote from the frontiers of my dominions, and attended with so heavy an expense, I have

CHAP. efforts, made no attempt to rouse their emulation by  
XVI. setting the example of similar armaments herself:

1794. not a regiment was added to the Imperial armies;  
and the Prussian cabinet, little solicitous to behold  
the whole population of the empire combating under  
the banners of the Cæsars, strenuously resisted the

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii. proposal as useless, dangerous, and utterly incon-  
481, 488. sistent with the principles of the contest in which  
Jom. v. 29. they were engaged.<sup>1</sup>  
Th. vi. 269.

It soon appeared how ruinous to the common  
cause this unexpected secession of Prussia would be-  
Prussia come. The Republican forces in Flanders were  
openly withdraws. nearly a hundred and sixty thousand strong; and  
Mack, who was entrusted with the chief direction  
of the campaign by the allied powers, finding that  
the whole forces which the Allies could assemble in  
that quarter would not exceed a hundred and fifty  
thousand, had strongly urged the necessity of ob-  
taining the co-operation of fifty thousand Prussians,  
in order to cover the Meuse, in conjunction with the  
Austrian divisions in the neighbourhood of Luxem-  
bourg. The Prussians under Moellendorf were can-  
toned on the two banks of the Seltz, between Oppen-  
heim and Mayence; but when he received the letter  
from Prince Cobourg requesting his co-operation, he  
March 14. replied in cold and ambiguous terms, "That he was  
not acquainted with the share which his government  
may have taken in the formation of the proposed  
plan of operations: that the views on which it was  
founded appeared unexceptionable, but that in the  
existing state of affairs it was attended with obvious  
inconveniences, and that he could not consent to the  
March to Treves, lest he should expose Mayence."  
These declarations of the intentions of Prussia ex-  
cited the greater sensation in Europe, that ever since

he war began it had been supposed that the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna were united in the closest bands of alliance, and the Convention of Pilnitz was universally regarded as the true basis of the anti-revolutionary coalition. The confederacy appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. Stimulated by the pressing dangers of his situation, the Elector of Mayence, who stood in the front rank of the Germanic powers, proved indefatigable in his efforts to prevent the withdrawing of the Prussian troops, and by his exertions a proposition was favourably received by the diet of the empire for taking them into the pay of the lesser powers, and the Marshal Moellendorf soon after received orders to suspend his retreat.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

March 20.

April 7.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.

480, 481,

501, 502.

This change in the Prussian plans arose from the vast exertions which Mr Pitt at this period made to hold together the bands of the confederacy. Alone of all the statesmen of his day, the English minister perceived the full extent of the danger which menaced Europe from the spreading of the revolutionary torrent over the adjoining states, and the immense peril of this speedily coming to pass from the divisions and distraction of interests which were breaking out

But is at length retained in the alliance by a treaty with Great Britain.



CHAP. furnish a subsidy of L.50,000 a-month, besides  
 XVI. L.400,000 for putting the army into a fit condition  
 1794. to undertake a campaign, and L.1, 12s. a-month to  
 each man as an equivalent for the expenses of his  
 maintenance while engaged in active service. By a  
 separate article, it was provided, "that all conquests  
 made by this army, shall be made in the names of  
 the two maritime powers, and shall remain at their  
 disposal during the course of the war, and at the  
 peace shall be made such use of as they shall deem  
 proper."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parl.  
 Hist. xxxi.  
 433, 435.  
 Hard. ii.  
 504, 505.  
 Martens.  
 v. 610.

However meritorious were the exertions of Mr  
 Pitt, in thus again bringing Prussia into the field,  
 after its government had formally announced their  
 intention of withdrawing from the confederacy, it  
 was in part foreseen\* what the event soon demon-  
 strated, that the succours stipulated from that power,  
 would prove of the most inefficient description, and  
 that nothing was to be expected from the troops of  
 a leading state engaged as hirelings contrary to  
 the national feelings, and the secret inclinations of  
 the government, in what they deemed a foreign  
 cause. The discontent of the troops was loudly pro-  
 claimed, when it transpired that they were to be  
 transferred to the pay of Great Britain; and they  
 openly murmured at the disgrace of having the sol-  
 diers of the Great Frederick sold like mercenaries

Discontent  
 it excited  
 in the Prus-  
 sian army.

\* It was asked in the House of Peers, with a too prophetic spirit, by  
 the Marquis of Lansdowne, "Could the King of Prussia, ought the  
 King of Prussia, to divest himself of his natural duties? Could it be  
 expected that he would fulfil engagements so trivial in comparison?  
 Was not Poland likely to furnish him employment for his troops, and  
 that, too, at his own door? There never were two powers hated one  
 another more cordially than Prussia and Austria, and were English  
 guineas likely to allay the discord? Was it not probable that Frede-  
 rick William would take our subsidies, but find pretexts for evading the  
 performance of any thing in return worthy of the name?"—*Parl. Hist.*

<sup>2</sup> Hard, ii.  
 504, 507.

xxx. 456, 458.

to a foreign power. The troops came to the field in terms of the convention, but their gallant officers were fettered by secret instructions, which rendered them of little real service; and the Prussian army earned neither credit to itself nor benefit to the common cause, by their conduct in the field, till the Cabinet of Berlin formally withdrew from the alliance.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

General Mack, whose subsequent and unexampled misfortunes should not exclude the recollection of the abilities in a particular department which he really possessed, was entrusted by the Austrian and English governments with the preparation of the plan of the campaign; and he proposed one which bore the marks of decided talent, and which, if vigorously carried into effect by a sufficient force, still promised the most brilliant results. This was to complete the opening into the French barrier by the capture of Landrecy; and, having done so, march with the whole allied army in Flanders, 160,000 strong, straight by Laon on Paris; while the Prussian forces, by a forward movement on the side of Namur, supported the operation. "With 150,000 men," said he, "I would push forward a strong advanced guard to Paris; with 200,000 I would engage to remain there." He proposed that West Flanders

Plan of the  
campaign  
formed by  
General  
Mack.



CHAP. jealousy of the Prussian government, which precluded  
XVI. any effectual co-operation from being obtained on

1794. side of the line. This left the whole weight of the contest on the Austrians and English, whose forces were not of sufficient numerical strength for struggle.\* Unaware of the immense military resources and ascending spirit of their adversarial Allies resolved to capture Landrecy, and from there to base march directly to Paris. Preparatory to this movement, their whole army was, on the 16th April, reviewed by the Emperor of Austria on the plain of Cateau; they amounted nearly to a hundred and fifty thousand men, and were particularly distinguished by the superb appearance of the cavalry, constituting a force apparently capable of conquering the world.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard, ii. 478, 522, 528.  
Ann. Reg. 1793, p. 328, 330.  
Jom. v. 34, 58.  
Th. vi. 270, 285.

Landrecy taken.  
Efforts of the Republicans to raise the Siege.  
Defeat of the French at Trois-ville.

Instead of profiting by this immense assembly of strength to fall upon the still scattered, and in part, undisciplined, forces of their enemies, the troops were on the following day divided into columns, to oppose the French forces, which were still divided in that manner. The siege of Landrecy was shortly after formed, while a large portion of the allied army was stationed as a covering force. After ten days of open trenches, and a most successful bombardment, which almost totally destroyed the town, this important fortress capitulated, and

\* The armies were disposed as follows :—

		French.	Allies.	
Forces on both sides.	Army of the North	220,000	Flanders	. . . 1
	Moselle and Rhine	280,000	Duke of York	. . .
	Alps	60,000	Austrians on the Rhine	. . .
	Eastern Pyrenees,	80,000	Prussians on ditto	. . .
	Western ditto,	80,000	Luxembourg	. . .
<sup>2</sup> Jom. v. 29, 32.	South	60,000	Emigrants	. . .
Ann. Reg. 1794, 322.		780,000		3

garrison, consisting of five thousand men, was made prisoners of war. During the progress of this attack, the French generals, stimulated by the orders of the Committee of Public Safety, made reiterated efforts to raise the siege. Their endeavours were much aided by the absurd adherence of the Allies to the old plan of dividing their forces; they trembled at the thoughts of leaving a single road open, as if the fate of the war depended upon closing every avenue into Flanders, when they were contemplating a march to Paris. The plan of the Republicans consisted in a series of attacks on the posts and corps forming the long cordon of the Allies, followed by a serious advance of the two wings, the one towards Philipville, the other Dunkirk. On the 26th April, the movement in advance took place along the whole line. The centre, which advanced against the Duke of York near Cambray, experienced the most bloody reverses. When the Republicans arrived at the redoubts of Troisville, defended by the Duke of York, they were vigorously received by the English guards in front, supported by PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG, afterwards so well known as generalissimo of the allied forces, commanding a

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.



CHAP. pieces of cannon, and above four thousand men.

XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v.

55, 57.

Ann. Reg.

1794, p.

329.

Th. vi.

286, 287.

While this disaster was experienced on the left centre of the French army, their right centre was not more successful. That portion of them at first gained some advantage over the corps of the Austrians, who there composed the covering force; but the latter having been reinforced, and supported by a numerous artillery, resumed the offensive, and repulsed the assailants with great loss.<sup>1</sup>

But these advantages, how considerable soever, were counterbalanced by a severe check experienced by General Clairfait, whose corps formed the extreme right of the allied line. On that side the Republicans had assembled fifty thousand men under Souham and Moreau, which, on the 25th April, advanced against the Austrian forces. Assailed by superior numbers, Clairfait was driven back to Tournay, with the loss of thirty pieces of cannon, and twelve hundred prisoners. His retreat seemed to render wholly desperate the situation of a brigade of three thousand Hanoverians, now shut up in Menin, and soon furiously bombarded. But their brave commander, supported by the resolution of a large body of French emigrants who were attached to his corps, resolved to cut his way through the besiegers, and through the heroic valour of his followers, successfully accomplished his object. Prince Cobourg, upon the intelligence of this misfortune, detached the Duke of York to Tournay to support Clairfait, and remained with the rest of his forces in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, to put that place in a state of defence.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jom. v.

61, 62.

Th. vi.

288, 289.

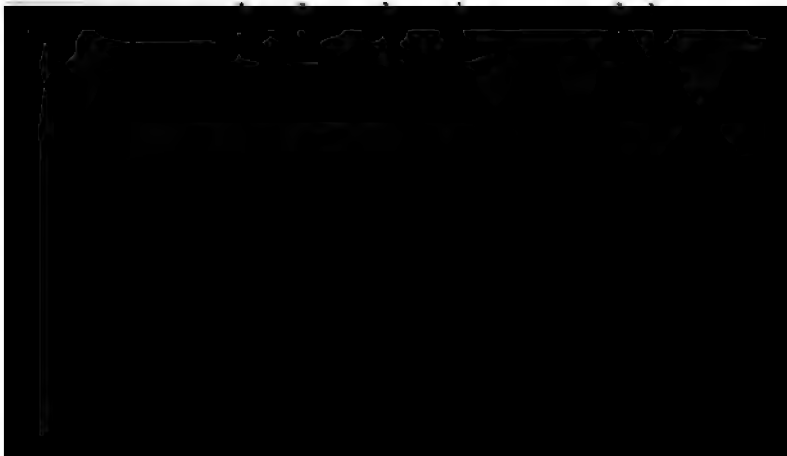
Convinced by the failure of their attacks on the centre of the Allies, that their forces were insufficient in that quarter, the Committee of Public Safety, re-



lying on the inactivity and lukewarmness of the Prussians on the extreme right, took the energetic resolution of ordering Jourdan to reinforce the army of the Moselle with fifteen thousand men drawn from the Rhine, and after leaving a corps of observation at Luxembourg, to march with forty-five thousand men upon the Ardenne forest, and unite himself to the army on the Sambre. This bold resolution of strengthening to an overwhelming degree, what appeared the decisive point of the long line of operations, and throwing ninety thousand men on the extreme left of the enemy, had a most important effect on the future fate of the campaign; and formed a striking contrast to the measures of the Allies, who deemed themselves insecure, even when meditating offensive operations, unless the whole avenues of the country they occupied were equally guarded by detached corps. The defection of Prussia, which daily became more evident, prevented them from obtaining any co-operation on the left flank to counteract this change in the enemy's line of attack, while, even in their own part of the line, the movements were vacillating, and totally unworthy of the splendid force at their disposal. On the 10th May, Clairfait, with-

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Jourdan  
ordered up  
from the  
Rhine to  
the  
Sambre.

CHAP. fare of posts, which, without any adequate success,  
 XVI. occasioned an incessant consumption of human  
 1794. life.

Indecisive actions on the Sambre which at length terminate to the disadvantage of the Allies.

But the period was now approaching when the genius of Carnot was to infuse a new element into this indecisive warfare. On the 10th May, the French army on the Sambre, crossed that river, with the design of executing his plan of operations; but the Allies having collected their forces to cover the important city of Mons, and taken post at a fortified position at Grandrengs, a furious battle ensued, which terminated in the Republicans being defeated and driven across the same river with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, and four thousand men. But the French having remained masters of their bridges over the river, and being urged by St Just and Le Bas, who threatened their generals with the guillotine if they were not victorious, again crossed on the 20th, and returned to the charge. But they preserved so bad a look-out, that, on the 24th, they were surprised and completely routed by the Austrians, under Prince Kaunitz. The whole army was flying in confusion to the bridges, when KLEBER, destined to future celebrity, arrived in time with fresh troops to arrest the victorious enemy, and preserve his army from total destruction. As it was, however, they were a second time driven over the Sambre, with the loss of four thousand men, and twenty-five pieces of artillery.<sup>1</sup>

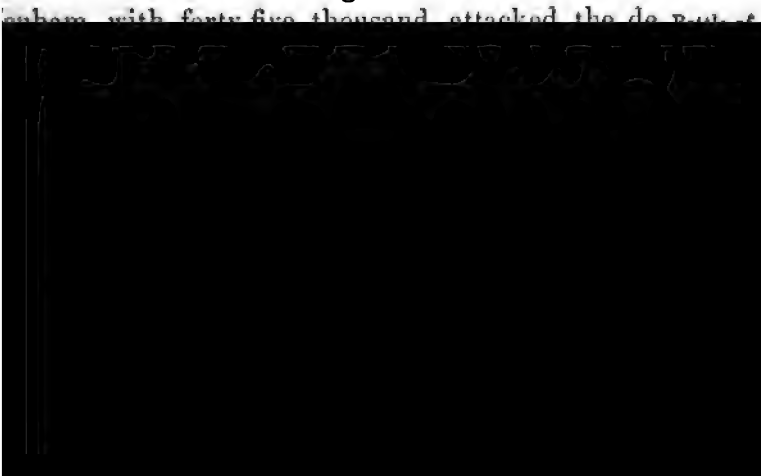
May 24.  
<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 66, 79, 83.  
 85. Toul. iv. 320, 322. Th. vi. 291, 292.  
 Ann. Reg. 1794, 331.

Preparations for a general battle in West Flanders.

While blood was flowing in such torrents on the banks of the Sambre, events of still greater importance occurred in West Flanders. The Allies had there collected ninety thousand men, including one hundred and thirty-three squadrons under the im-

mediate command of the Emperor; and the situation of the left wing of the French suggested the design of cutting it off from the main body of the army, and forcing it back upon the sea, where it could have no alternative but to surrender. For this purpose, their troops were divided into six columns, which were moved by concentric lines on the French corps posted at Turcoing. Had they acted with more concert, and moved on a better line, the attack would have been crowned with the most splendid success; but the old system of dividing their forces made it terminate in nothing but disaster. The different columns, some of which were separated from each other by no less than twenty leagues, did not arrive simultaneously at the point of attack: and although each singly acted vigorously when brought into action, there was not the unity in their operations requisite to success. Some inconsiderable advantages were gained near Turcoing on the 17th; but the Republicans now concentrated their troops in a central position, were enabled to fall with an overwhelming force on the insulated columns of their adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

At three in the morning of the 18th, General



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

May 16.

Jom. v.

86, 97.

Toul. iv.

322. Ann.

Reg. 1794,

332.

CHAP. oners. So sudden was the rout, that the Duke of  
XVI. York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his

1794. horse; a circumstance which, much to his credit, he had the candour to admit in his official despatch. Such was the defect of the combinations of Prince Cobourg, that at the time that his central columns were thus overwhelmed by an enormous mass of sixty thousand men, the two columns on the left, amounting to not less than thirty thousand, under the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained in a state of absolute inaction; and Clairfait, with seventeen thousand on the right, who came up too late to take any active part in the engagement, was obliged to retire, after capturing seven pieces of cannon; a poor compensation for the total rout of the centre, and the moral disadvantages of a defeat. In this action, where the Allies lost three thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon, the superiority of the French generalship was very apparent; inferior, upon the whole, to the number of their opponents, they had greatly the advantage in point of numbers at the point of attack; but after having pierced the centre, they should have reaped something more from their victory, than the bare possession of the field of battle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 86, 97, 98.  
Toul. iv. 322. Ann. Reg. 1794. 332. Th. vi. 295.  
296. Hard. ii. 536-7.

Fresh in-  
decisive  
actions.  
May 22.

On the 22d May Pichegru, who now assumed the command, renewed the attack, with a force now raised by successive additions to nearly one hundred thousand men, with the intention of forcing the passage of the Scheldt, besieging Tournay, and capturing a convoy which was ascending that river. They at first succeeded in driving in the outposts; but a reinforcement of English troops, commanded by General Fox, and seven Austrian battalions having arrived to support the Hanoverians in that

quarter, a desperate and bloody conflict ensued, in which the firmness of the English at length prevailed over the impetuosity of their adversaries, and the village of Pont-à-chin, which was the point of contest between them, finally remained in their hands. The battle continued from five in the morning till nine at night, when it terminated by a general charge of the Allies, which drove the enemy from the field.\* In this battle, which was one of the most obstinately contested of the campaign, the French lost above six thousand men; but such was the fatigue of the victors, after an engagement of such severity and duration, that they were unable to follow up their success. Twenty thousand men had fallen on the two sides in these murderous battles, but no decisive advantage, and hardly a foot of ground been gained by either party. Finding that he could make no impression in this quarter, Pichegru resolved to carry the theatre of war into West Flanders, where the country, intersected by hedges, was less favourable to the allied cavalry, and he, in consequence, laid siege to Ipres. About the same time, the Emperor conducted ten thousand men in person to reinforce the army on the Sambre, and the right wing of the Allies thus weakened, remained in a defensive position near Tournay,

CHAP.

XVI.

1794.

Jom. v.

98, 104.

Toul. iv.

322. Ann.

Reg. 1794,

333. Th.

vi. 297.

Hard. ii.

537, 538.

CHAP. country, abounding in such defenders, produced an  
XVI. important change in the Austrian councils. Thu-

1794. gut, who was essentially patriotic in his ideas, and  
reluctantly embarked in any contest which did not  
evidently conduce to the advantage of the heredi-  
tary states, had long nourished a secret aversion to  
the war in Flanders. He could not disguise from  
himself that these provinces, how opulent and im-  
portant soever in themselves, contributed little to  
the real strength of the monarchy: that their  
situation, far removed from Austria, and close to  
France, rendered it highly probable that they would,  
at some no very distant period, become the prey of  
that enterprising power; and that the charge of  
defending them at so great a distance from the  
strength of the hereditary states, entailed an enor-  
mous and ruinous expense upon the Imperial fin-  
ances. Impressed with these ideas, he had for  
some time been revolving in his mind the project of  
abandoning these distant provinces to their fate,  
and looking out for a compensation to Austria in  
Italy or Bavaria, where its new acquisition might  
lie adjacent to the hereditary states. This long  
remained a fixed principle in the Imperial coun-  
cils; and in these vague ideas is to be found the  
remote cause of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and  
partition of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
539, 540.

A Council  
of State is  
held on  
this pro-  
ject. May  
24.

Two days after the battle of Turcoing, a council  
of state was secretly held at the Imperial head-  
quarters, to deliberate on the measures to be pur-  
sued for the future progress of the war. The  
opportunity appeared favourable to that able states-  
man to bring forward his favourite project. The  
inactivity and lukewarmness of the Prussians, not-  
withstanding the English subsidy, too plainly de-

monstrated that no reliance could be placed on their co-operation; the recent desperate actions in West Flanders sufficiently proved that no serious impression was to be made in that quarter; while the reluctance of the Flemish states to contribute any thing to the common cause, and the evident partiality of a large party amongst them for the French alliance, rendered it a matter of great doubt whether it was expedient for such distant, fickle, and disaffected subjects to maintain any longer a contest, which, if unsuccessful, might engulf half the forces of the monarchy. These considerations were forcibly impressed upon the mind of the young Emperor, who, born and bred in Tuscany, entertained no partiality for his distant Flemish possessions; Mack supported them with all the weight of his opinion, and strongly “urged that it was better to retire altogether across the Rhine, while yet the strength of the army was unbroken, than run the risk of its being buried in the fields of Belgium. If Flanders was of such value to the cause of European independence, it lay upon England, Prussia, and Holland, in the centre of whose dominions it lay, to provide measures for its defence: but the real interests of Austria lay nearer home, and her battalions required to be seen in dense array on the maritime Alps, or

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
539, 543.

The abandon-  
ment  
of Flanders  
is resolved  
on by the  
Austrian  
cabinet.

defensive war could be maintained with the resources of the empire concentrated round its heart than when they were so largely accumulated in a distant possession ; or if peace became desirable, it could at any time be readily purchased by the cession of provinces so valuable to France, and the acquisition of an equivalent nearer the Austrian dominions.”<sup>1</sup>

The subject was debated with the deliberation which its importance deserved ; and it was at length determined by the majority of the council that the maintenance of so burdensome and hazardous a war for such disaffected and distant possessions, was contrary to the vital interests of the state. It was resolved, accordingly, that the Imperial troops should, as soon as decency would permit, be withdrawn from Flanders ; that this resolution should in the mean time be kept a profound secret, and to cover the honour of the Imperial arms, a general battle should be hazarded, and on its issue should depend the course which should thereafter be adopted ; but that in the mean time the Emperor should forthwith depart for Vienna, to take cognizance of the affairs of Poland, which called for instant attention. In conformity with this resolution he set out shortly after for that capital, leaving Cobourg in command of the army.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hard. ii.  
539, 543,  
545.

French  
again cross  
the Sam-  
bre, invest  
Charleroi,  
and are  
driven  
back.  
May 28.

Meanwhile the Commissioners of the Convention, little anticipating the favourable turn which their affairs were about to take from the divisions of the Allies, nothing daunted by the reverses the army of the Sambre had experienced, were continually stimulating its generals to fresh exertions. In vain they represented, that the soldiers, worn out with fatigue, without shoes, without clothing, stood much in need of repose ; “ To-morrow,” said St Just, “ the



Republic must have a victory ; choose between a battle and a siege." Constrained by authorities who enforced their arguments with the guillotine, the Republican generals prepared for a third expedition across the Sambre. Towards the end of May, Kleber made the attempt with troops still exhausted by fatigue, and almost starving ; the consequences were such as might have been expected ; the grenadiers were repulsed by the grape-shot of the enemy, and General Duhesme was routed with little difficulty. On the 29th, however, the indomitable Republicans returned to the charge, and after an obstinate engagement, succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, and immediately formed the investment of Charleroi. But the arrival of the Emperor with ten thousand troops, having raised the allied force in that quarter to thirty-five thousand men, it was resolved to make an effort to raise the siege before Jourdan arrived with the army of the Moselle, who was hourly expected. The attack was made on the 3d June, and attended with complete success ; the French having been driven across the Sambre, with the loss of two thousand men.

CHAP. XVI.  
 1794.

June 3.  
 1 Toul. iv.  
 322. Jom.  
 v. 103, 109.

but this check was of little importance : on the day following Jourdan arrived from the Moselle with



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.  
June 12.  
June 16.

nent danger to which the city was reduced by the attack of this great force, induced the Allies to make the utmost efforts to raise the siege. But this required no less skill than intrepidity; for their army did not exceed thirty-five thousand men, while the French were nearly double that number. On this occasion, the system of attack by detached columns, was for once successful; the Republicans were pierced by a simultaneous effort of two of the allied columns, defeated, and driven over the Sambre, with the loss of three thousand men. This success, highly honourable as it was to the Austrian arms, proved in the end prejudicial to their cause, as it induced Prince Cobourg to suppose that his left wing was now sufficiently secure, and to detach all his disposable troops to the succour of Clairfait and Ipres on the right, whereas it was against the other flank that the principal forces of the Republicans were now directed. In effect, on the 18th June, the French army recrossed the Sambre for the fifth, and commenced the bombardment of Charleroi for the third time. The great force with which this attack was made amounting to seventy thousand men, rendered it evident that Prince Cobourg had mistaken the point which required support, and that it was on the Sambre, and under the walls of Charleroi, that the decisive battle for the protection of Flanders was to be fought. Accordingly, the major part of the allied forces were at length moved in that direction; the Duke of York, with the English and Hanoverians, being left alone on the Scheldt, at a short distance from Clairfait, who had recently experienced the most overwhelming reverses.<sup>1</sup> This separation of the forces of the two nations contributed not a little to augment the misunderstanding which already pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Jom. v.*  
132, 133.  
*Th. vi.* 395,  
317. *Ann.*  
*Reg.* 1794.  
333.

led between them, and was the forerunner of numberless disasters to both monarchies.

CHAP.  
XVI.

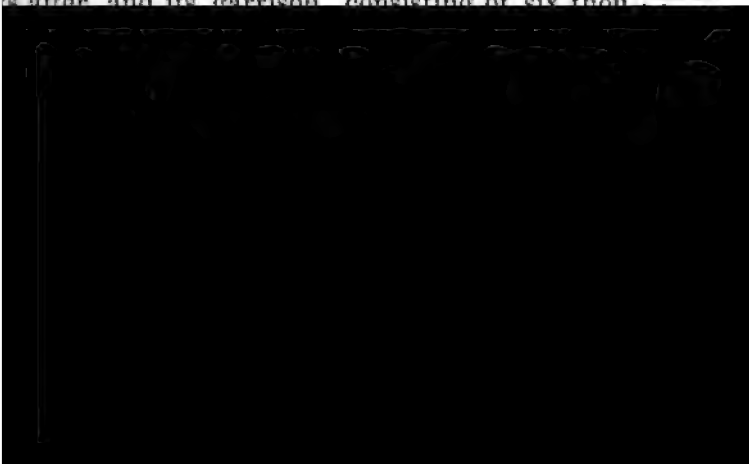
No sooner was the departure of the Emperor with

1794.

reinforcements to the army on the Sambre known to Pichegru, than he resolved to take advantage of the attacks Clairfait.

weakness of his adversaries, by prosecuting seriously a long menaced siege of Ipres. Clairfait not feeling himself in sufficient strength to interrupt his operations, remained firm in his intrenched camp at night. An attempted movement of the centre of the allied army to his support, having been betrayed to the enemy at Lisle, was prevented from being carried into effect by a demonstration from the French centre by Pichegru. The consequence was, that the Austrian general was compelled to attack them, and though his corps fought with their wonted courage he was again worsted, and compelled to re-take his position in his intrenchments, without having disturbed the operations of the siege. This was the fifth time that this brave officer had fought them, while thirty thousand Austrians lay inactive June 17. Tournay, and six thousand English were reposing in the fatigues of their sea voyage at Ostend. The consequence was, that Ipres capitulated a few

days after, and its garrison, consisting of six thousand June 17.



CHAP. strong, he delayed till the 26th to attack the French  
 XVI. army. Jourdan, who was fully aware of the impor-  
 1794. tance of acquiring this fortress, took advantage of the  
 respite which this delay afforded him to prosecute  
 the siege with the utmost activity. This he did  
 with such success, that the batteries of the besieged  
 June 25. having been silenced, the place capitulated on the  
 evening of the 25th. Hardly had the garrison left  
 the gates, when the discharge of artillery announced  
 the tardy movement of the Austrians for its relief.  
 June 26. The battle took place on the following day, on the  
<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 119, 137. plains of FLEURUS, already signalized by a victory of  
 Ann. Reg. 1794, 334. Marshal Luxembourg in 1690, and was one of the  
 Th. vi. 393, 395, most important of the whole war.<sup>1</sup>  
 396.

The French army, which was eighty-nine thou-  
 sand strong, was posted in a semicircle round the  
 town of Charleroi, now become, instead of a source  
 of weakness, a *point d'appui* to the Republicans.  
 Their position very nearly resembled that of Napo-  
 leon at Leipsic; but the superiority of force on that  
 occasion, secured a very different result to the Allies  
 from that which now awaited their arms. The Im-  
 perialists, adhering to their system of attacking the  
 enemy at all points, divided their forces into five  
 columns, intending to assail at the same moment all  
 parts of the Republican position; a mode of attack  
 at all times hazardous, but especially so when an  
 inferior is engaged with a superior force. The battle  
 commenced on the 26th, at daybreak, and continued  
 with great vigour throughout the whole day. The  
 first column, under the command of the Prince of  
 Orange, attacked the left of the French under Ge-  
 neral Montaign, and drove them back to the village  
 of Fontaine Leveque; but the Republicans being  
 there reinforced by fresh troops, succeeded in main-

Battle of  
 Fleurus.  
 June 26.

ing their ground, and repulsed the repeated charges of the Imperial cavalry. During a successful charge, however, the French horse were themselves assailed by the Austrian cuirassiers, and driven back in confusion upon the infantry, who gradually lost ground, and at length were compelled to fall back to the heights in front of Charleroi. The moment was critical, for the Austrians were on the point of carrying the village of Marchiennes-au-Pont, which would have intercepted the whole communications of the Republican army; but Jourdan, alarmed at the advance of the enemy in this quarter, ordered up Kleber to support his left. That intrepid general hastily erected several batteries to meet the enemy's fire, and moved forward BERNADOTTE,\* the adopted King of Sweden, at the head of several divisions to the support of Montaign. The Allies, General Latour and the Prince of Orange, being unsupported by the remainder of the army, and finding themselves vigorously assailed both in front and flank, fell back from their advanced position, and in the afternoon, all the ground gained in that quarter had been abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v.  
138, 143.  
Toul. iv.  
328, 330.  
Th. vi.  
399, 401.

While these events were going forward on the  
the centre, where the village of Fleurus was various



CHAP. post of Fleurus, with its great redoubt, stood promi-  
 XVI. nent in the midst of the allied forces, exposed to  
 1794. attack both in front and flank. The consequence

of this was, that the great redoubt was on the point of being taken, and the French divisions in the centre were already in full retreat, when Jourdan hastened to the scene of danger with six battalions, who were formed in close columns, and checked the advance of the enemy. The French cavalry, under Dubois, made a furious charge upon the Imperial infantry, overthrew them, and captured fifty pieces of cannon: but being disordered by their rapid advance, they were immediately after attacked by the Austrian cuirassiers, who not only routed the victors, but retook the whole artillery, and drove them back in confusion upon their own lines.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v.  
 145, 146,  
 149.  
 Toul. iv.  
 332. Th.  
 vi. 401.

Success of  
 the Aus-  
 trians on  
 the left.

Meanwhile the allied left, under Beaulieu, made the most brilliant progress. After various attacks, the village of Lambusart was carried, and the enemy's forces, for the most part, driven across the Sambre; but the vigorous fire of the French artillery prevented the Allies from debouching from the village, or obtaining complete success in that quarter. As it was, however, the situation of the Republicans was disadvantageous in every quarter. The right, under Moreau, was driven back, and in great part had recrossed the river; the left, under Montaign, had abandoned the field of battle, and almost entirely gone over to the other bank; while the forces in the centre had been in part compelled to recede, and the great redoubt was in danger of being carried. Four divisions only, those of Lefebvre, Championnet, Kleber, and Daurier, were in a condition to make head against the enemy; when Cobourg, hearing of the fall of Charleroi, and fettered by the secret instructions he had received to risk as little as possible

before retiring from Flanders, ordered a retreat at all points. Without detracting from the merit of Jourdan, it may safely be affirmed, that if the Prince of Orange, instead of drawing back his wing when he found it too far advanced, had united with the centre to attack Fleurus, and the main body of the French army, while Beaulieu pressed them on the other side, the success would have been rendered complete, and a glorious victory achieved.<sup>1</sup>

But nothing is so perilous as to evince any symptoms of vacillation after a general engagement. The battle of Fleurus was, in fact, a drawn battle; the loss on both sides was nearly equal, being between four thousand and five thousand men to each side; the French had given way on both wings, the centre with difficulty maintained its ground, and the Imperialists only retreated because the fall of Charleroi had removed the object for which they fought; and the secret instructions of their general precluded him from adopting any course, how brilliant and inviting soever, which promised to be attended with any hazard to the army. Nevertheless, it was attended with the most disastrous consequences. The loss of Flanders immediately followed a contest which an enterprising general would have converted into

CHAP.

XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v

150, 152.

Th. vi.

401, 402.

Toul. iv.

332.

Allies re-

treat

though not

defeated.

CHAP. XVI. Mons was shortly after evacuated, and the Allies, abandoning the whole fortresses which they had conquered, to their own resources, concentrated in front of Brussels. Several actions took place in the beginning of July, between the rearguard of the Allies and the French columns at Mount St John, Braine la Leude, and Sambre; but, at length, finding himself unable to maintain his position without concentrating his forces, Prince Cobourg abandoned Brussels, and fell back behind the Dyle.<sup>1</sup>

1794.  
July 6 and 9.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 152, 162.  
Toul iv. 336. Hard. iii. 23, 24.  
Th. vi. 405, 406.

It was not without the most strenuous exertions of the British government to prevent them, that these ruinous divisions broke out among the allied powers in Flanders. Immediately after the treaty of 19th April was signed, Lord Malmesbury, the English ambassador, set out from the Hague for Maestricht, where conferences were opened with the Prussian minister Haugwitz, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries. Their object was to induce the Prussian forces to leave the banks of the Rhine, and hasten to the scene of decisive operations in Flanders. These demands were so reasonable, and so strictly in unison with the letter as well as spirit of the recent treaty, that the Prussian minister could not avoid agreeing to them, and engaged to procure orders from the cabinet of Berlin to that effect. But Moellendorf, acting in obedience to secret orders from his court, declined to obey the requisition of the plenipotentiaries, and engaged in a fruitless and feigned expedition towards Kayerslautern and Sarre Louis, at the very time that he was well aware that his antagonist, Jourdan, with forty thousand men, was hastening by forced marches to the decisive point on the banks of the Sambre. When the danger became more threatening, and the Emperor himself had repaired to the neighbourhood of Char-

Efforts of  
the British  
government  
to hold to-  
gether the  
alliance.



leroi, to make head against the accumulating masses of the Republicans, the same requisitions were renewed in a still more pressing strain by the English and Dutch ministers.\* But it was all in vain. The Prussian general betook himself to one subterfuge after another, alleging that, by menacing Sarre Louis and Landau, he succoured the common cause more effectually, than if he brought his whole forces to the walls of Charleroi, and at length, when driven from that pretext, he peremptorily refused to leave the banks of the Rhine. The ministers of the maritime powers upon this broke out into bitter complaints at the breach of faith on the part of the Prussian government, and reproached the marshal with a fact which they had recently discovered, that, instead of sixty-two thousand men stipulated by the treaty, and paid for by the Allies, only thirty-two thousand received daily rations at the army. The bad faith of the Prussians was now apparent, they were reproached with it. Moellendorf denied the charge; recriminations ensued on both sides; at length they separated mutually exasperated; and Lord Cornwallis declared he would suspend the payment of the British subsidy.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1792.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. ii.  
545, 547;  
and iii. 5,  
6, 7.

CHAP. Scheldt, was blockaded, and the island of Cadsand  
XVI.

1794.

overrun by the Republicans, who crossed the arm of the sea which separated it from the mainland by swimming. Clairfait, although reinforced by six thousand English, who had rapidly marched from Ostend, under Lord Moira, found himself unable to make head against Pichegru; the old German tactics of carrying on war by a series of positions, which succeeded against the inconsiderable forces of Prussia, even when guided by the genius of Frederick, totally failed when opposed to the vehement ardour and inexhaustible numbers of the Revolutionary armies. After in vain attempting, in conjunction with Cobourg, to cover Brussels, he was compelled to fall back behind the Dyle; while the Duke of York also retired in the same direction, and encamped between Malines and Louvain. The retreat of the allied forces enabled the victorious armies of Pichegru and Jourdan to unite their forces at Brussels, where they met on the 10th July. And thus, by a series of energetic movements and glorious contests, were two armies, which a short time before had left the extremities of the vast line extending from Philipville to Dunkirk, enabled to unite their victorious forces for the occupation of the capital of Flanders.<sup>1</sup>

July 10.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. v. 155, 162. Th. vi. 406. Toul. iv. 334, 335.

Views of the Cabinet of Vienna at this period.

The Austrian cabinet at this period entertained serious thoughts of peace. The opinion was very general on the continent that the fearful energy and bloody proscriptions of Robespierre had considerably calmed the effervescence of the Revolution, and that his stern and relentless hand was alone adequate to restrain its excesses and restore any thing like a regular government at Paris. These ideas received a strong confirmation from the speech which he delivered on occasion of the fête of the Supreme Being; it

was known that he had moderated many of the energetic plans of foreign invasion projected by Carnot, and that his brother had used his influence to preserve Piedmont and the north of Italy from an incursion, at a time when the Allies were little in a condition to have resisted it. The Imperial government was really desirous of an accommodation, in order to concentrate their armies and attention upon Poland, which was hourly approaching the crisis of its fate; and a large force had already entered Galicia, where they professed their intention of coming as deliverers, and were received with open arms by the people of that province. Unable to bear, any more than Prussia, the weight of a double contest on the Rhine and the Vistula, and, deeming the latter more material to the interests of the monarchy than the former, they had definitively determined at Vienna on the abandonment of the Belgian provinces, and were now only desirous of extricating themselves from a contest in which neither honour nor profit was to be gained. A secret understanding in consequence took place between Cobourg and the French generals, the conditions of which were, that the Austrians should not be disquieted in their retreat to the Rhine, and the Republicans permitted with

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Flanders, alleging as a reason the inconstancy and disaffection of its inhabitants. "To behold a people so infatuated," said Count METTERNICH, afterwards so celebrated as the great diplomatic leader, to Lord Cornwallis, "as, notwithstanding the most pressing exhortations to take up arms in defence of their religion, their independence, and property, refuse to move, and voluntarily place their necks under the yoke, singing *Ca Ira*, is a phenomenon reserved for these days of desolation."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. iii.  
7, 33.

Diverging  
retreat of  
the Eng-  
ish and  
Austrian  
forces.  
English  
retire to-  
wards Hol-  
land.

The English forces, now entirely detached from their allies, were posted behind the canal of Malines, and they amounted to above thirty thousand British and Hanoverians, and fifteen thousand Dutch. Their object was, by remaining on the defensive, to cover Antwerp and Holland; while the Austrians retired by Tirlemont upon Liege. In this way, while the Republicans remained with the centre at Brussels, and their wings extending from Wilworde to Namur, their adversaries retired by *diverging* lines towards the north and the south, and every successive day's march carried them further from each other; a state of affairs, of all others the most calamitous, in presence of an enterprising enemy. The English were intent only on covering Antwerp and Holland; the Imperialists on drawing nearer to their resources at Cologne and Coblenz; neither recollected, that by separating their forces, they gave the enemy the means of crushing either, separately, at pleasure, and left him in possession of a salient position, which would soon render both the provinces of the Lower Rhine and the United Provinces untenable.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jom. v.  
162, 170.  
Toul. iv.  
338.

Contrary to all expectation, and in opposition to what might have been expected from the previous

energy of their measures, the Committee of Public Safety arrested their army in the career of victory, and paralysed a hundred and fifty thousand men in possession of an internal line of communication, at the moment when their enemies were disunited and incapable of rendering each other any assistance. This was the result of the secret understanding with Prince Cobourg, which has just been mentioned. On the 15th July, the canal of Malines was forced after an inconsiderable resistance by the Dutch troops, and the Duke of York retired to Antwerp, which was soon after evacuated, and his whole forces concentrated towards Breda for the defence of Holland. On the other wing, Jourdan, more in appearance than reality, pursued his advantages against Cobourg; and after several inconsiderable engagements with the rear-guard, Liège and Tongres were evacuated, and the Austrians retired behind the Meuse. But with these exceptions nothing was attempted by the Republicans for several weeks, while the government waited the reduction of Valenciennes and the other places captured by the Allies on the frontier at the commencement of the war.<sup>1</sup>

To hasten their reduction, a bloody decree was

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Inactivity  
of the  
French.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv.  
338. Jom.  
v. 162, 165,  
170, 174.

CHAP. no right to decree the dishonour of another nation;"  
XVI. and the Committee of Public Safety, under Carnot's

1794. direction, feeling the iniquity of the measure, took advantage of fictitious delays to allow the garrisons to capitulate on the usual terms. General Scherer collected a body of troops from the interior and the neighbouring garrisons, and formed the siege successively of Landrecy, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, all of which fell, after a trifling resistance,

May 30. before the end of August. At the same time a decree was passed by the Convention, prohibiting their armies from giving quarter to the English who might fall into their hands. "Republican soldiers," said Barere, "you must, when victory shall put into your power either English or Hanoverians, strike without mercy; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the English slaves perish, but let Europe be free." To this decree the Duke of York replied, by an order of the day, worthy of the nation whose forces he led, and the cause with which he was entrusted, ordering all French captives to be treated with the same humanity as before.\*<sup>1</sup> This generous conduct had the desired effect; the humane

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
May 30,  
1793.  
Ann. Reg.  
1704, 145.  
History.  
Th. vii. 74.  
Toul. iv.  
338. Jom.  
v. 172.

\* He stated in that noble document, "The National Convention has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses upon receiving this information. He desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. In all the wars which, from the earliest times, have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies; while the Hanoverians, the allies of the former, have shared for above a century

efforts of the English commanders were seconded by the corresponding feelings of the French officers, and the prisoners on both sides were treated with the same humanity as before the issuing of the bloody decree.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

While the fortune of war, after a desperate struggle, was thus decisively inclining to the Republican side on the northern, events of minor importance, but still upon the whole favourable to the French arms, occurred on the eastern and southern frontier. The dubious conduct, or rather evident defection of Prussia, paralysed all the operations on the Rhine. Sixty thousand Prussians and Saxons were assembled round Mayence, and along the Nahe; and the departure of Jourdan, with forty thousand, to reinforce the army on the Sambre, offered the fairest opportunity of resuming offensive operations with a preponderating force on the Moselle. Only two divisions at a distance from each other remained between Thionville and Kayserlautern; and though the government made the greatest exertions to reinforce them, the utmost that could be done was to raise the one to twenty, and the other to ten thousand men. Nor was the superiority less decisive on

Operations  
on the  
Rhine, and  
disasters  
consequent  
on the se-  
cession of  
Prussia.



CHAP. formed the cordon from Bâle to Mayence; and  
XVI. seventy thousand more were prepared for active operations, while the force in the field under General  
1794. Michaud, to oppose them, was only thirty-six thousand,

<sup>1</sup> St Cyr, ii. supported by fifty thousand still retained in  
232, 250. garrison by the cautious policy of the French govern-  
Jom. v. ment.<sup>1</sup>  
177, 184.

Yet, with this immense superiority of force, the Allies did nothing. Instead of assembling, as they might easily have done, eighty thousand men, to attack the centre of the French lines on the Rhine, and relieve the pressure which operated so severely on the Sambre, they contented themselves with detaching a small force to dislodge the Republican post at Morlautern. A slight advantage was gained at Kayserslautern over the Republican division entrusted with the defence of the gorges; and General Michaud, unable to make head against such superior force, retired to the intrenchments of the Queich, while the army of the Moselle resumed the positions it had occupied at the close of the preceding campaign. Shortly after Michaud received powerful reinforcements, and made vigorous preparations for resuming the offensive; while the British ambassador made vain attempts to stimulate the King of Prussia to execute the part assigned him in the treaty of the Hague. The whole attention of Prussia was fixed on Poland, and the movements of General Kosciusko; and nothing could induce its government to give any directions for the prosecution of the war on the Rhine, till after the fall of Charleroi, the battle of Fleurus, and the reinforcement of the Republican armies on the Rhine, had rendered it impossible to resume the offensive with any prospect of advantage.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jom. v.  
177, 189.  
St Cyr, ii.  
232, 250.

Inactivity  
of the Prus-  
sians.

May 23,  
1794.



In the south, the reduction of Lyons and Toulon, by rendering disposable the forces employed in the siege of these cities, gave an early and decisive superiority to the Republican arms. The levies ordered in September, 1793, had brought such an accession of strength to their forces, that in the middle of April the army of the Alps amounted to seventy-five thousand combatants. Piedmont, menaced with invasion by this formidable force, had only at its command a body of forty thousand men, spread over a chain of posts along the summit of the Alps, from Savona to Mont Blanc, and an auxiliary Austrian force, ten thousand strong, in the interior. The great superiority of the French forces would have enabled them to have instantly commenced the invasion of Italy; but pressed in their quarters, the Committee of Public Safety, under the directions of Robespierre, contented themselves with enjoining their commanders to drive the enemy over the Alps, and get possession of all the passes, leaving to a future year the long wished for rupture into the Italian provinces. The first operations of the Republicans were not successful. General Sarret, with a detachment of two thousand men, was repulsed at the Little St Bernard, while

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Operations  
in Pied-  
mont.

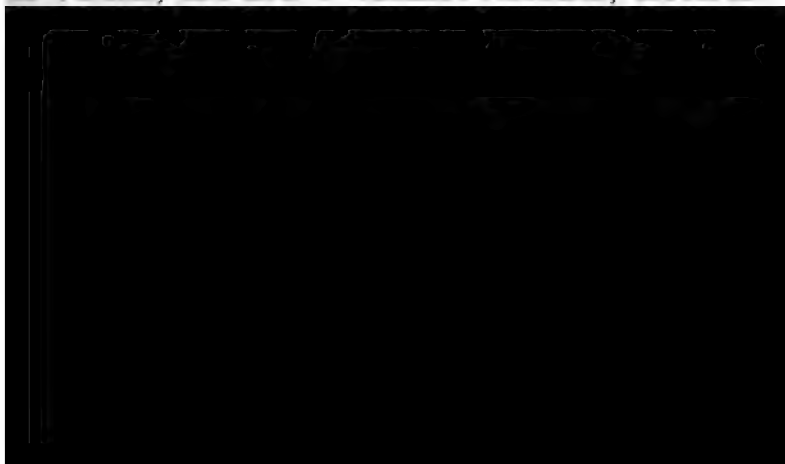
CHAP. Alps, separating Piedmont from Savoy fell into the  
 XVI. possession of the Republican generals; and the  
 1794. keys of Italy were placed in the hands of the French  
 government.

Nor were the operations of the Republicans less  
 successful on the frontiers of Nice. The counsels  
 of the leaders were there directed by General Buona-  
 parte, whose extraordinary military abilities had  
 already given him an ascendancy far beyond his rank.  
 His design was to turn Saorgio by its left, and cut  
 off the retreat of its garrison, by the great road  
 from over the Col di Tende. The attacking force  
 was divided into three columns. The first, twenty  
 thousand strong, commanded by Massena, broke up  
 on the first April, with twenty pieces of cannon, to  
 pass between Saorgio and the sea; the second, com-  
 posed of ten thousand men, under the immediate  
 directions of Dumorbion, remained in front of the  
 enemy; while the third, of equal force, was destined  
 to gain the upper extremity of the valleys of the  
 Vesubia, and communicate with the army of Savoy  
 by Isola. In the course of his march, Massena  
 traversed the neutral territory of Genoa, and after  
 a hardy march as far as Garessio, found himself  
 considerably in advance of the main body of the  
 enemy, posted in intrenched camps on the western  
 side of the mountains. Guided by the intrepid Colonel  
 Rusca, an ardent chasseur and well acquainted with  
 these Alpine ridges, he boldly pursued his successes,  
 and by a skilful combination of all his force, suc-  
 ceeded in storming the redoubts of the Col Ardent.  
 In vain the Piedmontese received the assailants with  
 a shower of stones and balls; nothing could with-  
 stand the impetuosity of the Republicans, and Mas-  
 sena, pursuing his successes, reached Tanardo, and

Great suc-  
 cesses of  
 Napoleon  
 and Mas-  
 sena in the  
 Maritime  
 Alps.

the heights which commanded the pass of the Briga. CHAP.  
XVI.  
 Rusca, familiar with the country, vehemently urged 1794.  
 his commander to direct some battalions to descend  
 to the convent of St Dalmazia, seize the great road,  
 destroy the bridges, and cut off the retreat of the great  
 body of the enemy posted at the camp at Rauss; but  
 this appeared too hazardous a measure to Massena,  
 who preferred the certain advantage of rendering  
 unavoidable the evacuation of Saorgio, without risk,  
 to the perilous attempt of compelling a force nearly  
 equal to his own to surrender. Meanwhile, the at-  
 tack of the centre, under Dumorbion, had been  
 attended with equal success; and the Sardinian  
 forces pressed in front, and menaced in rear, evacu- April 28.  
 ated the famous camp of Rauss, and fell back to-  
 wards the Col di Tende. Dumorbion's leading co-  
 umns approached the fort of Saorgio, at the same  
 time that Massena's forces appeared on the heights  
 immediately overhanging it behind; and this cele- Botta, i.  
184, 190.  
Jom. v.  
204, 209,  
210. Th.  
vi. 283.  
 brated post, almost impregnable in front, but desti-  
 tute of any defence against the forces of the Repub-  
 licans, now perched on the rocks in its rear, sur-  
 rendered at the first summons.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the French left successfully ascended  
 the Vesubia, and after a vehement resistance, the The Sar-



CHAP. and although the Col di Tende was more bravely  
 XVI. contested, the unexpected appearance of a division  
 1794. of French on their left spread a panic among the  
 Piedmontese troops, which speedily led to the evacuation of the position. Thus, the Republicans, before the end of May, were masters of all the passes through the maritime Alps; and while, from the summit of Mont Cenis, they threatened a descent upon the valley of Susa and the capital, from the Col di Tende, they could advance straight to the siege of the important fortress of Coni. Napoleon, whose prophetic eye already anticipated the triumphs of 1796, in vain urged the government to unite the victorious armies in the valley of the Stura, and push on immediately with their combined strength to the conquest of Italy. The reverse at Kayserslautern induced them to withdraw ten thousand men from the army of the Alps to support the troops on the Rhine; and Dumorbion, satisfied with the laurels he had won, and with energies enfeebled by years, could not be induced to risk ulterior operations. After so brilliant a *début*, the Republican forces failed even in reducing the little fort of Exiles, on the eastern descent of Mont Cenis; and for the three summer months, the victorious troops reposed from their fatigues on the heights which they had won above the clouds.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bot. i.  
 186, 187.  
 Jom. v.  
 211, 214.  
 Th. vi.  
 282.

On the frontiers of Spain, the war assumed still more decisive features. The reduction of Toulon enabled the central government to detach General Dugommier with half the forces employed in its siege, to reinforce the army on the eastern Pyrenees; and it was resolved to act offensively at both extremities of that range of mountains. During the winter months incessant exertions were made to re-

War in the  
 Eastern  
 Pyrenees.  
 Great financial difficulties of the Spaniards.

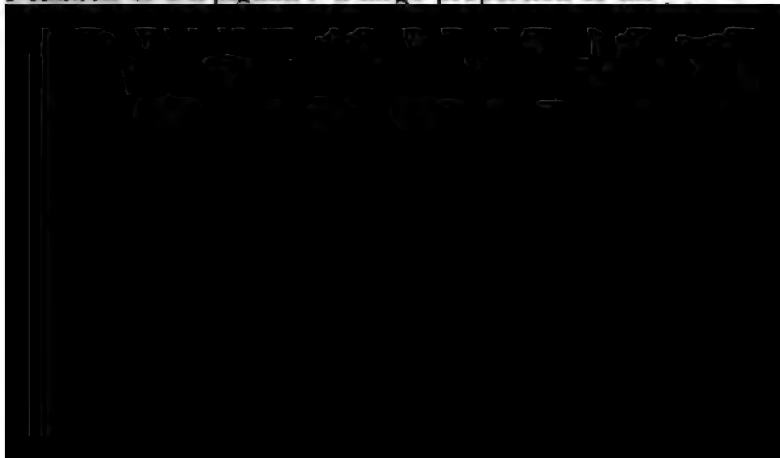
recruit the armies, which the immense levies of the Republic enabled the southern departments to do to such a degree, that at the opening of the campaign, notwithstanding their reverses, they were greatly superior in number to their opponents; while the Spanish government, destitute of energy, and exhausted by the exertions they had already made, were unable to maintain their forces at the former complement. Before the end of the year 1793, they were reduced to the necessity of issuing above £12,000,000 sterling of paper money, secured on the produce of the tobacco tax; but all their efforts to recruit their armies from the natives of the country having proved ineffectual, they were compelled to take the foreigners employed at the siege of Toul into their service, and augment the number of their mercenary troops. Every thing on the Republican side indicated the energy and resolution of a rising, every thing on the Spanish, the decrepitude and vacillation of a declining state. Between such powers, victory could not long remain doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

Dugommier, on his arrival at the end of December, found the army of the eastern Pyrenees raised by his action to thirty-five thousand men, encamped under the cannon of Perpignan: a large proportion of the

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

1 Jom. v.  
218, 221.  
Toul. iv.  
304. Th.  
vi. 278,  
279.

Successes  
of Dugom-  
mier there,  
and total



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

pected reinforcements had not arrived, and the force in the field did not exceed twenty-five thousand effective troops. Before the end of February, the French force was augmented to sixty-five thousand men, of whom thirty-five thousand were in a condition immediately to commence operations. On the 27th March, the Republicans broke up and drew near to the Spanish position. A redoubt on the Spanish left was taken a few days after the campaign opened, and General Dagobert was carried off by the malignant fever which had already made such ravages in both armies. The Marquis Amarillas upon that drew back all his forces into the intrenched camp at Boulon. He was shortly after succeeded in the command by La Union, who immediately transferred the headquarters to Ceret, a good position for an attacking, but defective for a defending army. They were there assailed on the 30th April by the whole French force; and one of the redoubts in the centre of the Spanish position having been stormed, the whole army fell back in confusion, which was increased into a total rout on the following day, by the Republican troops having made themselves masters of the road to Bellegarde, the principal line of their communication over the mountains into their own country. Finding themselves cut off from this route, the Spaniards were seized with one of those panics so common to their troops in the Peninsular war; the whole army fled in confusion over the hills, and could be rallied only under the cannon of Figueras, leaving one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred prisoners, eight hundred mules, and all their baggage and ammunition to the victors, whose loss did not amount to one thousand men.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv.  
305, 307.  
Jom. v.  
222, 225.  
Th. vi.  
78, 279.

Dugommier immediately took advantage of his CHAP. XVI. successes to undertake the siege of the fortresses of XVI. which the Spaniards had possessed themselves on 1794. the French territory. Collioure and Bellegarde Dugommier follows up his successes. Collioure taken. were besieged at the same time; and although the inconsiderate ardour of the Republicans exposed them to a severe check at Port Vendre, the siege of Fort St Elmo was pressed with so much vigour, that the garrison, abandoned to its own resources, was compelled to evacuate the place, and retire to Collioure. Marshal Navarro, the Spanish commander, at the head of a garrison of seven thousand men, made a gallant defence; and the rocky nature of the ground exposed the besiegers to almost insurmountable difficulties; but the perseverance of the French engineers having transported artillery to places deemed inaccessible, the commander, after having made a May 26. vain attempt to escape by sea, which the tempestuous 1 Toul. iv. 308. Jom. v. 241, 243. state of the weather rendered impracticable, laid down his arms with his whole garrison.<sup>1</sup>

At the other extremity of the Pyrenees, the French army, weakened by the detachment of considerable forces to Roussillon to repair the disasters Invasion of Spain by the Western Pyrenees. of the preceding campaign, remained in the early part of the year on the defensive. The Republicans

- CHAP. new levies around Bayonne afforded every prospect  
XVI. of success. The invasion on the west took place by  
1794. the valley of Bastan, the destined theatre of more  
memorable achievements between the armies of  
June 3. England and France. The Republicans were di-  
vided into three columns, which successively forced  
the Col di Maya and the valley of Roncesvalles.  
Some weeks afterwards, an attempt was made by the  
Spanish commander to regain the position which he  
June 23. had lost; but he was repulsed with the loss of eight  
hundred men, and soon after resigned the command  
of an army which was daily increasing in disorder  
and demoralization. The Count Colomera, who  
succeeded to the command, was not more successful.  
He in vain endeavoured, by proclamations, to rouse  
the mountaineers of the Pyrenees to arms in their  
defence; the period had not arrived when the  
chord of religion was to vibrate through every  
Spanish heart, and rouse the nation to glorious efforts  
in the cause of European freedom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. iv.  
309, 310.  
Jom. v.  
248, 252,  
255; and  
vi. 143.

- Towards the end of July, the French drove the  
Spaniards out of the whole of the valley of Bastan,  
forced the heights of St Marcial, captured the in-  
trenched camp and fortified posts on the Bidassoa,  
defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, and pushed  
on to Fontarabia, which surrendered on the first sum-  
mons. Following up the career of success, they ad-  
vanced to St Sebastian; and that important fortress,  
though garrisoned by seventeen hundred regular  
troops, capitulated without firing a shot. Colomera  
took post at Tolosa, to cover the roads leading to  
Pampeluna and Madrid; but at the first appearance  
of the enemy the whole infantry took to flight, and  
left the cavalry alone to sustain the brunt of the  
enemy, who, by a gallant charge, succeeded in ar-

Great suc-  
cesses of  
the Repub-  
licans in  
this quar-  
ter.  
July 24.

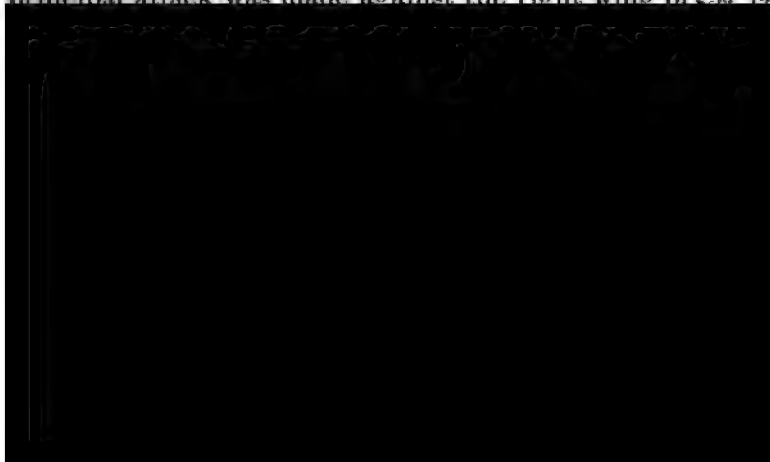


resting the advance of the pursuers. By these successes the French were firmly posted in the Spanish territory, and their wants amply supplied from the great magazines and stores, both of ammunition and provisions, which fell into their hands in the fortified places on the frontier. The English historian, who recounts the facility with which these victories were achieved by the inexperienced troops of France, cannot help feeling a conscious pride at the recollection of the very different actions of which that country was afterwards the theatre, and at marking in the scenes of Spanish disgrace the destined theatre of British glory.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

While these events were occurring in Biscay, successes still more decisive were gained on the eastern frontier. Twenty thousand of the Republicans were employed in the blockade of Bellegarde; and the Catalonians, always ready to take up arms when their hearths were threatened, turned out in great numbers to reinforce the army of La Union. After three months of incessant efforts, the Spanish commander deemed his troops sufficiently reinstated to resume the offensive, and attempt the relief of Bellegarde, which was now reduced to the last extremity. The principal attack was made against the right wing of

Siege and  
capture of  
Belle-  
garde.



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

the enemy. The consequence was, that the Spaniards, after having at first gained some advantages, were compelled to retreat, and Bellegarde, seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated a few days afterwards. The Spanish general excused himself for the bad success of his arms, by alleging the insubordination and misconduct of the troops. "Without," said he, in his report to government, "consideration, without obeying their chiefs or their officers, who did their utmost to retain them, the soldiers took to flight, after having for the most part thrown away their arms."

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
30, 33.  
Jom. vi.  
118, 123.  
Th. vii. 92.

A battalion was ordered to be decimated for its cowardice, and La Union, despairing of success, solicited his dismissal.<sup>1</sup>

Ineffectual  
proposals  
for peace  
by the  
Spaniards.

Discouraged by such repeated reverses, the Spanish government made proposals of peace; but the terms were deemed so inadmissible by the Committee of Public Safety, that they ordered Dugommier to give their answer from the cannons' mouth. In the meanwhile the Spanish commander had leisure to strengthen his positions. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, in two lines, arranged along a succession of heights nearly seven leagues in extent, presented a front of the most formidable kind, while a smaller intrenched camp in the rear, around Figueras, afforded a secure asylum in case of disaster. But the result proved how rare it is that a position of that description, how strong soever to appearance, is capable of arresting an enterprising and able assailant. The artillery, perched upon eminences, produced but an inconsiderable effect, with its plunging shot, on the masses in the valleys beneath; while the difficulty of communication between the different parts of the line rendered a disaster in any quarter extremely probable,<sup>2</sup> from the superior forces

<sup>2</sup> Toul. v.  
24. Jom. vi.  
124, 125.

which the enemy could bring to bear upon one point; and if it occurred, hardly reparable.

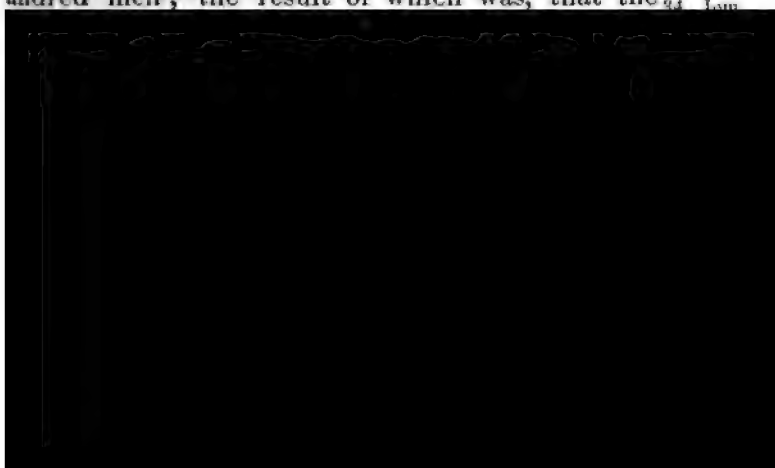
CHAP.  
XVI.

On the night of the 16th November, the French attacking army, thirty thousand strong, was put in motion. It was divided into three columns. The right, under the command of Augereau, after an arduous march of eighteen hours over rocks and precipices, drove the Spaniards, under General Jourten, from the camp of La Madeleine, and made themselves masters of the whole intrenchments in that quarter; but the left, under General Lauret, was repulsed by the heavy fire from the batteries to which he was opposed; and when Dugommier was preparing to support him, he was killed by a shell from the central redoubts of the enemy. This unexpected disaster for a time paralysed the movements of the Republican army; but Perignon having been invested with the command, moved a considerable force to the relief of Lauret, and with some difficulty extricated him from his perilous situation. But Augereau had meanwhile vigorously followed up his successes. After giving his troops rest, he moved them to the centre, and forced the great redoubt, though bravely defended by twelve hundred men; the result of which was, that the

1794.

Great defeat of the Spaniards near Figueras.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
34. Jan.



CHAP.  
XVI.1794.  
Nov. 20.

tracts hardly practicable for single passengers, and crossed the river Muga repeatedly, with the water up to the soldiers' middle. Arrived in presence of the redoubts, he ascended the mountain Escaulas, under a tremendous fire from the Spanish redoubts, and carried at the point of the bayonet the central intrenchment. La Union, hastening with the reserve to the redoubt of La Rosere, was killed on the spot; and that fort, regarded as impregnable, having been stormed, its whole defenders were put to the sword. These disasters discouraged the Spaniards along the whole line. Several other redoubts having been carried by the bayonet, the defenders evacuated the remainder, and applied the torch to their mines. In a few minutes, twenty bastions, constructed with infinite labour, were blown into the air; and the troops charged with their defence, flying in confusion to Figueras, overthrew a column of fresh troops advancing to their support, and rushed in utter confusion into the gates of the fortress. Such was the dismay of the Spaniards, that when the Republican outposts, a few days afterwards, approached Figueras, the garrison, consisting of above nine thousand men, amply provided with provisions and stores of every sort, laid down their arms; and the strongest place in Spain, amidst the general acclamation of the inhabitants, was delivered up to the invaders. This unexpected conquest having made the French masters of the rich and fertile plain of Lampourdan, and of an ample supply of stores and artillery of every description, preparations were soon afterwards made for the siege of Rosas. The garrison consisted of nearly five thousand men, and the place, in itself strong, as the glorious siege of 1809 demonstrated, was capable of being reinforced to any extent by sea.

Nevertheless, such was the vigour of the Republicans, and the dejection of the Spaniards, that the assailants pushed the siege during the severest months of winter, without any molestation. The fort of Trinity was reduced on the 7th January; and the garrison, threatened with an immediate assault by a practicable breach, retired by sea in the beginning of February, leaving the fortress to the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was the fortune of war more favourable to the Spanish forces at the other extremity of the line. After the fall of St Sebastian, Colomera endeavoured without effect to rouse the population of the Pyrenean valleys, and the Republicans attempted to erect Biscay into a Republic, to be independent of the Spanish crown. The usual fruits of democratic insurrection speedily appeared: The guillotine was erected at St Sebastian, and, in defiance of a solemn capitulation, the blood of the priests and the nobles was shed by the French commissioners, with as much inveteracy, as if Guipuzcoa had been La Vendée. Meanwhile disease, the result of the misery they had produced, made deeper ravages than the Spanish sword in the ranks of the invaders; in a short time above thirty thousand men perished in the hospitals. At length the Republican columns

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Feb. 3,  
1795.Jom. vi.  
133, 141.Toul. v. 34.  
36. Th. vii.

200.

Invasion of  
Biscay, and  
defeat of  
the Span-  
iards.

CHAP. of the Spanish marine; after which they retired to  
 XVI. the neighbourhood of St Sebastian and Fontarabia,  
 1794. still occupying in force the valley of Bastan.

They sue for peace. These repeated disasters, and the evident disaffection of a considerable portion of their subjects, who were infected by the rage for democratical institutions, at length disposed the Spanish government to an accommodation. Nor were the Committee of Public Safety inclined to insist on rigorous conditions, as the liberation of two experienced and victorious armies promised to be of the utmost importance to the Republican armies, in the conquests which they meditated to the south of the Alps. With these dispositions on both sides, the work of negotiation was not difficult; and although the conclusion of the treaty was deferred to the succeeding year, no operations of importance were undertaken after this period.<sup>1</sup> The severe winter of 1794-5, which gave the Republican troops the mastery of Holland, closed their operations on the snows of the Pyrenees.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
 168. Toul.  
 v. 221.

Renewal of hostilities in Flanders. The approach of winter, however, afforded no respite to the armies on the northern frontier. After a delay of two months, occasioned by the secret negotiations which the fall of Robespierre had broken off, the Republican armies recommenced those active operations which their immense superiority of physical force speedily rendered decisive. The Army of the North had seventy thousand effective men under its banners; that of the Sambre and Meuse, nominally 145,000 strong, presented an efficient force of 116,000 men; while the Duke of York, to cover the United Provinces, had hardly fifty thousand; and General Clairfait, who had replaced Prince Cobourg, could only muster a hundred thousand to maintain

footing of the Imperialists in the Flemish provinces. The French armies were so situated that they could mutually communicate with, and support each other: the Austrians and English were far apart, incapable of rendering mutual aid, and separated by long continued common disaster. But, considered morally, the inequality between the contending armies was still greater. On the one side the triumph of victory, the vigour of democratic opinion, the ardour of patriotic enthusiasm, the confidence of increasing numbers, and conscious ability; on the other, the dejection of defeat, the recreation of commanders, the jealousies of nations, declining numbers, and an obstinate adherence to antiquated tactics.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

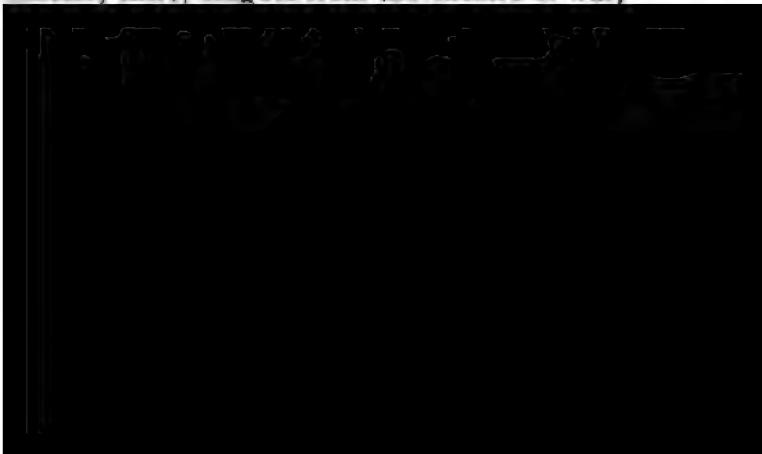
All anxiety about their rear having been removed by the reduction of Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Landrecy, the Republicans in the end of August resumed the offensive. The fort of Ecluse having been rendered to General Moreau, the army of the North, reinforced by his division, commenced the invasion of Holland, while the States-General obstinately persisted in maintaining half their troops, amounting to twenty thousand men, in garrison in the interior, thirty leagues from the theatre of war,

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
15, 26.

Th. vii. 76.

British retire to the right bank of the Meuse.

Sept. 4.



CHAP. op-Zoom, Breda, and Bois-le-duc, to their own re-  
XVI. sources.

1794.

Battle of  
Bure-  
monde, and  
retreat of  
the Aus-  
trians.  
Sept. 18.

Meanwhile the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, made preparations for a general attack on the scattered forces of Clairfait. On the 18th, the Republicans, divided into six columns, broke up, and a number of partial actions took place along the whole line; but the post of Ayvaile having been forced by the French, the Austrians fell back, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, and thirty-six pieces of cannon; and, after several ineffectual attempts to make a stand, finally evacuated their positions on the Meuse, and retired towards Rolduc and Aix-la-Chapelle. Jourdan immediately followed them; and while Kleber, with fifteen thousand men, formed the blockade of Maestricht, the General himself, with a hundred thousand, pressed the discomfited forces of Clairfait, now hardly in a condition to keep the field, from the confusion and precipitance of their retreat. In vain the Austrians took up a strong defensive position behind the Roer: On the 2d of October, the Republican columns were in motion at break of day, to assail their position; and for the first time since the Revolution, the splendid spectacle was exhibited of ninety thousand men moving to the attack, with the precision and regularity of a field day. The Imperialists occupied a series of heights behind the river, from whence their numerous artillery kept up a destructive plunging fire upon the advancing columns of the French; but nothing could arrest the enthusiasm of the Republicans. The French grenadiers, with Bernadotte at their head, plunged into the stream, and drove the Austrians from the opposite heights, while General Scherer, on the other wing,<sup>1</sup> also forced the passage

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
32, 36, 46.  
Toul. v. 69.  
Th. vii. 79,  
84.



of the river, and made himself master of Dueren. CHAP. XVI.  
 These disasters induced Clairfait, who still bravely maintained himself in the centre, to order a general retreat, which was effected before nightfall, with the loss of three thousand men: while that of the French did not amount to half the number. 1794.

This battle, a second time, decided the fate of Flanders, and threw back the Imperial army beyond the Rhine. The Austrians, in haste, crossed that river at Mulheim, and Jourdan entered Cologne the day following, and soon afterwards extended his troops to Bonn. Soon after the siege of Maestricht was seriously undertaken, and such was the activity of the Committee of Public Safety, that a splendid siege equipage, of two hundred pieces, descended the Meuse, and speedily spread desolation through the city. A large cavern, discovered in the rock on which the fort of St Petre was situated, gave rise to a subterraneous warfare, in which the French soldiers, ever ready to adapt themselves to circumstances, speedily distinguished themselves, and acquired a superiority over their opponents. At length, on November 4, the garrison, despairing of being relieved, capitulated, upon condition of not serving against the French till regularly exchanged; and

Who cross  
the Rhine  
and Maes-  
tricht is  
taken.  
Oct. 5.

Oct. 20.

Nov. 4.

CHAP. the retreat of the Duke of York, Pichegru, whose  
XVI. forces amounted to seventy thousand efficient troops,

1794. formed the siege of Bois-le-duc, the situation of

Active  
pursuit of  
the Eng-  
lish by the  
Republi-  
cans, and  
retreat be-  
hind the  
Waal.

which, being at the confluence of three streams, was  
of importance as a base to their future operations.  
The States-General had neglected to provide for  
the defence of this important fortress; and the Duke  
of York had not a man he could detach for its

succour; its garrison was too weak either to man  
the works or undergo the fatigue of a siege; the

Sept. 29. fort of Crevecour surrendered almost at the first  
shot, and in a fortnight after the place capitulated,

Oct. 10. after a resistance disgraceful to the Dutch arms.

After this success, the English general distributed his  
troops along the line of the Waal, in hopes of being  
able to maintain a communication with the fortress  
of Grave, now threatened with a siege; but Pichegru,  
continuing his career of success, crossed the Meuse,  
and attacked the advanced posts of the Allies with  
so much vigour, that they were compelled to fall  
back, with considerable loss, across the Waal. After  
this check, the Duke of York stationed part of his  
troops in an intrenched camp, under the cannon of  
Nimeguen, and the remainder in a line around  
Thiel, and between the Waal and the Leck, com-  
municating with the Dutch corps at Gorcum, in the  
hope of being permitted to remain there undisturbed  
during the winter. Meanwhile Pichegru invested  
Grave and Venloo; the latter of which, though  
defended by a sufficient garrison of eighteen hun-  
dred men, and amply provided with artillery and

<sup>1</sup> Toul v.  
83, 72, 77.  
78. Jom.  
vi. 47, 56.  
Th. vii. 86. ammunition, surrendered before the works were  
injured, from the mere annoyance of the enemy's  
musketry.<sup>1</sup>

The successive intelligence of the defection of the

Prussians, and the open abandonment of the Low Countries by the Austrian troops, which exposed Holland and Hanover to the immediate invasion of the Republican forces, afforded the Opposition in the English Parliament a favourable opportunity for renewing their attacks on the government; and they triumphantly observed, that after twenty-seven months of bloodshed and combats, the Allies were reduced to the same situation in which they were when Dumourier projected the invasion of Holland. But nothing could shake the firmness of Mr Pitt. "It matters little," said he, "whether the disasters which have arisen are to be ascribed to the weakness of the generals, the intrigues of camps, or the jealousies of the cabinets; the fact is, that they exist, and that we must anew commence the salvation of Europe." In pursuance of this heroic resolution, Sir Arthur Paget was dispatched to Berlin, to endeavour to obtain some light on the ambiguous and suspicious conduct of that power, and Lord Spencer to Vienna, to endeavour to divert the Imperial Cabinet from their alarming intention of abandoning the Low Countries. As soon as the latter nobleman arrived at Vienna, he obtained a private audience of the Emperor, and laid before him the

CHAP.  
XVI.

Efforts of  
the Eng-  
lish Oppo-  
sition to  
decry the  
war, and  
firmness of  
Mr Pitt.

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

But the  
Austrian  
and Prus-  
sian Cabl-  
nets re-  
solve on  
peace, and  
contract  
their  
efforts.

The cabinet of Vienna however, secretly inclined to peace, delayed giving any definite answer to the proposals of Mr Pitt, and meanwhile entertained secret overtures from the French government; while Clairfait received orders to remain altogether on the right bank of the Rhine, and Alvinzi was merely detached with twenty-five thousand men to co-operate with the Duke of York in the defence of Holland. This retreat renewed the alarm of Prussia for her possessions on the Rhine, which was much increased by the cessation about the same period of the subsidies from the English government, who most justly declined to continue their monthly payments to a power which was doing nothing to the common cause. Frederick William upon this withdrew twenty thousand of his best troops from the army of the Rhine, to join the forces which the Empress Catharine was moving towards Warsaw under the far-famed Suwarrow. The French immediately made themselves masters of the whole left bank of the Rhine; the castle of Rheinfels fell into their hands, and there remained nothing to the Allies of their great possessions on that side of the stream but the fortresses of Luxembourg and Mayence. It was now evident that the coalition was rapidly approaching its dissolution; the King of Prussia openly received overtures for peace from the French government, while the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Elector of Saxony, the elector of Mayence, and the other lesser potentates, secretly made advances to the same effect, and insisted so strongly on the danger of their situation, that the Emperor, notwithstanding all the firmness of Thugut, was obliged to acquiesce in their pacific measures. The 5th of December was the day fixed for the discussion of the important question of peace or war in the diet of the empire. And such

Dec. 5.

was the consternation generally diffused by the divisions of the Allies, and successes of the French, that fifty-seven voices then declared for peace, and thirty-six demanded the King of Prussia for a mediator. This important resolution at once determined the conduct of Prussia. She now threw off the mask, and established conferences at Bâle preparatory to a peace; while England made unheard-of efforts to retain Austria in the confederacy, and at length, by the offer of a subsidy of L.6,000,000, prevailed on that power to maintain her armies on the defensive<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the Rhine, and resume, in the ensuing campaign, a vigorous offensive in Italy.<sup>Hard. iii. 81, 95, 110.</sup>

The successes which have been detailed, great as they were, turned out to be but the prelude, on the part of the French, to a winter campaign, attended with still more decisive results. Towards the end of October, Pichegru undertook the siege of Nimoguen; the Duke of York approached with thirty thousand men, and by a vigorous sally upon the besiegers, who had the temerity to open their trenches, though the place was only invested on the left bank of the Waal, gained an ephemeral success, attended by no important consequences. Shortly after, the French established some batteries, destined to com-

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

Siege of  
Nimoguen,  
and winter  
campaign  
in Holland,  
and misun-  
derstand-  
ing be-  
tween the  
Dutch and  
English.  
Oct. 27.

CHAP.  
XVI.1794.  
Nov. 4.

follow their example. Terror seized their ranks; they precipitated themselves upon the bridge, which was burned before the rear-guard had passed over; one regiment was obliged to capitulate, and part of another, embarked on a flying bridge, was stranded on the left bank, and next day made prisoners by the French; and this splendid fortress, which rendered them masters of the passage of the Waal, fell into the hands of the Republicans. The Dutch loudly reproached the English with the abandonment of this important point, but apparently without reason; for how was it to be expected that the Duke of York, with thirty thousand men, was to maintain himself, in presence of seventy thousand French, with the Rhine in his rear, when three times that force of Austrians had deemed themselves insecure, till they had that river, a hundred miles further up, thrown between them and the enemy? Be that as it may, the evacuation of Nimeguen completed the misunderstanding between the allied powers, and by spreading the belief in Holland that their cause was hopeless, and that their allies were about to abandon them, eminently contributed to the easy conquest of the United Provinces, which so soon after followed. Grave was immediately besieged; and Breda, one of the last of the Dutch barrier towns, invested.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v. 76, 77.  
Jom. vi. 174, 177.  
Th. vi. 176, 177.

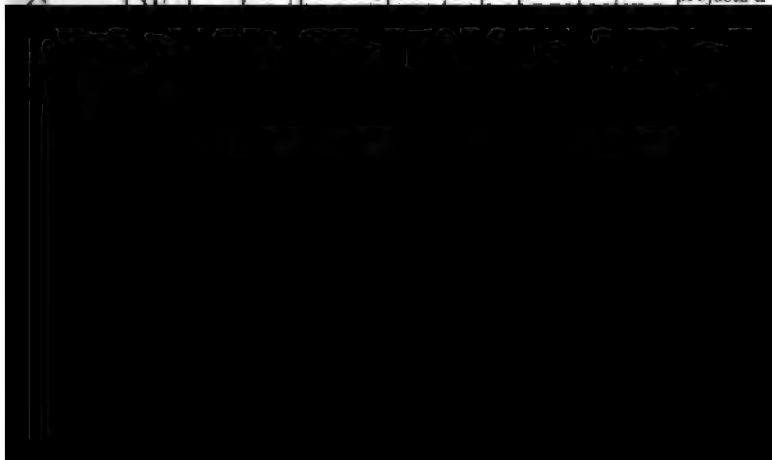
The French army, worn out with seven months of incessant marching and bivouacs, now stood extraordinarily fatigued and in need of repose. The clothing of the soldiers was in rags, their shoes were worn out, and the equipments of the artillery, but for the supplies received from the captured places, would long ago have been exhausted. But all the representations of the generals upon these points were overruled; and the Committee of Public Safety, inflamed by the spirit of con-

Extraordi-  
nary fa-  
tigue and  
increased  
efforts of  
the French  
army.

quest, and guided by the enterprize of Carnot, resolved upon exacting from them fresh sacrifices. Accustomed to find every difficulty yield to the devotion of the Republican soldiers, they resolved, after a month's rest to the troops, to prosecute their successes in the midst of a rigorous winter, and to render the severity of the season the means of overcoming the natural defences of the Dutch provinces. The first object was to cross the Waal, and, after driving the allied forces over all the mouths of the Rhine, penetrate into Holland by the Isle of Bommel. For this purpose, boats had for some time past been collected at Fort Crevecour, and pontoons and other materials, for a bridge at Bois-le-duc; and the preparations having been completed, the passage was commenced, at daybreak, on the 12th November. But the firm countenance of the Allies defeated all their attempts; and, after several ineffectual efforts, Moreau, whose sagacity clearly perceived the danger of persisting in the design, withdrew his troops, and the army was put into winter quarters, between the Meuse and the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

Early in December, the Duke of York, supposing the campaign finished, set out for England, leaving Pichegru



CHAP. front, while the Rhine and the Waal, the waters of  
 XVI. which are prevented from congealing by the tide  
 1794. which flowed up there, charged with floating ice in  
 his rear, was justly afraid that the same cold which  
 exposed his line to the attacks of the enemy, would  
 render the passage of the arms of the sea in his rear,  
 impracticable, in the event of retreat. Influenced  
 by these apprehensions, he passed his heavy cavalry  
 to the other side of the Waal, evacuated his maga-  
 zines and hospitals upon Dewenter, and ordered the  
 Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, cantoned with the most  
 advanced corps in the Isle of Bommel, to abandon  
 it, on the first intelligence of the passage of the  
 Meuse by the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Jom. vi.  
 183, 184.  
 Toul. v.  
 107. Th.  
 vii. 182,  
 183.

Descrip-  
 tion of  
 Holland.

Situated around the mouths of the Rhine, Hol-  
 land exhibits the most striking contrast to the stu-  
 pendous range of snowy mountains in which it takes  
 its rise. It is remarkable that the two most cele-  
 brated Republics of Europe, and the only ones which  
 have long survived the changes of time, are placed  
 at the opposite extremities of that great river; and  
 that freedom in the one has found the same shelter  
 in the mountains from which it springs, as in the  
 other, amidst the marshes, in which it is lost before  
 emptying itself into the sea. The Meuse and the  
 Scheldt on the south, and the Wechte and Yssel on  
 the north, flow through a part of its surface; but the  
 principal rivers which traverse the Dutch territory,  
 the New Yssel, the Waal, as well as the Rhine pro-  
 perly so called, and a multitude of lesser branches,  
 are but mouths of that mighty stream. Like the  
 Danube, the Nile, the Ganges, the Mississippi, and  
 all other great rivers, the Rhine has, in the course  
 of ages, brought down an immense mass of sand, gra-  
 vel, and other alluvial matter,<sup>2</sup> which, accumulating

<sup>1</sup> Personal  
 observa-  
 tion. Malte  
 Brun, vii.  
 2, 4.



on the level shores near its mouth, have at length formed the plains of Holland, through which its now broken and lazy current with difficulty finds a passage, in many different branches, to the German Ocean.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

A territory formed in this manner, by the confluence at their entrance into the sea of many different streams, is, of course, exceedingly flat, and in many places broken both by large internal lakes and considerable external arms of the sea and mouths of rivers.

Its sea-  
dykes and  
peculiar  
conforma-  
tion.

So frequent, indeed, are these aqueous interruptions of the Dutch territory, that in many places it is composed rather of a cluster of islands, than a continuous tract of dry land; and the inhabitants, from the constant necessity of traversing the sea, in passing from one part of the country to another, and the large proportion of their subsistence and their wealth which they derive from its fisheries or its commerce, are almost entirely nautical in their habits. So general is the custom of looking to water communication as the great means of intercourse, that when lakes or friths are wanting, the industry of the people has supplied artificial means of obtaining it; and a multitude of canals, cut in every direction, at once afford cheap and commodious channels for commerce, and furnish water for innu-

CHAP. out, in these low and grassy meads, by dykes, con-  
 XVI. structed in former times at an incredible expense,  
 1794. and maintained in these by incessant vigilance and  
 attention. The slightest relaxation in their care is  
 speedily followed with fatal effects; an accidental  
 fissure in the protecting sea front, a rat's hole, or  
 the displacing by a storm of a few feet of earth, if  
 not immediately remedied, is sufficient to open an  
 inlet to the external waters; quickly they pour down  
 to the lower level of the meadows; the entrance is  
 rapidly widened by the force of the torrent; in a  
 few hours a great breach is made in the rampart, the  
 ocean rushes in in a torrent some hundred fathoms  
 broad, the whole level surface is ere long covered  
 by the waves, the houses are submerged, and the  
 tops of the trees and spires of the villages appear  
 like distant islets amidst the waste of waters.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal  
 observa-  
 tion. Malte  
 Brun, vii.  
 4, 5.

Dreadful  
 irruptions  
 of the sea  
 in former  
 times.

Dreadful catastrophes in former times have taught  
 the reality and awful character of these dangers.  
 Three centuries and a half ago, the sea of Haarlem,  
 which covers a space five leagues long by two and a  
 half broad, was formed by the sea breaking through  
 the dykes which protected it. On the night of the  
 19th November 1421, during a violent storm, the  
 sea dyke of North Brabant gave way: the ocean  
 rushed in, and before morning seventy villages  
 had been submerged, a hundred thousand persons  
 drowned, and twelve square leagues of fertile land  
 converted into a watery waste, in which the re-  
 mains of steeples and buildings may still be dis-  
 cerned in calm weather beneath the waves. The  
 Dollart Sea, situated between the province of Gro-  
 ningen in North Holland and the territory of Ha-  
 novver, which is eight leagues long and three broad,  
 was formed by an inroad of the sea in 1277, which

swallowed up thirty-three villages; and the great Zuyder Zee itself, thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, which covers a surface as extensive as Yorkshire, was formed in 1225 by an irruption of the German Ocean, which broke through the line of sand-hills and dykes, the direction of which may still be clearly traced on the map, by the long line of islands which mark the original frontier of North Holland.<sup>1</sup>

A country, in this manner originally wrested, and still preserved, by incessant efforts, from the waves, necessarily has had a peculiar character and specific manners impressed upon it by the all-powerful signet of nature. Strenuous efforts have won for man the land which he inhabits; ceaseless vigilance alone preserves it; and these lasting causes have communicated to the inhabitants habits and customs peculiarly their own. Constant exertion, persevering industry, vigilant circumspection, have become habitual from necessity, and still form the great characteristics of the country. Their national character approaches more nearly perhaps to that of England than of any other people in Europe; but yet it is in some particulars widely different. It wants the fire and energy, the lofty spirit and great aspirations which have been

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Malte  
Brun, vii.

4, 5.

people.

Character  
and habits  
of the

CHAP. XVI. munity of interest retains the sailors and workmen in willing obedience to their superiors. Order and

1794. frugality constitute the leading features of the higher class of their merchants. Religion is established in decent competence; pauperism relieved with discriminating humanity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Personal observation.

Influences of this character on their national history.

Nor have these admirable qualities been without their reward, both in former and recent times. Holland for centuries has exhibited a spectacle of social felicity and general virtue which might well put richer and greater nations to the blush, for the superior natural advantages which they have misapplied, and the boundless physical resources they have wasted. During the terrible contest which terminated in the establishment of the religious freedom of the sixteenth century, Holland stood forth pre-eminent: the indomitable spirit of the House of Orange defeated successively the tyranny of Spain and the ambition of France; and the sieges of Haarlem and Leyden will remain to the end of the world enduring monuments of the almost supernatural constancy which the heroism of religious duty can inspire even in a pacific community. When England, deserting her natural post in the van of freedom, leagued with France to crush the religious liberties of Europe, that noble commonwealth strenuously and often successfully resisted; its fleets burned the English ships in their harbours; its admirals swept the Channel in their pride; and the maritime struggle, the severest that England ever knew, was determined at length, less by the defeat of the followers of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, than by the voluntary return of British policy to the alliance which duty, equally with interest, prescribed with their sturdy antagonists on the waves. When the French

Revolution broke out, and Holland, partly by external  
 violence, partly by internal delusion, was subjugated CHAP.  
XVI.  
 by the all-conquering Republic, the moral tempest 1794.  
 uprooted none of the bulwarks of order in that  
 steady community. Jacobin cupidity in vain urged  
 the insurgent multitude to deeds of spoliation; the  
 government was changed, but no acts of ferocity  
 were committed; the nation suffered and endured  
 during the despotism of Napoleon; and when at  
 length the colossus of imperial power was over-  
 thrown, ancient habits were resumed, ancient influ-  
 ences re-established, without one deed of revenge  
 being committed, or one tear, save in joy, being  
 shed; and the partizans, equally with the princes Procla-  
mation,  
Amster-  
dam, Nov.  
15, 1814.  
Infra, ix.  
679.  
 of the House of Orange, restored the former go-  
 vernment, with the glorious declaration “Orange  
 Boven!” old times are returning, what we have suf-  
 fered is forgotten and forgiven.”<sup>1</sup>

Achievements so wonderful, a history so glorious,  
 could have been brought about in a country enjoying Immense  
commerce  
of the  
Dutch.  
 so limited and sterile a territory, only by the energies  
 of commercial enterprise, and the resources of com-  
 mercial wealth. It is the merchants and sailors of  
 Holland who have, in every age, constituted alike in



CHAP. XVI.  
1794. turies they engrossed nearly the whole carrying trade of the world; the vast colonial empire of Great Britain and the disasters of the revolutionary war alone wrested it in part from them during the late conflicts. The merchants of Amsterdam numbered all the sovereigns of Europe among their debtors. All the luxuries of the earth were wafted to their shores by the sails of their commerce, and the commercial influence of a state so small as to be scarce distinguishable in a general map of the globe, was felt from one end of the world to the other.

The old United Provinces, now forming the kingdom of Holland, enjoyed a very limited territory; they contained only 1,036 square marine leagues, or 8,326 square geographical miles, amounting to 2,814,000 hectares. This small and swampy territory is inhabited by 2,443,000 inhabitants, being in many places, particularly the province of Holland properly so called, the most densely peopled country in Europe.\* Such, however, has been the vigour and enterprize of the Dutch, that this inconsiderable territory and population have acquired colonies in Africa, America, and the Indian archipelago, inhabited by 9,426,000 souls, and extending over a superficies of 234,000 square miles; so that the kingdom of Holland now embraces, in all parts of the world, 12,000,000 of souls and 244,000 square geographical miles of territory, or above twice and a half the whole area of Great Britain and Ireland, which embrace

\* This is the superficies and population of the old United Provinces; the modern kingdom of Holland has received, by the Treaty of Separation with Belgium in Nov. 15, 1831, a considerable district of Limburg and Luxembourg, inhabited by 331,000 souls; making the total population of the kingdom of Holland, in Europe, at this time, 2,775,000 souls; and its area in Europe, 3,252,000 hectares, or 9,780 square geographical miles.—MALTE BRUN, vii. 46; and BALBI, 637.

91,000. Its income, according to the budget of 1836, was 85,000,000 francs, (L.3,400,000), its expenditure is now 105,000,000 francs, (L.4,200,000), and its national debt, as fixed by the treaty of 1831, 559,000,000 francs, (L.22,000,000.) So disastrous has been the burden of the costly naval and military establishment which the iniquitous partition of the kingdom of the Netherlands by the revolutionary ambition of France and England in 1830 has occasioned.\* Yet in spite of this grievous load, such is the general confidence of all nations in the resources and good faith of the Dutch government, founded on centuries of probity and regularity of payment, that their funds are amongst the highest in Europe, and although yielding hardly five per cent dividend, are sought after as a secure investment all over the world.<sup>1</sup>

It is in the extraordinary industry and activity of the urban population of Holland, that the secret of these prodigious resources, existing in a country enjoying such very limited natural advantages, is to be found. The great towns of Holland are numerous, industrious, and wealthy, beyond those on a similar extent of territory in any other country of Europe.

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Malte  
Brun, vii.  
41, 43.  
Ann. Hist.  
xvi. 664.  
Balbi, 637.Magnitude  
and histo-  
rical cele-  
brity of  
their  
towns.

CHAP. XVI.  
1794. printing presses, and the glorious deeds in arms of which their ramparts have been the theatre, have given them a celebrity beyond what the magnitude

of their population could otherwise have produced.\* The necessity of fortifications to protect their narrow territory from the grasping ambition of France, has caused all their cities to be surrounded with walls, nearly the whole of which, at least on the frontier towards the Scheldt, have been celebrated in military annals by obstinate and heroic sieges. Like the cities of Greece in ancient, or of the Italian republics in modern times, they have become immortal alike in arts and in arms. Every step in Holland and Flanders is historical; the shades of William and De Wit, of Marlborough, of Eugene, arise at every step; glorious recollections recur to the mind with every name.

Except in defending towns, when both the soldiers and citizens often evinced the most obstinate valour, the military force of the United Provinces, which seldom exceeded forty thousand regular forces, and which was generally only twenty-four, never acquired any great celebrity. It was the navy which was the theatre at once of their ambition, of their prowess, and of their glory. With the exception of

\* The population of the principal towns in Holland is as follows:—

		Inhabitants.			Inhabitants.
Amsterdam	.	220,000	Rotterdam	.	68,000
The Hague	;	49,000	Utrecht	.	36,000
Zwoll	.	31,000	Leyden	.	29,000
Haarlem	.	21,000	Groningen	.	24,000
Dordrecht	.	17,500	Middelburg	.	17,000
Leeuwarden	.	17,000	Delft	.	14,000
Bois-le-Duc	.	13,000	Nimeguen	.	13,000
Breda	.	11,000	Hoorn	.	10,000
Zaandam	.	10,000	Dewenter	.	10,000
Bergen-op-Zoom	.	6,000	Flushing	.	5,000

—MALTE BRUN, vii. 39.



the English, the Dutch sailors were always the best  
 Europe; and if victory in the end inclined, in the  
 separate war with the United Provinces, to the  
 British flag, it was less from any superiority in the  
 armament than from the greater physical resources  
 which a larger territory and wider colonial do-  
 minions brought to their arms. No period, even in  
 the bright annals of the English navy, has yet  
 equalled the extraordinary and patriotic efforts made  
 by the Dutch when assailed by the combined fleets  
 of Louis XIV. and Charles II.; for England never  
 had to combat so overwhelming a superiority of  
 force. Fleets of forty and fifty ships of the line  
 were then repeatedly fitted out by the Republic,  
 which combated always with glory, often with suc-  
 cess, the yet more numerous combined squadrons of  
 France and England, led by the valiant Duke of  
 York. When the war broke out in 1793, the  
 United Provinces had still forty-nine ships of the  
 line, and seventy frigates and smaller vessels; though  
 a large proportion of the former bore only sixty-four  
 or fifty-six guns. But such were the calamities in  
 which they became involved from the revolutionary  
 war, that at this time, notwithstanding the acqui-  
 sition of a third of the Scheldt fleet by the treaty of  
 Malte

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> James'  
Naval His-  
tory, i. 50.

CHAP. heads of the different bodies. But these heads of  
XVI. incorporations or magistrates of towns did not

1794. constitute an hereditary exclusive aristocracy as in Venice or Genoa; they were composed of persons who had risen by their wealth and frugality to eminence in their several crafts, or acquired the lead in them by their probity and good conduct. Thus, though the working classes had scarce any share in the actual appointment of government, yet no sullen line of demarcation debarred them from it: the career of industry was open to all; but none could obtain influence but such as had acquired property. The institutions of Holland thus combined that opening of the path of public eminence to all, which Napoleon described as the great want which led to the French Revolution, with that arrangement of the citizens in their separate classes, and according to their realized estates, which the Romans accomplished by their centuries, and Mr Burke described as the true principle of a conservative democracy.\* It is in these institutions that the real cause of the stability and good faith of their government, and the tranquil, industrious character of their people is to be found.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burke's Appeal from Old to New Whigs, 228, 229.

The preceding account of this interesting Commonwealth will not, by the reflecting mind, be deemed misplaced even in a work of general history. It is not by mere magnitude of territory, or numbers

\* "There is no ground for holding a *multitude, told by head, to be the People*. Such a multitude can have no sort of title to alter the seat of power in any country; in which it ever ought to be the obedient, and not the ruling power. What power may belong to the whole mass, in which mass the natural aristocracy, or what by convention is appointed to represent and strengthen it, *acts in its proper place*, with its proper weight, and without being subjected to violence, is a deeper question. In that case, and with that concurrence, no such rash or desperate changes as we have witnessed in France, could ever be effected."—*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*—BURKE'S *Works*, vi. 228.

of inhabitants, that the importance of a country is to be measured; the wisdom of institutions, the heroism of actions, the patriotism of the people, constitute the only real passport to immortality. Judging by this standard, the United Provinces will take place, second to few in European history. Amidst the multiplied scenes of carnage, the sickening deeds of iniquity which have ever characterized democratic ascendancy in the world, it is refreshing to find one instance in which a Commonwealth has existed for centuries unchanged, alike in its character and its institutions, in which order has co-existed with freedom, social happiness with national independence, heavy public burdens with unshaken national faith. It encourages the pleasing hope, that means may yet be found of reconciling the contending interests of society, of elevating labour without destroying property, of affording protection without encouraging license, and opening industry without inducing quality.

But most of all, the British historian feels himself called upon to render such an act of justice to the United Provinces. Twice in English history—during periods which he would willingly blot from its annals—England in violation alike of its plighted

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Importance of  
the preceding  
record of  
Holland.Injustice  
of England  
to Holland  
in recent  
times.

CHAP. equalling the partition of Poland in its injustice  
 XVI. and a deviation from policy exceeding Joseph's de  
 1794. struction of the barrier towns in its inexpedienc

And if these lines should meet the eye of a citizen of that ancient and memorable Republic, it may afford him some consolation to discover that there are men in England who can look with equal eyes upon injustice committed under their own flag, as beneath the banners of their enemies ; and see in the impartial administration of Providence, the same justice dealt out to his own as to foreign usurpation. He must be blind indeed who does not discern, in the fierce demand for the Repeal of the Union which so soon after threatened dismemberment to the British empire, the natural consequence and just punishment of that iniquitous interference to support a Romish rebellion and the partition of an ancient ally, which, bringing the arms of England, for the first time recorded in history, into a league with Roman Catholic fanaticism, and French propagandism, has succeeded in converting the barrier of Europe against France, into the outwork of France against Europe, and restoring Antwerp, the fulcrum of Napoleon against England, to a revolutionary dynasty, and the sway of the tricolor flag.

Pichegru  
 makes a  
 general at-  
 tack on the  
 allied posi-  
 tion.  
 Dec. 28.

At the end of December, the Meuse being entirely frozen over and the cold as low as 17° of Reaumur, corresponding to zero of Fahrenheit, the French army commenced its winter campaign by an attack on two columns of the Dutch advanced posts. The result was what might have been expected from an irruption into a cordon of posts by concentrated forces ; the Dutch troops, after a slight resistance, fled in confusion, some to Utrecht, and others to Gorcum, leaving sixty pieces of cannon, and sixteen

hundred prisoners, in the hands of the invaders. In the general confusion the Republicans even made themselves masters of some forts on the Waal, and crossed that river; but the stream being not yet passable for heavy artillery, Pichegru withdrew his troops to the left bank. But meanwhile the right of the Dutch position was assailed by the French, one brigade driven into Williamstadt, another made prisoners, and Breda invested. On the following day Grave capitulated, after an honourable resistance of two months, and a bombardment of three weeks, from famine; a noble example, the more worthy of admiration, from its having occurred in the middle of the general consternation, and after numerous instances of shameful dereliction of duty on the part of the Dutch troops.<sup>1</sup>

So many disasters produced their usual effect in sowing the seeds of dissension among the allied generals. Walmoden was desirous to concentrate his forces on the Waal between Nimeguen and St André, to make head against the French, who were making preparations to cross that river; but the Prince of Orange insisted on the allied forces approaching Forcum, in order to cover the direct road to Am-

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Dec. 29.

<sup>1</sup> *Jom vi.*

186, 188.

*Toul. v.*170. *Th.*

vii. 186.

190.

*Walmoden**retires**towards**Hanover.*

CHAP. the passage of that river. But an unexpected panic  
 XVI. having occurred in the division entrusted with the  
 1794. park of artillery near Thiel, it became evident that  
 this position, in the dejected state of the army, was  
 not tenable; and the troops, with the exception of a  
 small vanguard, were withdrawn behind the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
 189, 191.  
 Th. vii.  
 191.

Despairing of their situation after the departure  
 of the English army, the States-General made pro-  
 posals of peace to the French government, offering,  
 as an inducement, to recognize the Republic, and  
 pay down two hundred millions of francs. The over-  
 tures were in the highest degree desirable, as the  
 success of the invasion depended entirely on the con-  
 tinuance of the frost, and an accommodation with  
 Holland would disengage fifty thousand men for oper-  
 ations on the Rhine; but the Committee of Public  
 Safety, carried away by success, and desirous at all  
 hazards of establishing a revolutionary government  
 in Holland, haughtily rejected them, and ordered  
 Pichegru instantly to invade that devoted country.  
 The continuance of the frost, which had now set  
 in with more severity than had been known for a hun-  
 dred years, gave an unlooked-for success to this  
 ambitious determination. On the 8th January the  
 French army crossed the Waal, then almost com-  
 pletely frozen, at various points, which was facilitated  
 by the capture of Thiel by General Moreau. A bat-  
 tle now could alone save the Dutch Republic; but  
 the dejected state of the army, suffering under the  
 extremity of cold and hardship, with the thermome-  
 ter at 17° of Reaumur, rendered this a hopeless  
 alternative. Walmoden, therefore, abandoned Hol-  
 land altogether, and retiring to the line of the Issel  
 from Arnheim to Zutphen, left the United Provinces  
 to their fate.<sup>2</sup>

Dutch sue  
 for peace  
 in vain, and  
 French  
 cross the  
 Waal.

Jan. 8,  
 1795.

<sup>2</sup> Th. vi.  
 191. Toul.  
 v. 171.  
 Jom. vi.  
 192, 196.

The situation of the Stadtholder was now in the CHAP. XVI. highest degree embarrassing. Abandoned by the 1794. army of General Walmoden, unable with his single Stadtholder embarks for England, and a revolution breaks out at Amsterdam, which admits the French troops. forces to make head against the torrent of the Republican forces, distracted by the divisions in all the great towns in his rear, and daily expecting a revolution at Amsterdam, the Prince of Orange resolved to abandon the Republic altogether, and embark for England. With this view he presented himself before the States-General, and after declaring that he had done his utmost to save the country, but without success, avowed his resolution of retiring from his command, and recommended to them to make a separate peace with the enemy. On the following day he embarked at Scheveningen, and the States immediately issued an order to their soldiers to cease all resistance to the invaders, and dispatched ambassadors to the headquarters of Pichegru to propose terms of peace. Meanwhile the French generals, desirous to avoid the appearance of subjugating the Dutch, were pausing in their career of success, expectation of revolutionary movements manifesting themselves in the principal towns. General Laumond wrote to the leaders of the insurrection:



CHAP. XVI. army was already at the gates; terror seized the bravest hearts; the magistrates resigned their au-

1794.  
 1 Jom. vi. authority; the democratic leaders were installed in  
 199, 200. their stead; the tricolor flag hoisted on the Hotel de  
 Toul. v. Ville; and the Republican troops, amidst the shouts  
 175. Th. of the multitude, entered the city.<sup>1</sup>  
 vii. 191,  
 192.

Fall of  
 Utrecht,  
 Leyden,  
 and Haar-  
 lem.

The conquest of this rich and powerful capital, which had defied the whole power of Louis XIV., and imposed such severe conditions on France at the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, was of immense importance to the French government. Utrecht, Leyden, Haarlem, and all the other towns of the Republic, underwent a similar revolution, and every where received the French soldiers as deliverers; the power of the Convention soon extended from the Pyrenees to the northern extremity of Friesland. The immense naval resources, the vast wealth which ages of independence had accumulated in the United Provinces, lay at the mercy of the Convention. This great revolution, to the honour of the democratic party be it recorded, was accomplished without bloodshed or any of the savage cruelty which had stained the first efforts of a free spirit in France; a signal example of the influence of free institutions in softening the asperity of civil dissension, calculated to alleviate many of the gloomy anticipations which the annals of the French Revolution might otherwise produce.<sup>2</sup>

2 Jom. vi.  
 208, 212.  
 Th. vii.  
 194.

Dutch  
 fleet cap-  
 tured by  
 the French  
 cavalry.

These successes were soon followed by others, if possible still more marvellous. On the same day on which General Daendels had entered Amsterdam, the left wing of the army, after passing the lake of Biesbos on the ice, made themselves masters of the great arsenal of Dordrecht, containing six hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and immense



stores of ammunition. The same division immediately after passed through Rotterdam, and took possession of the Hague, where the States-General were assembled. To complete the wonders of the campaign, a body of cavalry and flying artillery crossed the Zuyder Zee on the ice, and summoned the fleet, lying frozen up at the Texel; and the commanders, confounded at the hardihood of the enterprise, surrendered their ships to this novel species of assailants. At the same time the province of Zeeland capitulated to the French troops; and the right wing of the army continuing its successes, compelled the English to abandon the line of the Issel; Friesland and Groningen were successively evacuated, and the whole United Provinces overrun by the Republican arms. The English Government, finding their services useless on the Continent, dismissed the Hanoverians to their native country, and the British, embarked on board their ships, speedily carried the terror of their arms to the remotest colonies of the Indian seas.<sup>1</sup>

The discipline of the French soldiers during this campaign, contributed as much as their valour to these astonishing successes. Peaceable citizens, converted into soldiers by the degree of September

CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

Jom. vi.  
208, 212.  
Th. vii.  
194, 195.

Extraor-  
dinary dis-  
cipline of  
the French



CHAP. crossed numerous streams in the depth of a rigorous  
 XVI. winter, and penetrated, after a month's bivouacking,  
 1794. to Amsterdam, without having committed the slightest disorder. The inhabitants of that wealthy capital, justly apprehensive of pillage from the entrance of so necessitous a body, were astonished to see ten regiments of soldiers, half naked, defile through their streets to the sound of military music, pile their arms in the midst of ice and snow, and calmly wait, as in their own metropolis, the quarters and barracks assigned for their lodging. It was such splendid conduct as this which spread so widely, and perpetuated so long, the general illusion in favour of Republican institutions; but the Dutch were not long in being awakened to sad realities from their deceitful dream: Forty of their ships of war had been withdrawn with the Prince of Orange, and were lodged in the British ports; the remaining fifty were immediately taken possession of by the Republicans for the service of the French. The credit of the famous Bank of Amsterdam was violently shaken, and owed its withstanding the shock to the intervention of government; forced requisitions, to an immense amount, of clothing, stores, and provisions, gave them a foretaste of the sweets of military dominion; while a compulsory regulation, which compelled the shopkeepers to accept of the depreciated French assignats at the rate of nine sous for a franc, restored the army to abundance by throwing the loss arising from the depreciation, upon the inhabitants of the enfranchised capital.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. vii.  
 193, 199.  
 Jom. vi.

To complete the picture of this memorable campaign it is only necessary to recount the concluding operations on the Upper Rhine and the Alps.

Conclud-  
 ing oper-  
 ations on  
 the Rhine.

The check at Kayserslautern having induced the

French government to reinforce their troops on the German frontier, ten thousand men were withdrawn from Savoy, and fifteen thousand from La Vendée, to augment the armies on the Rhine. By the middle of June the armies on that river amounted to 114,000 men, of whom fifty thousand were on the lower part of the river, forty thousand on the upper, and twenty-four thousand in the Vosges mountains. The Committee of Public Safety incessantly impressed upon General Michaud, who commanded them, the necessity of taking the initiative, by renewing his attacks without intermission, and of acting in large masses; but that general, not sufficiently aware of the new species of warfare which the Republicans had commenced, adhered to the old system of a parallel attack along the whole line. The action took place on the 2d July, and led to no decisive result. The enemy were touched at all points, but vigorously pushed at none; and one thousand men lost to the Republicans without any advantage. Upon receiving intelligence of this check, Carnot renewed his orders to concentrate his forces, and act by columns on particular points. A fortnight after the attack was renewed, and, by a concentrated effort against the centre of the allied

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

CHAP. fifteen thousand choice troops from La Vendée, and  
XVI. raised to forty thousand men, made a forward move-

1794. ment and occupied Treves. But while this was

Army of  
the Moselle  
occupies  
Treves,  
and Allies  
driven  
across the  
Rhine.  
Aug. 9.

going forward, the Prussian army, instructed by their recent disaster, and observing the dispersed position of the French army in the valley of the Rhine, made a sudden attack with twenty-five thousand men upon the division of General Meynier at Kayserslautern, totally defeated them, and drove them back with the loss of four thousand men. Had this success been vigorously supported, it might have led to the most important results, and totally changed the fate of the campaign; but not being

Aug. 19. followed up by the bulk of the allied force, which still preserved its extended position, it produced only a temporary consternation in the French armies. In effect, such was the inactivity of the allied generals, and their obstinate adherence to the system of position, that they allowed the army of the Moselle, not forty thousand strong, to remain undisturbed in Treves for two months, though flanked on one side by sixty-five thousand Prussians and Austrians, who occupied the Palatinate; and, on the other, by eighty thousand Imperialists, who were en-

Oct. 17. camped in the neighbourhood of Luxembourg. At length, in the beginning of October, the Committee of Public Safety directed the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine to unite and expel the Allies from the Palatinate. This junction having been effected, and the retreat of Clairfait beyond the Rhine exposed their right flank to be turned, the Prussians fell back to Mayence, and crossed to the right bank by its bridge of boats. That important fortress was soon after invested; Rheinfels, contrary to the most express orders, evacuated; and the old Mar-

hal Bender shut up in the great fortress of Luxembourg, with ten thousand men. The rigours of the season, and the contagious diseases incident to the great accumulation of young soldiers, soon filled the hospitals, and the Republican armies were more severely weakened by the mortality of their winter season, than they would have been by the losses of the most harassing summer campaign.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
78, 86, 91.  
Th. vii. 89.

In Savoy, the great detachments made in June to reinforce the army of the Rhine, reduced the French armies to the defensive; and they confined their efforts to maintain themselves till the falling of the snows on the summits of the Alps, from the neighbourhood of Gex to the valley of the Stura. The plan of Buonaparte for the invasion of Piedmont by the valley of the Stura, was not adopted by the Committee of Public Safety, and the breathing-time thus afforded them, enabled the court of Turin to recover from their consternation. Not disconcerted with this, he presented a second plan to the government, the object of which was to move forward the army from Italy to Demonte, and, after reducing that place, advance to the valley of Coni, while sixteen thousand men, from the army of the Alps, covered their ope-

Conclusion  
of the  
campaign  
in Savoy.



CHAP. tion between the Republicans and the state of Genoa;  
XVI. from which their principal resources were derived.

1794. After this success both parties retired into their winter-quarters, and the snows of that rigorous season there, as elsewhere, gave repose to the contending armies.

The contest in La Vendée, which a little humanity on the part of the government would have completely terminated after the victories of Savenay and Mans, was rekindled during this year by the severities exercised towards the vanquished. The state of La Vendée at this period is thus painted by an eyewitness attached to the Republican armies:—  
“ I did not see a single male being at the towns of Saint Amand, Chantonay, or Herbiers. A few women alone had escaped the Republican sword. Country-seats, once so numerous in that country, farm-houses, cottages, in fine, habitations of every sort had been reduced to ashes. The herds, and flocks were wandering in terror around their usual places of shelter, now smoking in ruins, and lowing in vain for the hands which were wont to feed them. At night, the flickering and dismal blaze of conflagration afforded light over the whole country. The bleating of the disturbed flocks, and the bellowing of the terrified cattle, was drowned in the hoarse notes of the ravens, and the howling of the wolves and other wild animals who had been attracted from afar to the scene of slaughter. As I journeyed in the night, guided by the uncertain light of the flames, a distant column of fire widening and increasing as I approached, served as a beacon. It was the town of Mortagne in flames. When I arrived there, no living creatures were to be seen except a few wretched women, who were striving to

ve some remnants of their property during the CHAP. general conflagration."<sup>1</sup> These appalling cruelties XVI. were universal, and produced the usual effect of 1794. Each excessive and uncalled for severity. The in-<sup>1</sup> Mem. d'un An- nual columns of Thurreau, the Noyades of Car- cien Ad- ministrateur des es victis si non desperare salutem," became the Armées Républi- cans, p. 97. ciple of a new war, if possible more murderous d disastrous than the former; but it was con- ducted on a different principle. Broken and dis- rged by the Republican forces, pierced in every section by the infernal columns, the Vendéans re unable to collect any considerable body of ces; but from amidst their woods and fastnesses, ey maintained in detached parties an undaunted stance. Stofflet and Charette continued, after e death of the other chiefs, to direct their efforts, t their mutual jealousy prevented any operations considerable importance, and led them to sacri- e to their ambition the gallant M. De Marigny,<sup>2</sup> Jom. v. e of the most intrepid and constant of the Royalist 278. Lac. ders.<sup>3</sup> xii. 295.

In the spring of 1794, General Thurreau esta-  
 shed sixteen intrenched camps round the insurgent Storming



CHAP. kindled a new and terrible warfare in that extensive  
XVI. province, which, under the name of the Chouan

1794. War, long consumed the vitals, and paralysed the  
forces of the Republic. The nobles of that district,  
Puisaye, Bourmont, George Cadoudal, and others,  
commenced a guerilla warfare with murderous effect,  
and soon on a space of twelve hundred square  
leagues, thirty thousand men were in arms in de-  
tached parties of two or three thousand each.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
243, 246,  
284. Lac.  
xii. 297.

Chouan  
insurrec-  
tion in  
Brittany,  
and cha-  
racter of  
Puisaye.

Brittany, intersected by woody ridges, abounding  
with hardy smugglers, ardently devoted to the Roy-  
alist cause, and containing a population of 2,500,000  
souls, afforded far greater resources for the Royalist  
cause than the desolated La Vendée, which never  
contained a third of that number of inhabitants.  
Puisaye was the soul of the insurrection. Proscribed  
by the Convention, with a price set upon his head;  
wandering from chateau to chateau, from cottage to  
cottage, he became acquainted with the spirit of the  
Bretons, their inextinguishable hatred of the Con-  
vention, and conceived the bold design of hoisting  
the Royal standard again amidst its secluded fast-  
nesses. His indefatigable activity, energetic charac-  
ter, and commanding eloquence, eminently qualified  
this intrepid chief to become the leader of a party,  
and soon brought all the other Breton nobles to range  
themselves under his standard. Early in 1794, he  
opened a communication with the English govern-  
ment, and strongly urged the immediate landing of  
an expedition of ten thousand men, with arms and  
ammunition, with which he answered for the re-  
establishment of the Royalist cause. So formidable  
did this war soon become, that, according to an offi-  
cial report of Carnot before the end of the year,  
there were no less than a hundred and twenty



thousand Republicans on the shores of the ocean, of whom above eighty thousand were in active warfare. CHAP. XVI.  
 Even in Normandy, the seeds of revolt were beginning to manifest themselves; and detached parties howled themselves between the Loire and the Seine, which struck terror into Paris itself. "On considering this state of affairs," says Jomini, "it is evident that there existed over all the west of France powerful elements of resistance, and that if they had been united under one head, and seconded by the allied powers, it was by no means impossible to have restored the Royalist cause." Had the Duke D'Enghien, with a few thousand men, landed in Brittany, and established a council, directing alike Puisaye, Arnier, Stofflet, Sapinaud, Scapeaux, and others, so to combine their energies for one common object, instead of acting as they did without any concert in detached quarters, it is impossible to calculate what result might have been. It is painful to think that at that crisis might have been effected, had even thousand troops from England formed the nucleus of an army, made the Royalists masters of the fortified seaport towns with which the coast abounded, and lent to the insurgents the aid of

<sup>1</sup> Puisaye's  
 Mem. iv.

117, 141.

Jom. vi.

234, 252.

fleet, and the towers of her name!



CHAP.  
XVI.

1794.

asters had checkered the campaign at both extremities of the Pyrenees. At its conclusion, the Spaniards, defeated both in Biscay and Catalonia, were suing for peace ; the Piedmontese, driven over the summit of the Alps, were trembling for their Italian possessions ; the allied forces had every where recrossed the Rhine ; Flanders was subdued, La Vendée vanquished, Holland revolutionized, and the English banners had fled for refuge into the states of Hanover. From a state of depression, greater than the darkest era of Louis XIV., France had passed at once to triumphs greater than had graced the proudest period of his reign.

The prodigious  
forces of  
the Republic.

But these immense successes had not been gained without proportionate losses, and it was already evident that the enormous sacrifices by which they had been achieved, could not be continued for any length of time without inducing national ruin. During the course of the campaign the Republic had strained every nerve ; 1,700,000 men had at one time combated by sea and land under its banners ; and at its close, 1,100,000 were still numbered in the rolls of the army. But of this great force, only 600,000 were actually under arms ; the remainder encumbered the hospitals, or were scattered in a sickly or dying state in the villages on the line of the army's march. The disorder in the Commissariat, and departments entrusted with the clothing and equipment of the troops, had risen to the highest pitch : hardly any exertions could have provided for the wants of such a multitude of armed men, and the cupidity or selfishness of the revolutionary agents had diverted great part of the funds destined for these objects, into the accumulation of their private fortunes. It augments our admiration for the soldiers of the Republic, when we

collect that their triumphs were generally achieved CHAP. XVI.  
 without magazines, tents, or equipments of any kind; 1794.  
 at the armies, destitute of every thing, bivouacked  
 the most rigorous season equally with the mildest,  
 and that the innumerable multitudes who issued, Jom. vi. 214, 215.  
 from its frontiers, almost always provided for their Toul. v. 194.  
 daily wants from the country through which they  
 passed.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could have enabled the government to  
 make head against such expenses, but the system of  
 assignats, which in effect, for the time, gave them the Immense issues of assignats to uphold these great expenses.  
 disposal of all the wealth of France.\* The funds on  
 which this enormous paper circulation was based, em-  
 bracing all the confiscated property in the kingdom,  
 lands, houses, and moveables, were estimated at  
 sixteen milliards of francs, or nearly L.600,000,000  
 sterling; but in the distracted state of the country,  
 no purchasers could be found for such immense  
 national domains, and therefore the security for all  
 practical purposes was merely nominal. The con-  
 sequence was, that the assignat fell to one-twelfth  
 its real value; in other words, an assignat for  
 forty-four francs, was worth only two francs; that  
 a note for a pound was worth only 1s. 8d. As  
 the payments both to and by government, were

CHAP. receivers of money of every description became enormous; and, in fact, the public expenses were defrayed  
 XVI. out of the chasm made in their private fortunes. It  
 1794. was evident, that such a state of things could not continue permanently; and accordingly the national exhaustion appeared in the campaign of 1795, and the Republic would have sunk under the failure of its financial resources in a few years, had not the genius of Napoleon discovered a new mode of maintaining the armies, and by making war maintain war, converted a suffering defensive, into an irresistible aggressive power.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. vii.  
239.

Progressive increase of the French forces during the campaign.

At the commencement of the campaign, the Allies were an overmatch for the French at every point, and the superiority of their discipline was more especially evident in the movements and attacks of large masses. That their enterprizes were not conducted with skill; that they suffered under the jealousies and divisions of the cabinets which directed their movements; and that by adhering to the ruinous system of extending their forces, and a war of positions, they threw away all the advantages which might have arisen from the number and experience of their forces, must appear evident to the most careless observer. The fate of the campaign in Flanders was decided by the detachment of Jourdan, with forty thousand men from the Meuse, to reinforce the army of the Sambre; what then might have been expected, if Cobourg had early concentrated his forces for a vigorous attack in Flanders, or the immense masses which lay inactive on the Rhine, been brought to bear on the general fortune of the campaign?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jom. vi.  
330, 338.

But it may be doubted whether, by any exertions, the allied cause could have been finally made triumphant in France at this period. The time for ener-

tic measures was past, the revolutionary fever was CHAP.  
 urning with full fury, and fifteen hundred thousand XVI.  
 en were in arms to defend the Republic. By 1794.  
 ing up column after column to the attack ; by The period  
 rowing away with merciless prodigality the lives of success  
 the conscripts ; by sparing neither blood nor for the  
 measure to accomplish their objects ; by drawing Allies was  
 thout scruple upon the wealth of one-half of France past.  
 confiscation, and of the other by assignats, the  
 ommittee of Public Safety had produced a force,  
 ich was for the time unconquerable. By a more  
 ergetic and combined system of warfare, the Allies  
 ght have broken through the frontier on more  
 n one point, and wrested from the Republic her  
 ntier fortresses ; but they would probably have  
 nd in the heart of the country, a resistance, which  
 uld in the end have proved their ruin. What  
 ght have been easily done by vigorous measures  
 1792 or 1793, could not have been accomplished  
 any exertions in 1794, after the great levies of  
 Convention had come into the field, and the  
 rgy of revolution was turned into military confi-  
 ce by the successes which had concluded the  
 ceding campaign.

It deserves notice too, what signal benefit accrued



CHAP. ing movements to resist them. Thus, the transfer-  
 XVI. ence of the troops which conquered at Toulon to the  
 1794. Eastern Pyrenees; of the divisions of the army of  
 Savoy to the Rhine; of Jourdan's corps to the Sam-  
 bre; and of the garrison of Mayence to Nantes; the  
 immediate causes of the successes in Catalonia, the  
 Palatinate, Flanders, and La Vendée, successively  
 took place, without any corresponding movement  
 having been made in the troops opposed to them,  
 to reinforce the threatened quarters. Each divi-  
 sion of the allied forces, delighted at being relieved  
 from the pressure under which it had previously  
 suffered, relapsed into a state of inactivity, without  
 ever recollecting, that with an active and enterpris-  
 ing enemy, a serious defeat at one point was a dis-  
 aster at all.

The Archduke Charles has said, that the great  
 Great mili- superiority of France, in a military point of view,  
 tary effect of the arises from the chain of fortresses with which it is  
 French surrounded, whereby it is enabled, with equal facility,  
 fortresses. to throw delays in the way of an invasion of their  
 own, and to find a solid base for an irruption into  
 their neighbour's territory; and that the want of such  
 a barrier on the right bank of the Rhine is the prin-  
 cipal defect in the system of German defence.<sup>1</sup> The  
 campaign of 1794 affords a striking confirmation of  
 this observation. After having driven the French  
 forces, during the campaign of 1793, from the field,  
 and compelled them to seek shelter in intrenched  
 camps, or fortified towns, the Allies were so much  
 impeded by the siege of the fortresses which lay in  
 their road, that they were compelled to halt in their  
 career of success; and France had time to complete  
 the vast armaments which afterwards proved so fatal  
 to Europe. When the Republic, on the other hand,  
 became the invading power, in 1794, the want of any

<sup>1</sup> Archduke  
 Charles, i.  
 p. 274.

fortified towns to resist their progress, enabled them to overrun Flanders, and drive the Allies in a few weeks beyond the Rhine. This consideration is of vital importance, both in the estimate of the relative power of France and the neighbouring states, and in all measures intended to restrain its ambitious projects.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1794.

There are few spectacles in nature so sublime as that of a people bravely combating for their liberties, against a powerful and vindictive enemy. That spectacle was exhibited in the most striking manner by the French nation during this campaign. The same impartial justice which condemns with unmeasured severity the bloody internal, must admire the dignified and resolute external conduct of the Convention. With unbending firmness, though often atrocious cruelty, they coerced alike internal revolt and foreign violence; and selecting out of the innumerable ranks of their defenders the most worthy, laid the foundation of that illustrious school of military chiefs who afterwards sustained the fortunes of the empire. It is melancholy to be obliged to admit, that it was this cruelty which was one cause of their triumphs; and that the fortunes of the Republic might have sunk under its difficulties, but for the inflexible severity with which they overawed the discontented: and the iron rule of Terror, which

## CHAPTER XV

## WAR IN POLAND

## ARGUMENT.

Immense extent of Poland in former times—Ge  
 CHAP. Its Rivers, Forests, and Morasses—Its Physics  
 XVII. —and Statistics—Causes of its continual Dis  
 1794. Pastoral and Independent Character unmixed—  
 from the Councils of the Church—No intermis  
 Poland—Its Society differently constructed fro  
 retain the Taste and Habits of the Nomad Ti  
 mitable Democratic Spirit—The Clergy forme  
 in Europe—Nobility never engaged in any Pr  
 fell into the hands of the Jews—Liberty and E  
 the People—No Hereditary Offices admitted i  
 mately became Elective—General Assemblies  
 Veto—Representative system never thorough  
 versally exacted from the Deputies : and th  
 account for their Conduct—Great increase of  
 close of the Eighteenth Century—Forces of tl  
 desperate Wars with the Asiatic Tribes—The  
 the idea of Dismemberment to the adjoining  
 John Sobieski—His Prophetic anticipation of  
 its Democratic Divisions—With him the Polis  
 Excessive Democratic Strife after his Death  
 Anarchy of the Republic ; which made their P  
 too late, they abandon their ruinous Democi  
 ment of their last Struggle—They take up a  
 Kosciusko as a Leader—He defeats the Russia  
 taken by the Insurgents—Poles in the Russ  
 exertions of Kosciusko—Want of a large Regu  
 —Russians and Prussians advance against We  
 raise the Siege—Suwarrow defeats one of tl  
 Routed and made Prisoner at Maccowice—Pat  
 Warsaw—Storming of Praga and Warsaw by  
 sacre by the Russians—Great sensation produ  
 Europe—Poland fell the victim of Democrati  
 Striking contrast afforded by the steady gra  
 punishment of the partitioning Powers—Galla  
 bands—Comparison of Polish and English hist  
 Polish War on the Coalition against France.



PROVIDENCE has so interwoven human affairs, that CHAP.  
XVII.  
 when we wish to retrace the revolutions of a people, 1794.  
 and to investigate the causes of their grandeur or  
 misfortune, we are insensibly conducted step by step Immense  
extent of  
Poland in  
former  
times.  
 to their cradle. The slightest consideration of the  
 history of Poland must be sufficient to prove, that  
 that great nation, always combating, often victori-  
 ous, but never securing its conquests, has from the  
 earliest times been on the decline. It emerged  
 from the shock which overthrew the Roman em-  
 pire, valiant, powerful, and extensive; from that  
 hour it has invariably drooped, until at length it  
 became the victim of its ancient provinces. The  
 kingdom of Poland formerly extended from the Bo-  
 rstenes to the Danube, and from the Euxine to  
 the Baltic. The Sarmatia of the ancients, it em-  
 braced within its bosom the original seat of those  
 nations which subverted the Roman empire; Prussia,  
 Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, the Ukraine, Cour-  
 land, Livonia, are all fragments of its mighty  
 dominion. The Goths, who appeared as suppliants  
 at the Danube, and were ferried across by Roman  
 hands never to recede; the Huns, who under Attila  
 read desolation through the empire; the Slavo-



CHAP. Europe in one age was in the next swept from the  
XVII book of nations.

1794. The name of Poland, derived from the word signifying a plain, (*pole*,) expresses its real geographical character. It consists almost entirely of immense level surface, which extends, with the exception only of a range of low hills, which to south of Volhynia, branch out from the Carpath mountains, from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Euxine. Part of this vast level surface is composed of rich alluvial soil, but the greater part it is a sandy plain, of a dark red colour on the shores of the sea, but white in the interior of the country. Pomerania, part of Denmark, and nearly the whole of Prussia, formerly provinces of Poland, consist of the same sandy level. The waves of the ocean of floods which in former revolutions of the globe have rolled over this wide expanse, have strewn the surface with huge blocks of granite and other rocks foreign to the Polish territory, which have evidently been brought from a great distance, and in many places vast collections of bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other tropical animals, as well as the mammoth, the mastodon, and other monsters the race of which is now extinct upon the earth, are found, and attract the wonder alike of the illiterate peasant and learned observer of nature. This immense plain nowhere rises more than a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the ascent to the most elevated part is so gradual as to be imperceptible, save from the direction of the rivers, which are very numerous, and form a remarkable feature in the country.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this general level surface, the summit level of the country is very distinctly marked

from the one side of which the waters flow to the Euxine, from the other to the Baltic Sea. This summit level itself, however, is not in general a ridge, or range of hills, but a swampy expanse, in the marshes of which the principal streams of the country take their rise, and like the river of the Amazons and Orinoco in the pampas of South America, the surface between their sources is so level that in floods they communicate with each other. This is particularly the case with the Pripecz, a tributary of the Dnieper, which in spring is connected with the feeders of the Bug and the Niemen. The principal rivers which descend from the southern declivity of this marshy plateau are the Dniester and the Dnieper, with the great tributary of the latter, the Boug; to the north flows the Vistula, which, taking its rise in the Carpathian mountains, after being swelled by fifty tributary streams, such as the San, the Bug, the Pilica, and the Narew, rolls its ample waves to the Baltic. One of these, the San, rises under the shade of a huge oak, which overhangs on the other side the fountains of the Theisse and of the Stry, one of the principal sources of the Dniester. The Vartha and the Niemen traverse also the northern plains of Poland; and their waters, flowing in a bed but little depressed below the general surface of the adjacent country, frequently overflow, and render the whole plain, to a great distance on either side, a great lake. On the other hand, both the Dniester and the Dnieper, and other rivers which descend towards the Euxine, flow in deep beds, having steep banks of rock or gravel, which restrain their ample currents even in the greatest floods, and render the general surface of the adjacent country comparatively dry and salubri-

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Its great  
rivers.

<sup>1</sup> Malte  
Brun, vii.  
475, 479.  
Roespell, i.  
7, 11.  
Diagooni,  
lib. i. p. 18.

CHAP. Europe in one age was in the next swept from the  
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<sup>1</sup> Malte Brun, vi. 474, 476. Roepell, Geschichte Polens, i. 3, 5.

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XVII.  
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 the Dnieper, one of the principal sources of the Dnie-  
 per. The Vartha and the Niemen traverse also



CHAP. XVII. Poland has very few minerals in its soil, a peculiarity which frees it equally from the wealth consequent on the working of mines, and the social depravity which it seldom fails, in the end, to induce in its train. For this defect, however, it has received more than a compensation in the broad expanse of its level surface, and the general fertility of its soil. The plains of the Ukraine, or of Poland south of the ridge which divides the flowing of its waters, have long been celebrated for their extraordinary and surpassing fertility, which, like the Delta of Egypt, or the plain of Mesopotamia, yield the richest crops with very little care from the husbandman. Podolia, also, on the southern declivity of Poland, less rich, exhibits more varied and agreeable features. Pleasant hills, often crowned by beautiful groves, fill the whole province, which extends from the Dniester to the Boh, and is bounded on the north by the plains of Volhynia, on the south-east by the steppes of the Ukraine. These hills, which almost become mountains in the neighbourhood of Medryz Zee, exhibit alternately fertile valleys and healthful pastures. The soil, where it is arable, yields noble crops with hardly any cultivation; and so far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece and the islands of the Archipelago, were supplied by Podolian wheat, transported to their shores in Venetian vessels. The climate of this favoured province is less severe than of other parts of Poland. While they are still clothed with the garb of winter, the verdure of spring has already appeared on its sunny slopes. Melons, mulberries, and other southern fruits, ripen without care in the open air; and as summer is free from the malaria which infests the plains of the Ukraine, so winter is from its icy cold.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roepell, Geschichte Polens, i. 11.

To the north of the summit level, in the plains CHAP. XVII.  
 watered by the Vistula and its tributary streams, 1793.  
 the soil is less rich, and stands more in need of the  
 artificial aid of draining and manure; but a very Face of the coun- try in the northern provinces.  
 slight application of these advantages is sufficient  
 to make it produce the finest crops of wheat, barley,  
 oats, and rye; and if cultivated in a superior man-  
 ner, and opened up by canals, railroads, and com-  
 mon roads, for which the level surface offers the  
 greatest possible advantages, it is capable of being  
 made to rival the plain of Lombardy or the fields of  
 Flanders in variety and riches of agricultural pro-  
 duce. Already it is considered as the granary of  
 Europe; the banks of the Vistula are to the British  
 empire, in seasons of domestic scarcity, what those  
 of the Nile were to the ancient Romans. Wretch-  
 ed, however, is the cultivation, deplorable the con-  
 dition of the serfs, by whose labours these noble  
 crops are reared. Ploughs and harrows of the ru-  
 lest construction turn up the soil; scarce any man-  
 ure enriches the fields; frequent and long-continued  
 allows alone restore the exhausted fertility of na-  
 ture. Raising the finest crops of red wheat, the  
 indigent husbandman lives only on black rye bread;



CHAP. with limpid streams, there asce  
XVII. slope towards the Carpathian m

1793. summits are often crowned with v  
monasteries, which throw an ai  
grandeur over the scenery. It is  
the once magnificent castle of th  
Jagellons, looks down on the an  
mighty Polish empire, where  
taken from their race, were cr  
that, adorned with numerous ste  
churches, and ancient edifices, Cr  
at the foot of the mountains in  
Vistula. Every thing in that r  
speaks the former grandeur an  
Poland. Beyond it, on a high m  
monastery of Tyniec, one of the  
ancient abbeys of the Benedictin  
one side is seen the picturesque m  
to the south, the distant summits  
range. Less mountainous, but  
is the land north of Cracow, tow  
tula. It consists of a plateau, eig  
feet above the sea, intersected b  
tous ravines, like those of the Sa  
Germany, clothed with sable wc  
mounted by princely castles and  
in ruins. On one of the precipi  
rich foliage, stands Oycow, once  
dence of Casimir the Great. N  
the Pilica, in the middle of a  
Ogrodzeniec, once the seat of  
Every thing in this romantic r  
traveller of departed greatness;  
these deserted halls or ruined

<sup>1</sup> Roepell, *Geschichte*  
*Polens*, i.  
3, 4, 7. motto of the Courtenays recurs t  
modo lapsus: quid feci?"<sup>1</sup>



Overrun by Jews, and but little supported either CHAP. XVII. by the industry of their own native inhabitants, or the wealth of the adjacent country, the towns of 1794. Poland exhibit a melancholy proof of the extent to Small cities in Poland. which the folly of man can render unavailing all the choicest gifts of nature. Though the total population of the country, after the partition of 1772, was still above fourteen millions, Warsaw, Lublin, and Cracow were the only towns in it which deserved the name of cities, the first of which contained at that period only ninety thousand inhabitants, the second, twenty-five, the third, twelve thousand. At this time, notwithstanding the great increase in every branch of industry which has taken place under the severe, but regular and steady government of Russia, the Polish towns, considering the prodigious natural resources of the country, exhibit a deplorable picture of squalid misery: of useless pride and general idleness.\* Such activity as does exist among them is almost entirely to be ascribed to the Jews, who form, as it were, a nation by themselves encamped in Poland, and have gradually, from their industrious habits, engrossed all the lucrative employments in them. The kingdom of Poland properly so called, now entirely absorbed by Russia, contains 6370 square marine leagues, or 50,960 geographical miles: an extent of surface, however, greater than that of England and Wales together,

\* The following is the present population of the principal Polish towns:—

Warsaw,	.	.	.	136,554
Cracow,	.	.	.	25,000
Lublin,	.	.	.	12,000
Kalisch,	.	.	.	7,300
Plock,	.	.	.	6,500
Zamosc,	.	.	.	5,000
Scwalki,	.	.	.	3,500

—MALTE BRUN, vii. 534-543.

CHAP. which contain 46,000; but which is thinly peopled  
 XVII. by only 4,582,000 inhabitants. Such is the last  
 1794. remnant, and under foreign dominion, of the once  
 mighty empire of Poland: of the conquests of Boles-  
 las, and the dominions of the Jagellons: of a coun-  
 try which, in the days of its greatness, carried its  
 victorious arms from the Baltic to the Euxine, and  
 from Moscow to the Elbe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Malte  
 Brun, vii.  
 527, 530,  
 543.

Causes of  
 its conti-  
 nued disas-  
 ters.

This extraordinary decline has all arisen from one  
 cause—that Poland has retained, till a very recent  
 period, the independence and *equality* of savage life.  
 It has neither been subjugated by more polished,  
 nor itself vanquished more civilized states. The  
 restlessness and valour of the pastoral character  
 have, in their native plains, remained unchanged  
 during fifteen hundred years, neither grafted on the  
 stock of urban liberty, nor moulded by the institu-  
 tions of civilized society. Poland shows what in its  
 original state was the equality of the shepherd life:  
 Neither the resistance, nor the tastes, nor the intelli-  
 gence, nor the blood of vanquished nations, have al-  
 tered in its inhabitants the inclinations and passions  
 of the savage character. We may see in its history  
 what would have been the fate of all the Northern  
 nations, if their fierce and unbending temper had not  
 been tempered by the blood, and moulded by the in-  
 stitutions of a more advanced civilization, and in  
 the anarchy of its diets, what would have been the  
 representative system had the dream of Montesquieu  
 been well founded, that it was found in the woods.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Salv. i.  
 29.

It has re-  
 tained the  
 pastoral  
 and inde-  
 pendent  
 character  
 unmixed.

The shepherds who wandered in the plains of  
 Sarmatia were, like all other pastoral tribes, inflamed  
 by the strongest passion for that savage freedom  
 which consists in leading a life exempt from all con-  
 trol—in roaming at will over boundless plains,  
 resting where they chose, and departing when they

wished. In their incursions into the Roman provinces they collected immense troops of captives, who were compelled to perform the works of drudgery, in which their masters disdained to engage ; to attend the cattle, drive the waggons, and make the arms. Their imperious lords, acknowledging no superior themselves, knew no restraint in the treatment of their inferiors. With the same energy they asserted a grievous tyranny over that unhappy race, with which they would have resisted any attempt to encroach on their own independence. Such as Poland then was, it has ever since continued—a race of jealous freemen and iron-bound slaves ; a vast and wild democracy ruling a captive people.

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1794.

———"Ferrea juga  
Insanumque Forum."

It is a mistake to suppose that the representative system was found in the woods. What was found there was not any thing resembling parliaments, but Polish equality. The pastoral nations of the North, equally with the citizens of the Republics of antiquity, had no idea of the exercise of the rights of freemen but by the concourse of *all* the citizens. Of course this privilege could only be exercised by a small number of them when the state became populous; and hence the narrow base on which, with

Representative system arose from the Christian Councils.



CHAP. XVII. It was the Christian Church, the parent of so many lofty doctrines and new ideas, which had the glory

1794. of offering to the world, amidst the wreck of ancient institutions, the model of a form of government which gives to all classes the right of suffrage, by establishing a system which may embrace the remotest interests; which preserves the energy, and avoids the principal evils of democracy; which maintains the Tribune, and shuns the strife of the Forum. The Christian Councils were the first example of representative assemblies; there were united the whole Roman world; there a priesthood, which embraced the civilized earth; assembled by means of delegates to deliberate on the affairs of the Universal Church. When Europe revived, it adopted the same model. Every nation by degrees borrowed the customs of the Church, then the sole depository of the traditions of civilization. It was the religion of the vanquished people; it was the clergy who instructed them in this admirable system, which flourished in the councils of Nice, Sardis, and Byzantium, centuries before it was heard of in the Western World, and which did not arise in the woods of Germany, but in the catacombs of Rome during the sufferings of the primitive Church.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. i. 107, 108.

No inter-  
mixture  
of foreign  
customs in  
Poland.

Vienna was the frontier station of the Roman empire. It never extended into the Sarmatian wilds, and hence the chief cause of the continued calamities of their descendants. It was the infusion of the free spirit of the Scythian tribes into the decaying provinces of the Roman empire, and the union of barbaric energy with antiquated civilization, which produced the glories of modern Europe. In Poland alone, savage independence remained unmoulded by foreign admixture, unchanged by foreign blood, un-

ight by foreign wisdom, and the customs of the CHAP.  
XVII.  
 rliest ages continued the same down to the par-  
 ion of the monarchy. After representative assem- 1794.  
 es had been established for centuries in Germany,  
 ance, and England, the Poles adhered to the an-  
 nt custom of summoning every man to discuss,  
 ord in hand, the affairs of the Republic. A hun-  
 d thousand horsemen met in the field of Vola,  
 ar Warsaw, to deliberate on public affairs, and  
 distractions of these stormy diets weakened the  
 tion even more than the attacks of its foreign  
 mies. Among them was established, to their<sup>1</sup> Salv. i.  
 row, the real system which was invented in the 109. Rulh.  
 ods.<sup>1</sup> i. 10, 14.

In Poland, accordingly, the structure of society  
 s essentially different from that which obtained in Its society  
differently  
construct-  
ed from  
any in  
Europe.  
 7 other part of Europe. The feudal system, the  
 in of military dependence from the throne to the  
 tage, was there unknown. The Republic was  
 nposed entirely of two classes, both numerous and  
 tually hostile ; the one destined to labour, dejec-  
 2, and servitude ; the other to independence, ac-  
 ity, and war. The iron band which held together  
 discordant elements of modern society, which  
 ted the vanquished strong in their civilization



CHAP. out discipline, infantry, or artillery ; of a state-un-  
 XVII. defended by frontier towns ; of cities without a race  
 1794. of burghers, without commerce or industry ; of a  
 republic where the supreme power was annihilated,  
<sup>1</sup>Salv. i. 31. and the checks to it omnipotent.<sup>1</sup>  
 Rulh. i. 14.

The taste and the habits of the nomad tribes  
 have, almost to our time, predominated among the  
 Poles. Their language, their manners, even their  
 dress, long remained unchanged—the frequent use  
 of furs, the flowing pelisse, caps of the skins of wild  
 beasts, the absence of linen, and the magnificence of  
 their arms, are the characteristics of their national  
 costume. Till within these few years they wore the  
 singular crown of hair, which in the time of the  
 Scythians encircled their bare heads. The passion  
 for a wandering life has been transmitted to their  
 latest posterity, and remains undiminished amidst  
 all the refinements of civilization. To travel in the  
 country, living in tents, to pass from one encamp-  
 ment to another, has been in every age one of the  
 most favourite amusements of the Polish noblesse ;  
 and it was in such occupations that the last years of  
 the great Sobieski were employed. This fierce and  
 unbending race of freemen preserved inviolate, as  
 the Magna Charta of Poland, the right to assemble  
 in person, and deliberate on the public affairs of the  
 state. That terrible assembly, where all the pro-  
 prietors of the soil were convoked, constituted at  
 once the military strength of the nation in war, and  
 its legislature in peace. There were discussed alike  
 the public concerns of the Republic, the private  
 feuds or grievances of individuals, the questions of  
 peace or war, the formation of laws, the division of  
<sup>1</sup>Rulh. i. 15. plunder, and the election of the sovereign.<sup>1</sup>  
 Salv. i. 39.

In the eyes of this haughty race, the will of a free-

They still  
 retain the  
 taste and  
 habits of  
 the No-  
 mad  
 tribes.

man was a thing which no human power should attempt to subjugate; and therefore the fundamental principle of all their deliberations was, that unanimity was essential to every resolution. This relic of savage equality, of which the traces are still to be found in the far-famed jury system of England, was productive of incalculable evils to the Republic; and yet so blind are men to the cause of their own ruin, that it was uniformly adhered to with enthusiastic resolution by the Poles, and is even spoken of with undisguised admiration by their national historians. But all human institutions must involve some methods of extricating public affairs, and as unanimity was not to be expected among so numerous and impassioned a body as their diet, and the idea was not to be entertained for a moment of constraining the will of any citizen by an adverse majority, they adopted the only other method of expediting business, they *massacred the recusant*. This measure appeared to them an incomparably lesser evil, than carrying measures by a majority. "Because," said they, "acts of violence are few in number, and affect only the individual sufferers; but if once the precedent is established of compelling the mino-

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Their early and indomitable democratic spirit.



CHAP. earliest times to their remotest descendants. "That  
XVII. Hierarchy of enmities," as the Poles expressed it,  
1794. descended even to private families; in the progress  
of time, religious discord divided the whole republic  
into two parties nearly equal in strength, and  
implacable in hostility, and Poland became an immense  
field of combat, destined never to know either  
tranquillity or truce till it passed under the yoke of  
a foreign master.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. i. 40,  
41. Rulh.  
i. 11, 24,  
25.

Clergy  
formed a  
different  
body from  
any in  
Europe.

The clergy, that important body who have done so much for the freedom of Europe, never formed a separate order, or possessed any spiritual influence in Poland. Composed entirely of the nobles, they had no sympathy with the serfs whom they disdained to admit to any of their sacred offices. Their bishops interfered, not as prelates but as barons, not with the wand of peace but the sword of dissension. The priesthood formed in their stormy diets a sort of tribunes, subject to the passions of the multitude, but exempt, by reason of their sacred character, from the danger which formed a check upon their extravagance. This was another consequence of the Poles not having settled in a conquered country; the clergy of the other European states, drawn from the vanquished people, formed a link between them and their conquerors, and by reason of the influence which their intellectual superiority conferred, gradually softened the yoke of bondage to the vanquished; the Polish priesthood, formed entirely of the nobility, added to the chains of slavery the fetters of barbaric superstition.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Salv. i. 62.

As if every thing was destined to concur for the disorganization of Poland, the inequality of fortunes, and the rise of urban industry, the source of so much benefit to all the other European monarchies, was



there productive only of positive evil. Fearful of being compelled to divide their power with the inferior classes of society, when elevated by riches and intelligence, the nobles affixed the stigma of dishonour to every lucrative or useful profession. Their maxim was, that nobility is not lost by indigence, or domestic servitude, but is totally destroyed by commerce and industry; their constant policy was to debar the serfs from all knowledge of the use of arms, both because they had learned to fear, and because they continued to despise them. In fine, the Polish nobility, strenuously resisting every species of power as an usurpation, every kind of industry as a degradation, every attempt at superiority as an outrage, remained to the close of their career at open variance with all the principles on which the prosperity of society depends.<sup>1</sup>

As some species of industry, however, is indispensable where wealth has begun to accumulate; and as the vast possessions of the nobility gave great encouragement to those who would minister to their wants, the labour of towns insensibly increased, and an urban population gradually arose. But as the nobles were too proud, and the serfs too indigent,

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Nobility  
never en-  
gaged in  
any pro-  
fession or  
trade.

<sup>1</sup>Salv. i. 72.

Which all  
fell into  
the hands  
of the  
Jews.

CHAP. and the privileges of corporations, the origin of fr  
XVII. institutions in so many other countries, were the

1794. productive only of evil, by augmenting the disin-  
clination of all classes to engage in their pursuits  
the Jews multiplied in a country where they were  
enabled to engross all the industrial occupations  
and at this moment above half of the whole de-  
scendants of Abraham are to be found in what for-  
merly were the Polish dominions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. i.  
84, 85.

Liberty  
and equal-  
ity the  
early prin-  
ciples of  
the people.

Five hundred years before liberty and equalit  
became the watchword of the French Revolution  
they were the favourite principles of the Polis  
republic. Anarchy and disorder did not prevail i  
the country because the throne was elective; bu  
the throne became elective because the people wer  
too jealous of their privileges to admit of heredita  
succession. For a hundred and sixty years the rac  
of the Jagellons sat on the throne of Poland, with  
regular a succession as the Plantagenets of England  
and the dynasty of the Piasts enjoyed the govern-  
ment for four hundred years; but all the efforts  
the monarchs of these houses were unequal to th  
formation of a regular government. Contrary  
what obtained in every other part of the world,  
was always the great kings of Poland who wer  
ultimately overthrown; and their reigns which wer  
the most stormy of its annals. The supreme authorit  
which elsewhere in the progress of civilization, w  
strengthened by the spoils of feudal power, becam  
in Poland only weakened by the lapse of time. A  
the efforts of aggrandizement of their greatest m  
narchs, were shattered against the compact, ind  
pendent, and courageous body of nobles, whom th  
crown could neither overawe by menaces, nor sub  
due by violence. In the plenitude of their democrat

spirit, they would for long admit no distinction among themselves, but that which arose from actual employment; and never recognised, till a very recent period, the titles and honours which, in other states, have long been hereditary. Even when they were established, the jurisdictions were only for life. Their waywodes or military chieftains, their palatines or leaders of counties, their castellans or governors of castles, enjoyed, from the earliest period down to recent times, their authority for that period only. These officers, far from being able in Poland, as in other states, to render their dignities hereditary, were not always even nominated by the king. Their authority, especially that of the palatines, gave equal umbrage to the monarchs whom they were bound to obey, as the nobles whom they were intended to lead. There was thus authority and power nowhere in the state.<sup>1</sup>

The kings of the Piasts made frequent and able efforts to create a gradation of rank in the midst of that democracy, and a body of burghers by the side of these nobles; but all their attempts proved ineffectual. A race of monarchs, whose succession was frequently interrupted, and authority always contest-

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Rulh. i. 5,  
14, 24.  
Salv. i. 71,  
72, 128.Crown was  
always  
elective.

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Salv. i.  
72, 128.  
Rulh. i. 17,  
18, 19.

General  
Assemblies  
of the  
people, and  
the libe-  
rum veto.

<sup>2</sup> Rulh. i.  
18, 24.  
Salv. i.  
111.

have made me nothing but a judge!" But the nobility themselves carried into execution all his sentences with their own armed force. The command of the troops was not in general conferred upon the sovereign; and as there never was any considerable standing army in the service of the republic, the military force of the throne was altogether nugatory.<sup>1</sup>

But the insurmountable evil, which in every age has opposed the formation of a regular government in this unhappy country, was the privilege, too firmly established to be ever shaken, which all the citizens had, of assembling together to deliberate on the affairs of the state. So far from adopting the prudent maxim of all regular governments, that a civil war is the greatest of evils, they have by this institution given to their insurrections a legal form. From generation to generation the maxim has been handed down by the Poles:—"Burn your houses, and wander over the country with your arms in your hands, rather than submit to the smallest infringement on your liberties." These assemblies, when once met, united in themselves the powers of all the magistrates; they were to that republic what the dictatorship was to ancient Rome. A Pole, compelled to submit to a plurality of suffrages, would have considered himself subjected to the most grievous despotism; and consequently no resolution of the Diet was binding, unless it was unanimously agreed to by *all* the citizens. Any citizen, by the privilege of the *liberum veto*, had the power of dissolving the most numerous of these assemblies, or negating their most important acts; and although the Poles were fully sensible of the ruinous nature of this privilege, and pursued with eternal maledictions the individual who exercised it, yet they never could be prevailed upon to consent to its abandonment.<sup>2</sup>

These assemblies, so famous in Polish history, so fatal to her inhabitants, presented so extraordinary a spectacle, that it is hardly possible, in reading even the most authentic descriptions of them, to believe that we have not stepped into the regions of eastern romance. The plain of Volo, to the west of Warsaw, was the theatre, from the earliest times, of the popular elections. Soon the impatient pospolite, or general assembly of the free Poles, covered that vast extent with its waves, like an army prepared to commence an assault on a fortified town. The innumerable piles of arms; the immense tables round which faction united its supporters; a thousand jousts with the javelin or the lance; a thousand squadrons engaged in mimic war; a thousand parties of palatines, governors of castles, and other dignified authorities, who traversed the ranks, distributing exhortations, party songs, and largesses; a thousand cavalcades of gentlemen, who rode, according to custom, with their battle-axes by their side, and discussed at the gallop the dearest interests of the republic; innumerable quarrels, originating in drunkenness, and terminating in blood: Such were the scenes of tumult, amusement, and war,—

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Description  
of  
these as-  
semblies.

CHAP. XVII. the nobles, the palatines, vied with each other in the splendour of their horses and equipage; and the stranger who beheld for the first time that luxury, worthy of the last and greatest of the nomad people, was never weary of admiring the immense hotels, the porticoes, the colonnades, the galleries of painted or gilded stuffs, the castles of cotton and silk, with their drawbridges, towers, and ditches.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. ii.  
190.

Order of  
the pro-  
ceedings.

On the day of the elections the three orders mounted on horseback. The princes, the palatines, the bishops, the prelates, proceeded towards the plain of Volo, surrounded by eighty thousand mounted citizens, any one of whom might, at the expiry of a few hours, find himself King of Poland; and all of whom enjoyed the absolute power of stopping at pleasure the whole proceedings. They all bore in their countenances, even under the livery or banners of a master, the pride arising from that ruinous privilege. The European dress nowhere appeared on that solemn occasion. The children of the desert strove to hide the furs and skins in which they were clothed under chains of gold and the glitter of jewels. Their bonnets were composed of panther skins; plumes of eagles or herons surmounted them: on their front were the most splendid precious stones. Their robes of sable or ermine were bound with velvet or silver: their girdle studded with jewels; over all their furs were suspended chains of diamonds. One hand of each nobleman was without a glove; on it was the splendid ring on which the arms of his family were engraved, the mark, as in ancient Rome, of the equestrian order—another proof of the intimate connexion between the race, the customs, and the traditions of the northern tribes, and the founders of the Eternal City.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. ii.  
192, 194.

But nothing in this rivalry of magnificence could equal the splendour of their arms. Double poniards, double scimitars, set with brilliants; bucklers of costly workmanship, battle-axes enriched in silver, and glittering with emeralds and sapphires; bows and arrows richly gilt, which were borne at festivals, in remembrance of the ancient customs of the country, were to be seen on every side. The horses shared in this melange of barbarism and refinement; sometimes cased in iron, at others decorated with the richest colours, they bent under the weight of the sabres, the lances, and javelins by which the senatorial order marked their rank. The bishops were distinguished by their grey or green hats, and yellow or red pantaloons, magnificently embroidered with diverse colours. Often they laid aside their pastoral habits, and signalized their address as young cavaliers, by the beauty of their arms, and the management of their horses. In that crowd of the equestrian order, there was no gentleman so humble as not to try to rival this magnificence. Many carried, in furs and arms, their whole fortunes on their backs. Numbers had sold their votes to some of the candidates, for the vanity of appearing with

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Splendour  
of the  
dresses.

CHAP. XVII. 1794. introduction, to a certain extent, of the representative system. This change took place in the year 1467, about two hundred years after it had been established in England, and a hundred and eighty after its introduction into Germany. Unfortunately, however, it never prevailed generally in the kingdom, and was accompanied with such restrictions as tended to increase rather than diminish the divisions of the people. The labouring classes were not at all represented; and the nobility never abandoned, and frequently exercised, their rights of assembling in person on all important occasions. These general diets being, after this change, rarer, were more generally attended; and as they were assembled only on extraordinary occasions—as the election of a king, or a question of peace or war—the passions of the people were increased by the importance of their suffrages, and inexperience added to the sudden intoxication of absolute power.<sup>1</sup>

Rulh. i.  
23. Salv. i.  
110, 113.

Pledges universally exacted from the deputies. In the true spirit of their democratic institutions, the Poles had no sooner established a representative system, than they surrounded it with such checks, as not only rendered it totally useless, but positively hurtful. Not unfrequently the electors, terrified at the powers with which they had invested their representatives, hastened, sword in hand, to the place of their meeting, prepared, if necessary, to oppose open force to the laws. These stormy assemblages were called “Diets under the buckler.” The representatives, continued in the new assemblies, the ruinous law of unanimity, in spite of the advice of the wisest men, and in opposition to their continual remonstrances. This power, of course, was more fully exercised by one among four hundred deputies, who was entrusted with the interest of an extensive pala-



tinate, than by an insulated individual amidst a hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens. The check, too, which the terror of being massacred imposed upon the exercise of this right in the primary assemblies, was removed when, in the Chamber of Deputies, uplifted sabres were no longer ready to exterminate the recusant. Moreover the electors, with the jealousy of the democratic spirit, uniformly exacted from every representative a pledge how he was to vote on every question that came before the Assembly; and after every session held what they called *post-comital diets*, the object of which was to call him to account for the vote he had given on every occasion. In these diets the representatives ran the most imminent risk of being murdered, if they had deviated at all from the instructions they had received.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Rulh. l.  
24, 26.  
Salv. i.  
114.

The sense of this danger made the deputies adhere strictly to the orders given them; and as their instructions were extremely various, the practical result was, that unanimity was impossible, and business could not be carried through. To avoid this, the majority, in some instances, proceeded by main force to pass measures in spite of the minority; but as this was deemed a direct violation of the constitution, it invariably led to civil war. Confederations of the minorities were established, diets appointed, marshals elected, and these deplorable factions, which alternately had the king a chief and a captive, were regarded as a constitutional mode of extricating the rights of the people. This right of opposition, in the space of two centuries, had the effect of utterly annihilating every other power in the government. The deputies, without ever having made a direct attack upon the throne; without ever having at-

Post-comi-  
tial diets  
to coerce  
the repre-  
sentatives.

CHAP. tempted to wrest from the king or the senate the  
XVII. power allotted to them in the constitution, succeeded

1794. at length in suspending and neutralizing every other  
branch of Legislature. The popular attachment to  
the veto augmented with the progress of wealth, and  
the increasing opulence of the great families who  
composed the senate; as it reduced all the citizens,  
at least on some occasions, to a state of perfect  
equality. The only astonishing thing is, that, with  
such institutions, the valour of the Polish nobility  
should so long have concealed the weakness arising  
from their unruly disposition; one would imagine,  
that a people with such a government could not  
exist a year, and yet they seemed never wearied either  
of victories or folly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rulh. i.  
26, 27.  
Salv. i.  
115.

The political crisis which, at the close of the six-  
teenth century, convulsed all Europe, reinstated the  
Great in- Poles at once in all their ruinous democratic privi-  
crease of leges, which the influence of their preceding monarchs  
the demo- had somewhat impaired. In the year 1573, on the  
cratic power at death of the last race of the Jagellons, the nation with  
the close one voice reasserted and obtained all its original im-  
of the six- munities. The command of the armies, and the ad-  
teenth ministration of justice, were taken from the crown;  
century. two hetmans appointed, one for Lithuania, and one  
for Poland; each invested with an absolute command  
over the forces of these rival provinces of the repub-  
lic, and too often, by their jealousies, marred the  
effect of their most glorious triumphs; while the ad-  
ministration of justice was confided to great supreme  
tribunals, composed of the nobility, who were changed  
every fifteen months, by new elections, as if to pre-  
vent justice ever being administered by those who  
had any acquaintance with law. Two standing ar-  
mies were appointed, one for Lithuania, the other for

Poland ; but hardly amounting in all to ten thousand men ; and even for these the jealousy of the nobility would only permit them to vote the most scanty supplies, which required to be renewed at each successive diet. In consequence of this circumstance, the Poles never had a regular force on which they could rely, worthy either of the name or the strength of the republic ; and when all the adjoining states were daily consolidating their power, and providing for the public defence by powerful standing armies, they had almost nothing to rely on for the main-<sup>1</sup> Salv. i. 125, 127. tenance of their independence but the tumultuary Rulh. i. 31. array of barbarous times.<sup>1</sup>

Their forces, such as they were, consisted of five parts ; the national troops, or a small body of regular soldiers, paid and equipped by the republic ; Forces of the Republicans. the *pospolite*, or general assembly of all the free citizens on horseback ; the armed valets, all forming part of the noble or free class, whose rapine in general did more harm than their courage did service ; the artillery, which was usually in the most wretched condition ; and the mercenaries, composed chiefly of Germans, whose services would have been of great importance, had their fidelity been secured by regularity of pay, but who were generally in

CHAP. by a twisted hauberk, which descended from the head,  
XVII. over the shoulders and breast, and armed with a sabre

1794. and pistol. Both were distinguished by the splendour of their dress and equipage, and the number and costly array of their mounted servants, accoutred in the most bizarre manner, with huge black plumes, and skins of bears and other wild beasts. It was the pride of this body that they were composed of men, all measured, as they expressed it, by the same standard; that is, equally enjoying the rights to obey only their God and their swords, and equally destined, perhaps, to step one day into the throne of the Piasts and the Jagellons. They boasted that, "if the heaven itself were to fall, they would support it on the point of their lances." The hussars and cuirassiers were called *towarzisz*—that is, companions; they called each other by that name, and they were designated in the same way by the sovereign, whose chief boast would be *primus inter pares*, the first among equals. But all these forces were in general in the most miserable state of destitution. The regular army, almost always without pay, was generally without discipline, and totally destitute of every kind of equipment: the castles and fortified towns had no other defences but walls, which age had almost every where reduced to ruins; the arsenals were in general empty; all those great establishments, which in other states bespeak the constant vigilance of government, were wanting. Poland had no other resources but these armed confederations, which, nevertheless, frequently saved the republic in the midst of the greatest perils; and more than once, through the unconquerable valour of the nobles, preserved the liberties of Europe from the Ottoman power.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rulh. i.  
83, 50.  
Salv. i.  
128, 129.

The physical situation of the Poles was singularly  
 ill calculated to arrest the course of these disorders. CHAP.  
XVII.  
 Placed on the frontiers of European civilization; re- 1794.  
 moved from the sea, or any commercial intercourse Their long  
and des-  
perate  
wars with  
the Asiatic  
tribes.  
 with other states, without either ranges of mountains  
 or fortified towns, to serve as asylums in case of de-  
 feat, they had to maintain a constant and perilous  
 war with the hordes who threatened Christendom,  
 from the deserts of Asia. Their history is one unin-  
 terrupted series of mortal conflicts with the Mus-  
 covites, the Tartars, and the Turks; in the course  
 of which they were repeatedly brought to the brink  
 of ruin, and saved only by those desperate efforts  
 which distinguished the Polish history from that of  
 all other states in modern times. The frequency and  
 murderous nature of these dreadful wars blighted  
 every attempt at rural industry, and chained the  
 nation, even in recent times, to those irregular and  
 warlike habits which had been abandoned, centuries  
 before, in all the other monarchies of Europe. Re-  
 ligious fury added grievously to these disastrous  
 struggles, and the revolt of the Cossacks of the  
 Ukraine, consequent on the schism between the  
 Greek and the Catholic Church, brought the Repub-



CHAP. Hungarians, the Muscovites, the pirates of the north,  
 XVII. all of whom regarded the republic as a common prey,  
 1794. fill their annals. They successively saw Bohemia,  
 Mecklenburg, Moravia, Brandenburg, Pomerania,  
 Silesia, the Ukraine, and Red Russia, melt away from  
 their dominion, without ever once thinking of esta-  
 blishing such a steady government as might secure  
 the various parts of their vast possessions, or re-  
 straining those ruinous democratic privileges to  
 which the whole public disasters were owing. Inca-  
 pable of foresight, they saw their neighbours daily  
 increasing in strength, without making any effort to  
 keep pace with their progress. Blindly attached to  
 their customs, they adhered to them with fatal per-  
 tinacity, despite of all the lessons of experience, and  
 were thus destined to drink to the dregs the bitter  
 consequences of a pitiless aristocracy, and a sense-  
 less equality.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. i.  
74.

Their  
 weakness  
 early sug-  
 gested the  
 idea of dis-  
 member-  
 ment to  
 the adjoin-  
 ing states.

For centuries before their partition at the close of  
 the eighteenth century, the distracted state and ex-  
 perience weakness of the Polish republic had sug-  
 gested to the neighbouring powers the project of di-  
 viding its territory. Authentic documents demon-  
 strate that this design was seriously entertained in  
 the time of Louis XIV., and postponed only in con-  
 sequence of the vast reputation, and heroic character,  
 of John Sobieski, which prolonged the existence of  
 the republic for a hundred years, and threw a ray  
 of glory over its declining fortunes. Of the powers  
 whose unworthy alliance effected the destruction of  
 the oldest republic in the world, all had arisen out  
 of its ruins, or been spared by its arms. Prussia, long  
 a province of Poland, had grown out of the spoils of  
 its ancient ruler;<sup>2</sup> Austria owed to the intervention  
 of a Polish hero its deliverance from the sword of

<sup>2</sup> Salv. i.  
136, and ii.  
23<sup>1</sup> Rulh.  
259, 60.

the Mussulman; and long before the French eagles  
 approached the Kremlin, a Polish army had conquer-  
 ed Moscow; and the conflagration of that great capi-  
 tal was but the repetition of what five centuries be-  
 fore had been effected by the vengeance of the Polish  
 nobility. This fearful catastrophe is thus described in  
 the contemporary annalists. "What words can ade-  
 quately paint the deplorable state to which Moscow  
 was thus reduced. That populous capital, resplen-  
 dent with riches and numbers, was annihilated in a  
 single day. There remains only smoking ruins;  
 piles covered with ashes and drenched with blood:  
 You see nothing but corpses and churches sacked  
 or half devoured by the flames. The awful silence  
 of death is interrupted only by the pitiable lamenta-  
 tions of unhappy wretches covered with wounds, a  
 prey to all the agonies of prolonged torture." Is  
 this the description of Moscow in 1382 or 1812—  
 when sacked and destroyed by the Jagellons or Na-  
 poleon? Singular destiny of a capital to have been  
 twice the victim of such a catastrophe!

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Karam-  
sin, Hist.  
de Russie,  
v. 101.

Nothing can so strongly demonstrate the wonderful  
 power of democracy as a spring, and its desolating  
 effects when not compressed by a firm regulator, as

Noble ex-  
ploits of  
John So-

CHAP. gained the greatest victory which had been achieved  
XVII. by the Christian arms since the battle of Ascalon.

1794. The troops which he led to the deliverance of Vienna were no more than eighteen thousand native Poles, and the combined Christian army only numbered seventy thousand combatants; yet with this force he routed three hundred thousand Turkish soldiers; and broke the Mussulman power so effectually, that for the first time for three hundred years, the crescent of Mahomet permanently receded, and from that period historians date the decline of the Ottoman empire. Yet, after these glorious triumphs, the ancient divisions of the republic paralysed its strength; no efforts on the part of the sagacious hero could induce the impatient nobility to submit to any burdens, in order to establish a permanent force for the public defence; the defence of the frontiers was again entrusted to a few thousand undisciplined horsemen; and the Polish nation had the disgrace of allowing its heroic king, the deliverer of Christendom, to be besieged for months, with fifteen thousand men, by innumerable hordes of barbarians,

<sup>1</sup> Salv. iii. 61, and ii. 137, 141, 372, 454. before the tardy *pospolite* would advance to his relief.<sup>1</sup>  
Ruh. i. 56.

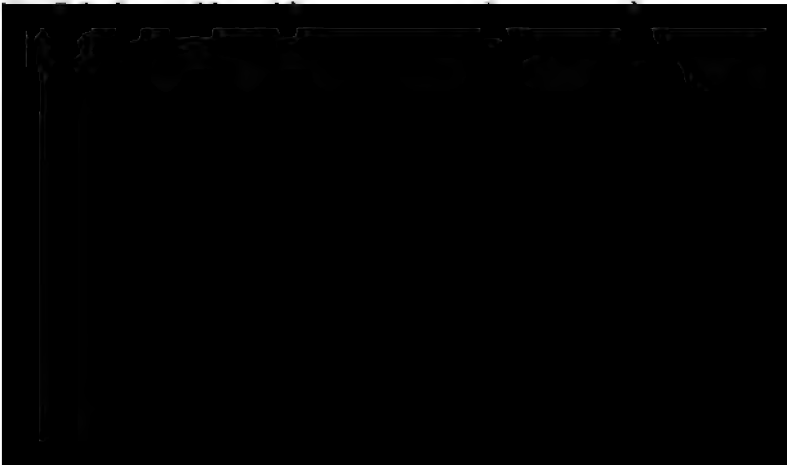
Sobieski, worn out with his ineffectual endeavours to create a regular government, or establish a permanent force for the protection of Poland, clearly foresaw the future fate of the republic. Before his accession to the throne, he had united with the primate and sixteen hundred of its principal citizens to overturn the phantom of equality with which they were perpetually opposed, and, to use his own words, "Rescue the republic from the insane tyranny of a plebeian noblesse." His reign was one incessant struggle with the principles of anarchy which were

His prophetic anticipation of the partition of Poland from its democratic divisions.



implanted in his dominions ; and he at length sunk under the experienced impossibility of remedying them. The aged hero, when approaching the grave, to which the ingratitude and dissensions of his subjects accelerated his latter years, expressed himself to the senate in these memorable and prophetic terms :—" He was well acquainted with the griefs of the soul, who declared, that small distresses love to declare themselves, but great are silent. The world will be mute with amazement at the contemplation of us and our councils. Nature herself will be astonished ! that beneficent parent has gifted every living creature with the instinct of self-preservation, and given the most inconsiderable animals arms for their defence : we alone in the universe turn ours against ourselves. That instinct is taken from us, not by any resistless force, not by any inevitable destiny, but by a voluntary insanity, by our own passions, by the desire of mutual destruction. Alas ! what will one day be the mournful surprise of posterity to find, that from the summit of glory, from the period when the Polish name filled the universe, our country has fallen into ruins, and fallen, alas, for ever ! I have been able to gain for you victories ;

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1794.



CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

With him  
the Polish  
power was  
extin-  
guished.

The anticipation of the hero was not exactly accomplished; his own glories, despite the insanity of his subjects, prolonged the existence of Poland for nearly a hundred years. But succeeding events proved every day more clearly the truth of his prediction. His posthumous conquest of the frontier town of Kamienieck from the Turks, was the last triumph of the republic. He was also its last national sovereign, and the last who possessed any estimation in the world. With him disappeared both its power and its ascendancy among other nations. From that period, successive foreign armies invaded its provinces, and invaded it never to retire. The different factions in the state, steeped in the bitterness of party strife, and exhausted by their efforts for mutual destruction, sought in foreign support the means of wreaking their vengeance on each other. Foreign ambition gladly acceded to the call; and under the pretence of terminating its distractions, armed one-half of the country against the other. Foreign powers soon became omnipotent in so divided a community: all hastened to place themselves under the banners of some neighbouring sovereign. By turns the Saxons, Swedes, Muscovites, Imperialists, and Prussians, ruled its destinies; Poland was no more; according to his own prophecy, it descended into the tomb with the greatest of its sons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salv. iii.  
455.

Never did a people exhibit a more extraordinary spectacle than the Poles after this period. Two factions were for ever at war; both had, to espouse and defend their interests, an army; but it was a foreign army, a conquering army, an army conquering without a combat. The inferior noblesse, introduced the Saxons; the greater called in the Swedes; from the day in which Sobieski closed his eyes

Excessive  
democratic  
strife after  
his death.

strangers never ceased to reign in Poland ; its national forces were continually diminishing, and at length totally disappeared. The reason is, that a nation without subjects is speedily exhausted ; the republic at length, composed only of two hundred thousand citizens, had no more blood to shed even in civil war. No encounters thereafter took place but between the Swedish, German, or Russian forces ; their struggles resembled more the judicial combat of the feudal ages than the contests of powerful nations. The factions of the republic, united on one side round the Swedish, on the other round the Saxon banners, exchanged notes and summonses like belligerent powers. By degrees blood ceased to flow ; in these internal divisions gold was found more effectual than the sword ; and to the disgrace of Poland, its later years sunk under the debasement of foreign corruption.<sup>1</sup>

Pursued to the grave by the phantom of equality, the dissensions of Poland became more violent as it approached its dissolution. The exercise of the *liberum veto* became more frequent every year ; it was no longer produced by the vehemence of domestic strife, but by the influence of external corruption. That single word plunged the republic, as if by enchantment, into a lethargic sleep, and every time it was pronounced, it fell for two years into a state of absolute inanition. Faction even went so far as to dissolve the diets, in their first sittings, and render their convocation a mere vain formality. All the branches of the government immediately ceased to be under any control ; the treasury, the army, the civil authority, released from all control, fell into a state of anarchy. Nothing similar to this ever occurred in any other people. The legislative power

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Salv. iii.  
479. Rulh.  
i. 62, 63.Increasing  
weakness  
and anar-  
chy of the  
republic.

CHAP. succeeded in destroying itself; and no other power  
XVII. ever ventured to supply its place. The executive,

1794. parceled out into many independent and hostile divisions, was incapable of effecting such an usurpation, and if it had, the right of the nation to assemble in open confederation, would immediately have rendered it nugatory. The prophecy of Montesquieu, as to the future destruction of the British constitution, has been accomplished in Poland: it fell when the legislative became more corrupt than the executive.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rulh. i.  
63.

Which  
made their  
partition  
in 1772  
easy.

When the adjoining states of Russia and Austria, therefore, effected the first partition of Poland, in 1772, they did not require to conquer a kingdom, but only to take each a share of a state which had fallen to pieces. The election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, in 1764, to the throne of Poland, took place literally under the buckler; but it was not under the buckler of their own nobles, but of the Muscovite, the Cossack, and the Tartar, who overshadowed the plain of Vola with their arms; last and fatal consequence of centuries of anarchy! In vain did the Poles, taught at length by woful experience, attempt, by the advice of Czartoriski, to abandon the fatal privilege of the *liberum veto*; the despots of Russia and Prussia declared that they took the liberties of Poland, and that important right in particular, under their peculiar protection, and perpetuated a privilege which secured their conquest of the kingdom. The inferior noblesse had the madness to invoke the aid of the Empress Catharine, to maintain their ancient privileges against what they called the tyranny of the aristocracy, and Poland, invaded by the two greatest monarchies of Europe, was deprived of the aid of the greater part of its own subjects. The higher

nobility, the clergy, the real patriots, made generous efforts, but all in vain; the insane people, regardless of every thing but the maintenance of their powers, refused to second them, and one-half of Poland was lost in the struggle.<sup>1</sup>

The terrible lesson was not received in vain. Taught by the dismemberment of their territory, what remained of Poland strove to amend their institutions; the *liberum veto* was abandoned, and the nobles themselves, taking the lead in the work of reformation, made a voluntary surrender of their privileges for the public good. The example of the French Revolution had penetrated the wilds of Sarmatia, and a new era seemed to open upon the world from its example. On the 3d May 1791, a constitution founded upon the hereditary descent of the throne, the abolition of the *liberum veto*, religious toleration, the emancipation of the bourgeois, and the progressive enfranchisement of the serfs, was proclaimed at Warsaw, amidst the tears of joy of a people who hoped that they had at last found a period to their long misfortunes. The Polish reform was so different from the French, that it would seem as if it was expressly set down by Providence to

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.  
1 Salv. i.

498.

When too late they abandon their ruinous democratic privileges. Difference of the Polish and French reforms.

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

lished, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; a reigning king, from an heroic love to his country, exerted himself in favour of a family of strangers, as if it had been his own. Ten millions of men were placed in a way to be freed gradually, and therefore to themselves safely, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, were placed in the consideration which belongs to that improved and connecting situation of social life. One of the most numerous, proud, and fierce bodies of nobility in the world, was arranged only in the foremost rank of free citizens. All, from the king to the labourer, were improved in their condition; every thing was kept in its place and order, but in that place and order every thing was bettered. Not one drop of blood was spilled, no treachery, no outrage; no slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil or confiscation, no citizen beggared, none imprisoned, none exiled; but the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity and secrecy, such as have never before been known on any occasion."<sup>1</sup> But it was too late. The powers which environed Poland were too strong, the weakness entailed on it by its long anarchy too great, to admit of its being restored to the rank of an independent power. Like many men who discover the error of their ways when on the verge of the grave, they had continued the passions of their youth down to the period when amendment is impossible and repentance fruitless. Had they abandoned their democratic contentions in the days of Sobieski, the state might have recovered its ascendancy; in the days of Catharine it was no longer practicable.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burke, appeal to Old Whigs—Works, vi. 244, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Salv. iii. 500, 501.

The last struggles of the Poles, like all their preceding ones, originated in their own divisions. The artisans of the ancient anarchy revolted against the new and more stable constitution which they had recently received; they took up arms at Targowice, and invoked the aid of the Empress Catharine, to restore the disorder from which she had gained so much. A second dismemberment speedily ensued, and in the distracted state of the country, it was effected without opposition. Prussia and Russia took upon themselves alone the execution of this partition, and the combined troops were in the first instance quietly cantoned in the provinces which they had seized. The Russian general Ingelstroem was stationed at Warsaw, and occupied all the inconsiderable portion of the Republic still left to Stanislaus. Soltikoff had under his orders a powerful corps in Wolhynia and Podolia. Suwarrow, with a large corps, was placed at Cherson, to overcome both the Turks and the southern provinces, while a large Prussian corps was ready to support Ingelstroem, and had already seized upon the northern parts of the country. Thus Poland, divided and paralysed, without fortified towns, mountains, <sup>1 Jom. vi.</sup>

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Com-  
mence-  
ment of  
their last  
struggle.October  
14, 1793.

CHAP. country, consulting only their own courage, resolved  
XVII. to make a last effort to deliver it from its enemies.

1794. In the midst of their internal convulsions, and through all the prostration of their national strength, the Poles had never lost their individual courage, or the ennobling feelings of civil independence. They were still the redoubtable hussars who broke the Mussulman ranks under the walls of Vienna, and carried the Polish eagles in triumph to the towers of the Kremlin; whose national cry had so often made the Osmanlis tremble, and who had boasted in their hours of triumph, that if the heaven itself were to fall, they would support it on the point of their lances. A band of patriots at Warsaw resolved at all hazards to attempt the restoration of their independence, and they made choice of KOSCIUSKO, who was then at Leipsic, to direct their efforts.<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Salv. iii.  
92. Jom.  
vi. 260.

\* Thadeus Kosciusko was born in 1755, of a poor but noble family, and received the first elements of his education in the corps of cadets at Warsaw. There he was early distinguished by his diligence, ability, and progress in mathematical science, insomuch that he was selected as one of the four students there annually chosen at that institution to travel at the expense of the state. He went abroad, accordingly, and spent several years in France, chiefly engaged in military studies; from whence he returned in 1778, with ideas of freedom and independence, unhappily far in advance of his country at that period. As war did not seem likely at that period in the north of Europe, he set sail for America, then beginning the war of independence, and was employed by Washington as his adjutant, and distinguished himself greatly in that contest, beside Lafayette, Lameth, Dumas, and so many of the other ardent and enthusiastic spirits from the Old World. He returned to Europe on the termination of the war, decorated with the order of Cincinnatus, and lived in retirement till 1789, when, as King Stanislaus was adopting some steps with a view to the assertion of the national independence, he was appointed Major-General by the Polish Diet. In 1791 he joined with enthusiasm in the formation of the Constitution which was proclaimed on the 5th May in that year, and in 1792 performed several brilliant actions under Poniatowsky, especially at Dobienka, which with four thousand men he defended during six hours against the assault of twelve thousand Russians. Stanislaus having been forced to make peace, he was obliged to yield to necessity and re-



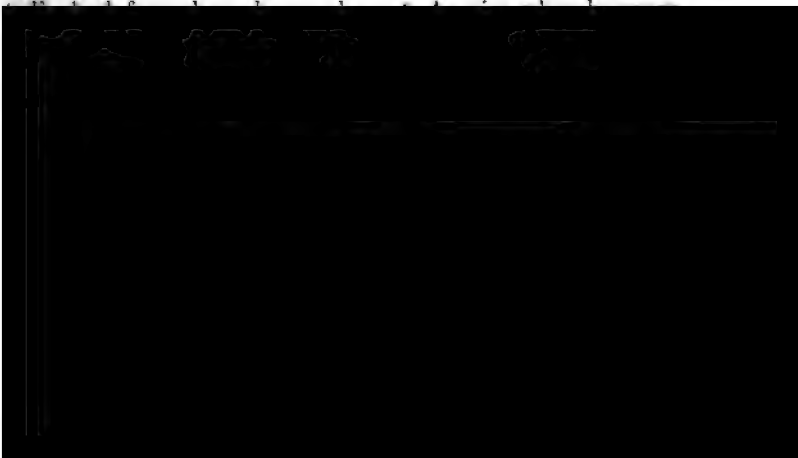
This illustrious hero, who had received the rudiments of military education in France, had afterwards served, not without glory, in the ranks of independence in America. Uniting to Polish enthusiasm French ability, the ardent friend of liberty, and the enlightened advocate for order; brave, loyal, and generous, he was in every way qualified to head the last struggle of the oldest republic in existence for its national independence. But a nearer approach to the scene of danger convinced him that the hour for action had not yet arrived. The passions, indeed, were awakened, the national enthusiasm was full, but the means of resistance were inconsiderable, and the old divisions of the Republic were not so healed as to afford the prospect of the whole national strength being exerted in its defence. But the public indignation could brook no delay; several regiments station-

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Character  
of Kosci-  
usko, who  
saw the  
futility of  
resistance.

tired to Leipsic, where he lived in seclusion till 1794, when his countrymen having resolved to make a last effort to avert entire subjugation, he was solicited to take the command, and with true patriotic devotion, albeit almost despairing of success, he set out to sacrifice himself for his country. After the battle of Maccowice, in which he was made prisoner, he was taken to St Petersburg, where he was detained in confinement for two years, until the accession of Paul, when he was set at liberty, and treated by him with great generosity. He then withdrew



CHAP. ed at Pultusk revolted, and moved towards Galicia;  
XVII. and Kosciusko, determined not to be absent in the

1794. hour of danger, hastened to Cracow, where, on the  
<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi. 263. Toul. 3d March, he closed the gates, and proclaimed the  
v. 88. insurrection.<sup>1</sup>

Having, by means of the regiments which had re-  
He defeats volted, and the junction of some bodies of armed pea-  
the Rus- sants, imperfectly armed indeed, but full of enthusi-  
sians at asm, collected a force of five thousand men, Kosciusko  
Raslowice. left Cracow, and boldly advanced into the open  
Warsaw is country. He encountered a body of three thousand  
taken by Russians at Raslowice, and after an obstinate engage-  
the insur- ment, succeeded in routing it with great slaughter.  
gents.

April 8. This action, inconsiderable in itself, had important  
consequences ; the Polish peasants exchanged their  
scythes for the arms found on the field of battle, and  
the insurrection, encouraged by this first gleam of  
success, soon communicated itself to the adjoining  
provinces. In vain Stanislaus disavowed the acts of  
his subjects; the flame of independence spread with  
the rapidity of lightning, and soon all the freemen in  
Poland were in arms. Warsaw was the first point  
where the flame broke out. The intelligence of the  
success at Raslowice was received there on the 12th  
April, and occasioned the most violent agitation. For  
some days afterwards it was evident that an explosion  
was at hand ; and at length, at daybreak on the  
April 17. morning of the 17th, the brigade of Polish guards,  
under the direction of their officers, attacked the Go-  
vernor's house and the Arsenal, and was speedily  
joined by the populace. The Russian and Prussian

troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were about  
<sup>2</sup> Jom. vi. 264, 266, seven thousand men ; <sup>3</sup> and after a prolonged and ob-  
269. Lac. stinate contest in the streets for thirty-six hours, they  
xii. 269, were driven across the Vistula with the loss of above  
271. Hard.  
i. 472.

three thousand men in killed and prisoners, and the flag of independence was hoisted on the towers of Warsaw. CHAP.  
XVII.  
1794.

One of the most embarrassing circumstances in the situations of the Russians was the presence of above sixteen thousand Poles in their ranks, who were known to sympathize strongly with these heroic efforts of their fellow-citizens. Orders were immediately dispatched to Suwarrow, to assemble a corps, and disarm the Polish troops scattered in Podolia, before they could unite in any common measures for their defence. By the energy and rapidity of this great commander, the Poles were disarmed brigade after brigade, and above twelve thousand men reduced to a state of inaction without much difficulty—a most important operation, not only by destroying the nucleus of a powerful army, but stifling the commencement of the insurrection in Wolhynia and Podolia. How different might have been the fate of Poland and Europe, had they been enabled to join the ranks of their countrymen! Poles in  
the Russian  
army dis-  
armed.  
Jom. vi.  
271.

Kosciusko and his countrymen did every thing that courage or energy could suggest to put on foot a formidable force to resist their adversaries; a provision- Great ex-  
ertions of  
Kosciusko



CHAP. of democratic anarchy. The population of the  
 XVII. country, composed entirely of unruly gentlemen, and  
 1794. ignorant serfs, was totally unable at that time to  
 furnish those numerous supplies of intelligent officers  
 which are requisite for the formation of an efficient  
 military force; while the nobility, however formi-  
 dable on horseback in the Hungarian or Turkish  
 wars, were less to be relied on, in a contest with re-  
 gular forces, where infantry and artillery constituted  
 the great strength of the army, and courage was  
 unavailing without the aid of science and military  
 discipline.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
273.

The central position of Poland, in the midst of its  
 enemies, would have afforded great military advan-  
 Want of a large re- gular force proved fa- tal to him. tages had they possessed a force capable of turning  
 it to account; that is, if they had had a hundred  
 and fifty thousand regular troops, which the popula-  
 tion of the country could easily have maintained, and  
 a few well-fortified towns to arrest the enemy in one  
 quarter, while the bulk of the national force was pre-  
 cipitated upon them in another. The glorious stand  
 made by the nation in 1831, with only thirty thou-  
 sand regular soldiers at the commencement of the in-  
 surrection, and no other fortifications than those of  
 Warsaw and Modlin, proves what immense advan-  
 tages this central position affords, and what oppor-  
 tunities it offers to military genius like that of SKRY-  
 NECKI, to inflict the most severe wounds even on a  
 superior and well-conducted antagonist. But all these  
 advantages were wanting to Kosciusko; and it aug-  
 ments our admiration of his talent, and of the heroism  
 of his countrymen, that, with such inconsiderable  
 means, they made so honourable a stand for their  
 national independence.

No sooner was the King of Prussia informed of the

revolution at Warsaw, than he moved forward at the head of thirty thousand men to besiege that city ; while Suwarrow, with forty thousand veterans, was preparing to enter the south-eastern parts of the kingdom. Aware of the necessity of striking a blow before the enemy's forces were united, Kosciusko advanced with twelve thousand men to attack the Russian General Denisoff ; but, upon approaching his corps, he discovered that it had united to the army commanded by the king in person. Unable to face such superior forces, he immediately retired, but was attacked next morning at daybreak near Sekoczyre by the Allies, and after a gallant resistance, his army was routed, and Cracow fell into the hands of the conquerors. This check was the more severely felt, as, about the same time, General Zayonscheck was defeated at Chelne, and obliged to recross the Vistula, leaving the whole country on the right bank of that river in the hands of the Russians. These disasters produced a great impression at Warsaw ; the people as usual ascribed them to treachery, and insisted that the leaders should be brought to punishment ; and although the chiefs escaped, several persons in an inferior situation were arrested and thrown into prison. Apprehensive of some subterfuge, if the accused were regularly brought to trial, the burghers

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1794.

Russians  
and Prus-  
sians move  
against  
Warsaw,  
and violent  
tumults  
there.

CHAP. XVII. money was at a frightful discount; and the sacrifices required of the nation were the more severely felt, that now hardly a hope of ultimate success remained.

1794. The combined Russian and Prussian armies, about thirty-five thousand strong, now advanced against the capital, where Kosciusko occupied an intrenched camp with twenty-five thousand men. During the whole of July and August, the besiegers were engaged in fruitless attempts to drive the Poles into the city; and at length a great convoy, with artillery and stores for a regular siege, which was ascending the Vistula, having been captured by a gentleman named Minewsky, at the head of a body of peasants, the King of Prussia raised the siege, leaving a portion of his sick and stores in the hands of the patriots. After this success, the insurrection spread immensely, and the Poles mustered nearly eighty thousand men under arms; but they were scattered over too extensive a line of country in order to make head against their numerous enemies; a policy tempting by the prospect it holds forth of exciting an extensive insurrection, but ruinous in the end, by exposing the patriotic forces to the risk of being beaten in detail. Scarcely had the Poles recovered from their intoxication at the raising the siege of Warsaw, when intelligence was received of the defeat of Sizakowsky, who commanded a corps of ten thousand men beyond the Bug, by the Russian grand army under SUWARROW.\* This celebrated general, to whom the principal conduct of the war was now committed, followed up his successes with the utmost vigour. The retreating column was again assailed on the 19th by the victorious Russians, and, after a glorious resistance, driven into the woods between Janow and Biala,<sup>1</sup> with

But are compelled to raise the siege, and Suwarrow defeats a body of Poles.

Sept. 17.

Sept. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i.

474, 480.

Toul. 589.

Jom vi.

283, 287.

\* See a biography of Suwarrow.—*Infra*, vol. iv. 54-60.

the loss of four thousand men and twenty-eight pieces of cannon. Scarce three thousand Poles, with Siza-  
kowsky at their head, escaped into Siedlice.

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1794.

Upon receiving the accounts of this disaster, Kosciusko resolved, by drawing together all his detachments, to fall upon Fersen before he joined Suwarrow, and the other corps which were advancing against the capital. With this view he ordered General Poninsky to join him, and marched with all his disposable forces to attack the Russian general, who was stationed at Maccowice; but fortune on this occasion cruelly deceived the Poles. Arrived in presence of Fersen, he found that Poninsky had not yet arrived; and the Russian commander, overjoyed at this circumstance, resolved immediately to attack him. In vain Kosciusko dispatched courier after courier to Poninsky to advance to his relief. The first was intercepted by the Cossacks, and the second did not arrive in time to enable him to take a decisive part in the approaching combat. Nevertheless the Polish commander, aware of the danger of retreating with inexperienced troops in presence of a disciplined and superior enemy, determined to give battle on the following day, and drew up his little army

Kosciusko  
is routed  
and made  
prisoner at  
Maccowice.



CHAP. the left, which Poninsky should have supported,  
XVII. having been overwhelmed by the cavalry under

1794. Denisoff, the whole army was thrown into confusion. Kosciusko, Sizakowsky, and other gallant chiefs, in vain made the most heroic efforts to rally the broken troops. They were wounded, struck down, and made prisoners by the Cossacks, who inundated the field of battle, while the remains of the army now reduced to seven thousand five hundred men, fell back in confusion towards Warsaw.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
89. Læo.  
xii. 274.  
Jom. vi.  
291. Biog.  
Univ. xxiii.  
551. (Kos-  
ciusko.)

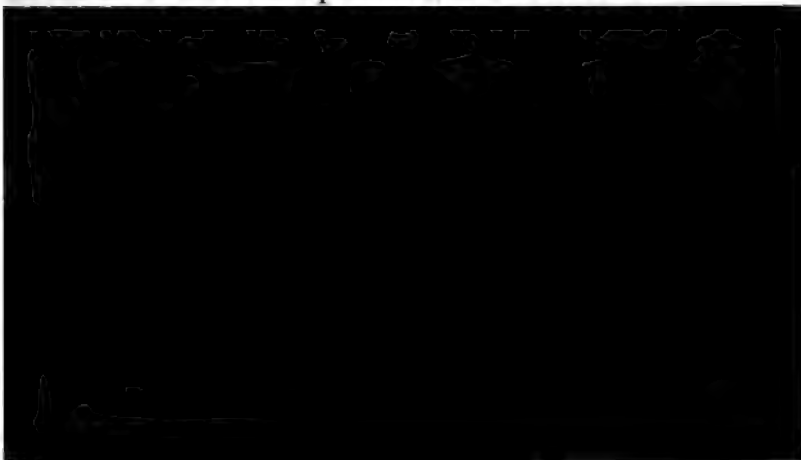
After the fall of Kosciusko, who sustained in his single person the fortunes of the Republic, nothing but a series of disasters awaited the Poles. The Austrians, taking advantage of the general confusion, entered Gallicia, and occupied the palatinates of Lublin and Sandomir; while Suwarrow, pressing forward towards the capital, defeated Mokronowsky, who, at the head of twelve thousand men, strove to retard the advance of that redoubtable commander. In vain the Poles made the utmost efforts; they were routed with the loss of four thousand men; and the patriots, though now despairing of success, resolved to sell their lives dearly, and shut themselves up in Warsaw, to await the approach of the conqueror. Suwarrow was soon at the gates of Praga, the eastern suburb of that capital, where twenty-six thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon, defended the bridge of the Vistula and the approach to the capital. To assault such a position with forces hardly superior, was evidently a hazardous enterprise; but the approach of winter rendering it indispensable that if any thing was done at all, it should be immediately attempted, Suwarrow, who was habituated to successful assaults in the Turkish wars, resolved to storm the city. On the 2d Novem-

Patriots  
shut them-  
selves up  
in Warsaw.



er, the Russians made their appearance before the CHAP.  
 laxis of Praga, and Suwarrow, having in great XVII.  
 aste completed three powerful batteries, and can- 1794.  
 onaded the defences in breach with an imposing<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi.  
 elerity, made his dispositions for a general assault 292, 295.  
 n the following day.<sup>1</sup> Toul. v. 86.

The conquerors of Ismail advanced to the attack  
 in the same order which they had adopted on that Storming  
 memorable occasion. Seven columns at daybreak of Praga  
 approached the ramparts, rapidly filled up the and War-  
 ditches with their fascines, broke down the saw by  
 fences, and pouring into the intrenched camp, Atrocious  
 carried destruction into the ranks of the Poles. massacre  
 In by the  
 main the defenders did their utmost to resist the Russians.  
 torrent. The wooden houses of Praga speedily took Nov. 4.  
 fire, and, amidst the shouts of the victors and the  
 cries of the inhabitants, the Polish battalions were  
 driven backward to the edge of the Vistula. The  
 multitude of fugitives speedily broke down the  
 ridges; and the citizens of Warsaw beheld, with  
 unavailing anguish, their defenders on the other side  
 perishing in the flames, or by the sword of the con-  
 querors. Ten thousand soldiers fell on the spot,  
 nine thousand were made prisoners, and above twelve



CHAP. ended his days in captivity, and the final partition  
XVII. of the monarchy was effected.

1794. Such was the termination of the oldest republic in  
Great sen- existence,—such the first instance of the destruction  
sation pro- of a member of the European family by its ambitious  
duced in rivals. As such it excited a profound sensation in  
Europe by the fall of Europe; the folly of preceding ages, the irretrievable  
Warsaw. defects of the Polish constitution, were forgotten;  
they were remembered only as the bulwark of Chris-  
tendom against the Ottomans; they appeared only  
as the succouring angel under John Sobieski. To  
behold a people so ancient, so gallant, whose deeds  
were associated with such heart-stirring recollections,  
fall a victim to Imperial ingratitude and Muscovite  
ambition, was a spectacle which naturally excited  
the utmost indignation. The bloody march of the  
French Revolution, the disasters consequent on do-  
mestic dissension, were forgotten, and the Christian  
world was penetrated with a grief akin to that felt  
by all civilized nations at the fall of Jerusalem.  
The poet has celebrated these events in the immor-  
tal lines,—

“ Oh ! bloodiest picture in the book of Time,  
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;  
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,  
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!  
Dropp'd from her nerveless grasp the shatter'd spear,  
Closed her bright eye, and curb'd her high career;—  
Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,  
And Freedom shriek'd—as Kosciusko fell!”

But the truth of history must dispel the illusion,  
and unfold in the fall of Poland the natural conse-  
quence of its national delinquencies. Sarmatia nei-  
ther fell unwept nor without a crime; she fell the  
victim of her own dissensions; of the chimera of

quality insanely pursued, and the rigour of aristocracy unceasingly maintained; of extravagant jealousy of every superior, and merciless oppression of every inferior rank. The eldest-born of the European family was the first to perish, because she had wanted all the ends of the social union; because she united the turbulence of democratic to the expression of aristocratic societies; because she had the oscillation of a republic without its energy, and the oppression of a monarchy without its stability. Such a system neither could nor ought to be maintained. The internal feuds of Poland were more fatal to human happiness than the despotism of Russia, and the growth of improvement among its people as slow as among the ryots of Hindostan.

To any one who has either studied in history, or experienced in real life, the practical working of the principle of self-government among mankind, in situations where democratic equality is really established, the destruction of Poland will appear so far from being surprizing, that the only wonderful thing is, that they so long succeeded in maintaining their dependence. It is the fretting against control, the "ignorant impatience of taxation" in mankind,

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

It was the  
victim of  
democratic  
madness  
and op-  
pression.Real cause  
of the ruin  
of Poland.

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

however light." So strong is this disinclination to submit to present burdens, to prevent future evil, among men in all ages and countries, that it may fairly be considered as insurmountable; and therefore any society in which supreme power is really vested in the people, bears in itself the seeds of early ruin. Democratic bodies often exhibit extraordinary energy, if they can derive their resources from foreign plunder or domestic confiscation; but they will never, except in the last extremity, burden themselves. Real self-taxation is in truth a delusive theory: where it is attempted to be put in practice it invariably fails; what was so long mistaken for it was the taxing of one class by another class—of the many by the few. These are unpalatable truths—but they are not the less truths; nor is it less on that account the duty of the historian to state them. If any one doubts their accuracy, let him contemplate the abandonment of the Sinking Fund, since popular influence began to predominate in Great Britain, and the recent repudiation of the States' debt by a large part of the American people.

Str ing  
contrast  
afforded by  
the steady  
growth of  
Russia.

In this respect the history of Muscovy affords a striking and instructive contrast to the Polish annals. Commencing originally with a smaller territory, yet further removed from the light of civilization, cut off in a manner from the intelligence of the globe, decidedly inferior in its earlier contests, the growth of Russia has been as steady as the decline of Poland. The Polish republic fell at length beneath a power which it had repeatedly vanquished, and whose capital it had conquered and burned; and its name was erased from the list of nations at the very time that its despotic rival had attained the zenith of power and glory. These facts throw a

great and important light on the causes of early civilization, and the form of government adapted to a barbarous age. There cannot in such a state be so great a misfortune as a weak, there cannot be so great a blessing as a powerful government. No oppression is so severe as that which is there inflicted by the members of the same state on each other; no anarchy so irremediable as that which arises from the violence of their own passions. To restrain the fury, and coerce the dissensions of its subjects, is the first duty of government in such periods; in its inability to discharge this duty, is to be found the real cause of the weakness of a democratic, in the rude but effective performance of it, the true secret of the strength of a despotic state.

Such, however, are the ennobling effects of the spirit of freedom in its wildest fits, that the remnant of the Polish nation, albeit bereft of a country by their own insanity, have by their deeds commanded the respect, and by their sorrows obtained the sympathy of the world. The remains of Kosciusko's bands, disdaining to live under Muscovite oppression, sought and found an asylum in the armies of France; they served with distinction

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.

Gallant  
spirit of  
the exiled  
Polish  
bands.



CHAP. XVII. the misdirected spirit of freedom ; it dignifies and  
 1794. hallows all that it encircles, and, even amidst the  
 ruins which it has occasioned, exalts the human  
 soul !

Compari-  
 son of Po-  
 lish with  
 English  
 history.

The history of England has illustrated the bene-  
 ficial effects which have resulted to its character and  
 institutions from the Norman Conquest. In the  
 severe suffering which followed that great event, in  
 the anguish of generations, were laid the deep and  
 lasting foundations of English freedom. In the  
 checkered and disastrous history of Poland, may be  
 traced the consequences of an opposite, and, at first  
 sight, more fortunate destiny ; of national inde-  
 pendence uninterruptedly maintained, and purity of  
 race unceasingly preserved. The first, in the school  
 of early adversity, were taught the habits and learned  
 the wisdom necessary for the guidance of maturer  
 years ; the second, like the spoiled child, whose wishes  
 had never been coerced, nor its passions restrained, at  
 last acquired, on the brink of the grave, prematurely  
 induced by excessive indulgence, that experience  
 which should have been gained in earlier years. It  
 is through this terrible, but necessary ordeal, that  
 Poland is now passing ; and the experience of ages  
 would indeed be lost, if we did not discern in their  
 present suffering the discipline necessary for future  
 happiness, and in the extremity of temporary disaster,  
 the severe school of ultimate improvement.

Just retri-  
 butions on  
 the parti-  
 tioning  
 powers.

The partition of Poland, and scandalous conduct  
 of the states who reaped the fruit of injustice in its  
 fall, has been the frequent subject of just indignation  
 and eloquent complaint from the European historians ;  
 but the connexion between that calamitous event and  
 the subsequent disasters of the partitioning powers,  
 has not hitherto met with due attention. Yet nothing

can be clearer, than that it was this iniquitous measure which brought all the misfortunes which followed upon the European monarchies ; that it was it which opened the gates of Germany to French ambition, and brought Napoleon with his terrible legions to Vienna, Berlin, and the Kremlin. The more the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 are studied, the more clearly does it appear that it was the prospect of obtaining a share in the partition of Poland which paralysed the allied arms, which intercepted and turned aside the legions which might have overthrown the Jacobin rule, and created that jealousy and division amongst their rulers, which more even than the energy of the Republicans, contributed to their uniform and astonishing success. Had the redoubtable bands of Catharine been added to the armies of Prussia in the plains of Champagne in 1792, or to those of Austria and England in the field of Flanders in 1793, not a doubt can remain that the revolutionary party would have been overcome, and a constitutional monarchy established in France, with the entire concurrence of three-fourths of all the respectable classes in the kingdom, and to the infinite present and future blessing of its whole inhabitants. Even in

CHAP.  
XVII.

1794.



CHAP. of the campaign, in sullen inactivity on the Rhine,  
 XVII. and then led to the precipitate and indignant aban-  
 1794. donment of Flanders by the Austrian forces.

Subse-  
 quent pun-  
 ishment of  
 the parti-  
 tioning  
 powers.

The subsequent fate of the partitioning powers is a striking instance of that moral retribution, which, sooner or later, in nations as well as individuals, attends a flagrant act of injustice. To effect the destruction of Poland, Prussia paralysed her armies on the Rhine, and threw on Austria and England the whole weight of the contest with Republican France. She thereby permitted the growth of its military power, and the battle of Jena, the treaty of Tilsit, and six years of bondage, were the consequence. Suwarrow entered Warsaw when its spires were yet gleaming with the fires of Praga, and when the Vistula ran red with Polish blood; and before twenty years had expired, a Polish army revenged on the Moskwa that inhuman massacre, and the sack of Warsaw was forgotten in the conflagration of Moscow. Austria withdrew from Flanders to join in the deed of iniquity, and secure in Galicia the fruits of injustice; and twice did the French guards in consequence pass in triumph through the walls of Vienna. The connexion between this great and guilty act and the subsequent disasters of the spoliating powers, therefore, is direct and evident; and history would be worse than useless if it did not signalize that great instance of just retribution for the eternal warning and instruction of mankind.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1795.

## ARGUMENT.

Effects of the Successes of France in the preceding Campaign—Peace with Prussia—State of the Empire—Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, between Holland and France—Fresh Treaty between Austria and England—Efforts of England to maintain the War—Her Land and Sea Forces, and Supplies—Treaty with Russia—Arguments in England against and for the War—Great increase in the Patriotic Spirit of the People—Exhausted State of France—Naval Operations in the Mediterranean—Combat of La Spezia—War in the Maritime Alps—Allies at first successful—Difficult Situation of the French—Their Armies, strongly reinforced, resume the Offensive—Battle of Loano—Its decisive consequences—Tactics by which it was gained by the Republicans—War in Spain—Indecisive Operations in Catalonia—Great successes of the Republicans in Biscay—Peace between France and Spain—Pacification of La Vendée—Treaty with the Insurgents—Expedition to Quiberon—Running Sea-Fight at Belleisle—Landing of the Emigrants in Quiberon Bay—Vigorous defensive Measures of Hoche—The invaders are blockaded—Their desperate situation—Unfortunate Attempts at succour by the Chouan Chiefs—They are repulsed—Storming of the Royalist Intrenchments—They are driven into the Sea, or capitulate—Atrocious Cruelty of the Republicans—Noble Conduct and Death of the Royalist Prisoners—Rapid Decline of the Royalist Cause in

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

CHAP. led early in the following year to the dissolution of  
XVIII. the confederacy against the French Republic. The

1795. conquest of Holland determined the wavering policy  
of Prussia. Early in January conferences were

Peace be- of Prussia. Early in January conferences were  
tween publicly opened at Bâle, and before the end of the  
France and month the preliminaries were signed. The pub-  
Prussia. lic articles of this treaty bound the King of Prussia  
Jan. 22. to live on friendly terms with the Republic, and not

furnish succour to its enemies—to concede to France the undisturbed enjoyment of its conquests on the left bank of the Rhine, leaving the equivalent to be given to Prussia to ulterior arrangement; while, on the other hand, the French government engaged to withdraw its troops from the Prussian possessions on the right bank, and not treat as enemies the states of the empire in which Prussia took an interest. By the secret articles, “the King of Prussia engaged not to undertake any hostile enterprise against Holland, or any country occupied by the French troops;” an indemnity was stipulated for Prussia, in the event of France extending her frontiers to the Rhine: the Republic promised not to carry hostilities in the empire beyond a fixed line, and in case of the Rhine being permanently fixed on as the boundary of France, and including the states of Deux Ponts, the Republic engaged to undertake a debt of 1,500,000 rix-dollars, due to Prussia by that potentate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hard. iii.  
144-146.  
Martens,  
vi. 45.

Effects of There was in truth no present interest at variance  
the suc- between these powers, and the treaty contained little  
cesses of more of importance than a recognition of the Repub-  
France in lic by Frederick William; but there never was a  
preceding more ultimately ruinous step taken by a nation.  
campaign. The conquest of Holland, which overturned the  
balance of power, and exposed Prussia uncovered to  
the attacks of France, should have been the signal

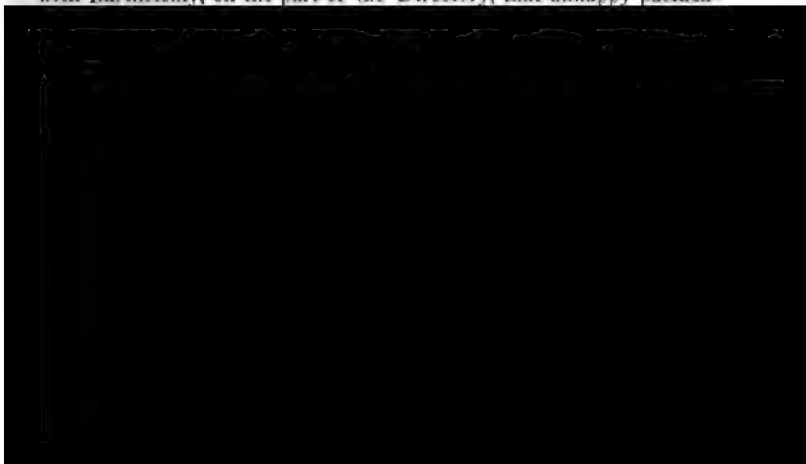
for a sincere coalition, such as that which had coerced the ambition of Louis XIV., and subsequently overturned the power of Napoleon. What a succession of disasters would such a decided conduct in all probability have prevented; what long and disastrous wars; what a prodigious effusion of human blood; what unheard-of efforts did it require for Prussia to regain in 1813 the position which she occupied in 1795! But these events were buried in the womb of fate; no one then anticipated the coming disasters; and the Prussian ministers deemed themselves fortunate in escaping from a war, in which the real interest of the monarchy seemed to be at stake. They concluded peace accordingly; they left Austria to contend single-handed with the power of France;<sup>1</sup> and the battle of Jena, and treaty of Tilsit, were the consequence.<sup>1\*</sup>

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
6. Th. vii.  
202.

The disunited and unwieldy mass of the empire, without altogether discontinuing military operations, pursued them in so languid a manner as to be equivalent to a complete pacification. Bavaria, the Elec-

\* The British historian need not hesitate to express this opinion, since it is not only agreeable to that of all the German annalists, but expressly admitted by the able and candid Prussian statesman, who concluded with Barthelemy, on the part of the Directory, that unhappy pacifica-



CHAP. XVIII. tor of Mayence, and several other powers, issued a declaration, that the states of the Empire had not taken up arms but for the protection of the states adjoining Alsace, and that they had no inclination to interfere in the internal affairs of France. Spain, exhausted and dejected, awaited only the most favourable opportunity of making a separate peace, and concluding a contest from which she had already suffered so much ; while Piedmont, crushed by the weight of armaments beyond its strength, which cost more than three times the subsidies granted by England, equally desired a conclusion to hostilities without venturing to express the wish. The conquest of Holland relieved the French government of all anxiety in that quarter, by compelling the Dutch to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Republic. The principal conditions of that treaty were, that the United Provinces ceded Venloo and Maestricht to Belgium ; and bound themselves to aid the French with twelve ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, and one-half of the troops which they had under arms.<sup>1</sup>

State of the Empire. Oct. 1794. Dec. 25, 1794. Treaty between Holland and France.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii. 8, 16, 18. Th. vii. 203. Martens.

“ Had Frederick William been animated with the spirit of Frederick the Great, he would have negotiated with the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other ; and, supporting Holland, he would even have included it in the line of his military protection. By so doing, he would have risen to the rank not only of the mediator, but the arbiter of Europe, and been enabled to aspire to the glorious mission of balancing the dominion of the seas, against continental despotism. Whereas, the peace of Bâle, concluded in narrow views, and without any regard to the common cause, destroyed the personal character of Frederick William, and stript the Prussian monarchy of its glorious reputation. We may add, that if, ten years afterwards, Prussia was precipitated in the abyss, it is to be imputed to its blind and obstinate adherence to the system of neutrality, which commenced with the treaty of Bâle. No one felt this more deeply, or expressed it more loudly, than the Prussian diplomatist who concluded that pacification.”—PRINCE HARDENBERG'S *Memoirs*, iii. 150, 151. These able Memoirs, though written by the Count D'Allonville, were compiled from Prince Hardenberg's papers.

Thus the whole weight of the war fell on Austria and England. The former of these powers had suffered too much by the loss of the Low Countries to permit her to think of peace, while the disasters she had experienced had not as yet been so great as to compel her to renounce the hope of regaining them. Mr Pitt in the latter was fully aware of the approaching danger, and indefatigable in his efforts to revive the confederacy. He met with a worthy ally in Thugut, who directed the Cabinet of Vienna. On the 4th May 1795, a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the two powers, by which Austria engaged to maintain 200,000 men in the field during the approaching campaign, and England to furnish a subsidy of L.6,000,000 sterling. The utmost efforts were at the same time made to reinforce the Imperial armies on the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

The British government made exertions for the prosecution of the war, more considerable than they had yet put forth, and seemed sensible that the national strength required to be more fully exerted now that the war approached her own shores. The naval force was augmented to 100,000 seamen, one hundred and eight ships of the line put in commission, and the

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

Fresh  
treaty be-  
tween Aus-  
tria and  
England.May 4,  
and 20,  
1795.Jom. vii.  
15, 16.Parl. Hist.  
xxxii. 576.  
Martens,  
vi. 65.Efforts of  
England to  
maintain  
the war.  
Land and  
sea forces,  
and sup-  
plies.

CHAP. of the war, a large majority in Parliament concurred  
XVIII. in the necessity, now that we were embarked in the  
1795. contest, of prosecuting it with vigour.

Treaty  
with Rus-  
sia.  
Feb. 18,  
1794.

On the 18th February, an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. This important event, the first step towards the great and decisive share which that power ultimately took in the contest, was not, however, at first productive of any results. The Empress Catharine, whose attention was wholly engrossed in securing the immense territories which had fallen to her by the partition of Poland, merely sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, to reinforce Admiral Duncan, who was cruizing in the North Seas, to blockade the squadron recently acquired by France from the Dutch Republic; but neither had any opportunity to measure their strength with the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
11, 17.  
Martens,  
vi. 11.

Argu-  
ments in  
England  
against  
war.

A powerful and energetic party in England still declaimed against the war as unjust and unnecessary, and viewed with secret complacency the triumphs of the Republican forces. It was urged in Parliament, that the revolutionary government in France being now overturned, and one professing moderation installed in its stead, the great object of the war was in fact at an end: that the continued disasters of the Allies proved the impossibility of forcing a government on France contrary to the inclination of its inhabitants: that the confederacy was now in fact dissolved, and the first opportunity should therefore be seized to conclude a contest from which no rational hopes of success any longer remained: that if we continued fighting till the Bourbons were restored it was impossible to see any end to the contest, or to the burden which would be imposed upon England

during its continuance: that nothing but disaster had hitherto been experienced in the struggle; and if that was the case formerly, when all Europe was arrayed against the Republic, what might be now expected when England and Austria alone were left to continue the struggle, and the French power extended from the Pyrenees to the Texel? that every consideration of safety and expedience, therefore, recommended the speedy close of a contest, of doubtful policy in its commencement, and more than doubtful justice in its principles.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Pitt replied,—The object of the war was not to force the people of France to adopt any particular form of government, but merely to secure their neighbours from their aggression; although I much fear that no security could be found for this till a monarchy was restored in that country, yet it was no part of the allied policy to compel its adoption: the government of the French Republic was changed in form only, and not in spirit, and was as formidable as when the war was first provoked by the declamations of the Girondists: hostilities would again be commenced as soon as the military power of their enemies was dissolved, and the Allies would

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

Mr Fox

and Mr

Wilber-

force's

Speeches.

New Ann.

Reg. 1795,

13, 14.

Parl. Deb.

xxxii.

231, 242.

Mr Pitt's

reply.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

it would be highly impolitic to exchange this for the peril necessarily consequent upon a resumption of amicable relations with a country in such a state of political contagion. Peace would at once prove destructive to the French West India islands, by delivering them over to anarchy and Jacobinism, and from them the flame of servile revolt would speedily spread to our own colonial possessions in that quarter. Notwithstanding the great successes of the French on the continent, the balance of conquest in the contest with England was decidedly in favour of this country: the losses of the Republicans in wealth and resources had been greater since the beginning of the war than those of all the Allies put together: the forced requisitions and assignats of the French, which have hitherto maintained the contest, cannot be continued without the severities of the Reign of Terror; and now is the time, by vigorously continuing the contest, to compel the Directory to augment their redundant paper currency, and thus accelerate the ruin which it was evident such a system must sooner or later bring on the financial resources of the country.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> New Ann.  
Reg. 1795,  
p. 16, 17.  
Parl. Deb.  
xxxii. 242,  
251.

Great in-  
crease in  
the patrio-  
tic spirit  
of the  
people.

The internal feeling of England, notwithstanding the continued ill success of its arms, was daily becoming more unanimous in favour of the war. The atrocities of the Jacobins had moderated the ardour of many of the most enlightened of their early friends, and confirmed the hostility of almost all the opulent and influential classes; the spectacle of the numerous and interesting emigrant families who had been reduced from the height of prosperity to utter destitution, awakened the compassion of the humane over the whole country; while the immense successes of



the Republicans, and, above all, the occupation of Holland, excited the hereditary and ill-extinguished jealousy of the English people of their ancient rivals. Although, therefore, the division of parties continued most vehement, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act still invested the government with extraordinary powers, yet the feeling of the country was gradually becoming more united, and its passions, like those of a combatant who has been wounded in the strife, were waxing warmer with all the blood which it had lost.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

<sup>1</sup>Ann.Reg.  
1795, p.  
31, 42.

In France, on the other hand, the exhaustion consequent upon a state of extraordinary and unparalleled exertion was rapidly beginning to display itself. The system of the Convention had consisted in spending the capital of the country by means of confiscations, forced loans, and military requisitions; and the issue of assignats, supported by the Reign of Terror, had, beyond all former example, carried their designs into effect. But all such violent means of obtaining supplies, can, in their own nature, only be temporary,—how great soever may be the accumulated wealth of a state, it must in time be exhausted, if not supplied by the continued rills of private in-

Exhausted  
state of  
France.

CHAP. XVIII. element led to nothing but disaster. Early in March the Toulon fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, put to sea with the design of expelling the English squadron from the Gulf of Genoa, and landing an expedition in Corsica. Being ignorant of their intention, Lord Hotham, who commanded the English blockading fleet, was at Leghorn at the time, and they succeeded in capturing the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, in the Gulf of St Florent, which found itself surrounded by the French fleet before its crew were aware it had put to sea. But the British admiral was not long in taking his revenge. On the 7th March he set sail from Leghorn with thirteen line-of-battle ships, and on the 13th fell in with the French squadron of the same force. By a skilful manœuvre he succeeded in cutting off two ships of the line, the *Ca Ira* and the *Censeur*, which fell into the hands of the British; and the remainder of the fleet, after a severe but partial action, was compelled to fall back to the Isles de Hyeres, and disembark the land troops which they had on board. By this vigorous stroke the object of the expedition in the recovery of Corsica was entirely frustrated; and such was the dismay with which the soldiers were inspired from their sufferings during its continuance, that out of eighteen thousand men who were originally embarked, only ten thousand reached the French army, then lying in the Marquisate of Oneille.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the courts of Vienna and of Turin were making the most vigorous efforts for the prosecution of the war on the Piedmontese frontier. The Austrians reinforced the King of Sardinia with fifteen thousand men, and the Piedmontese troops raised the effective force in the field to fifty thousand men. The French troops on the same frontier were in a still

Naval operations in the Mediterranean. Combat of La Spezia.

March 13.

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg. 1795, p. 138. Jom. vii. 72, 74.

War in the Maritime Alps.

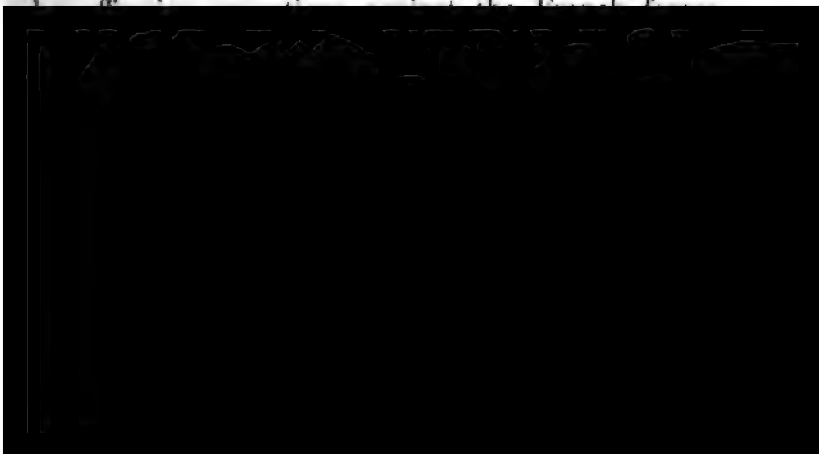
greater state of destitution and misery than the army of the Rhine. From the effect of desertion and sickness, during the severe winter of 1794, amidst the inhospitable region of the Alps, the total effective forces on that frontier did not exceed forty-five thousand. They occupied the whole crest of the mountains, from Vado to the Little St Bernard, while eighteen thousand of the allied forces were stationed in front of Cairo, fifteen thousand near Ceva, ten thousand in the valleys of Stura and Suza, and six thousand on the lofty ridges which close the upper extremity of the valley of Aosta. Generally speaking, the Republicans were perched on the summits, of the mountains, while the Piedmontese forces occupied the narrow defiles where they sunk down into the Italian plains.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.

Toul. v.  
293. Jom.  
vii. 76, 78,  
80.

The campaign commenced by a well-concerted enterprise of the French on the Col Dumont, near Mont Cenis, which the Piedmontese occupied with a force of two thousand men, from whence they were driven with considerable loss. But shortly afterwards, Kellerman having been obliged to weaken his right by large detachments, to suppress a revolt at Toulon, the Imperialists resolved to take the lead

First operations of the Allies, which are successful, and dangerous of the French.  
May 12.



CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

and threatened the country of Nice, and the territory of the Republic. Had the allied generals pushed their advantages with vigour, the whole right wing of the French army might have been driven from the mountains, or destroyed ; for they could have collected thirty thousand fresh troops, flushed with victory, to crush twenty thousand, harassed with fatigue, destitute of shoes, and literally starving. Kellerman, with the aid of his chief of the staff, Berthier, exerted the utmost degree of skill and ability to compensate the inferiority of their force ; but it was with the greatest difficulty, and only by pledging their private credit for the supplies of the army, that they were enabled either to procure provisions for the troops, or inspire them with the resolution to defend the rugged and desolate ridge in which the contest was carried on. Their situation was rendered the more desperate, by an unsuccessful naval action between the British and Toulon fleets in the bay of Frejus, in the course of which the Alcide, of seventy-four guns, blew up ; and the French squadron, severely shattered, was compelled to take refuge in the harbour of Toulon. Fortunately for the Republicans, divisions between the allied generals at this time paralysed their movements, and prevented them from following up those advantages which their recent successes and the open communication with the English fleet seemed to afford.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
98, 101.  
Toul. v.  
293, 297,  
300.

French  
armies  
strongly  
reinforced,  
and resume  
the offen-  
sive.

These disasters on the frontiers of Provence induced the government to detach seven thousand men from the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and ten thousand men from the army of the Rhine, to reinforce the combatants on the Alps. Their arrival, towards the end of August, restored the superiority

to the Republican side, while no corresponding addition was made to the forces of the allied generals —another proof, among the many which these campaigns afford, of the total want of concert which prevailed between the Allies on the vast circle of operations from the Rhine to the Mediterranean, and the inestimable advantages which the French derived from the unity of government, and interior line of communication, which they enjoyed. The consequences soon proved ruinous to the allied armies. Kellerman, at liberty by this powerful reinforcement to resume the offensive, and encouraged by the evident discord between the allied generals, formed the design of separating the Sardinian from the Austrian forces by a concentrated attack upon the centre of their line, and compelling the latter to give battle alone in the valley of Loano. But before this plan could be carried into effect, the peace with Spain enabled the government to detach to the support of the army of Italy the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, which arrived in the Maritime Alps before the end of September, and the command of the whole given to General Scherer, Kellerman being detached to the command of the forces in Savoy.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.



CHAP. trusted for his support not to the strength of the  
 XVIII. mountains which he occupied, but the co-operation  
 1795. of the English fleet in the Bay of Genoa; a signal  
 error which soon led to the most disastrous consequences.

Battle of men, was posted in an extensive and fortified position, having its left resting on the little seaport town of Loano, and its right extending to the summit of the impending heights to the northward, from whence it communicated by a chain of fortified posts with the strong places of Ceva, Mondovi, and Coni, held by the Piedmontese troops. Their position was strong; but it was balanced by the circumstance, that in case of disaster the left wing had no means of retreat. The Republicans occupied a position in front of their opponents, their right resting on the little village of Borghetto on the sea-coast, their left extending to the Col di Tende and the summits of the Maritime Alps. The army at first consisted only of thirty-seven thousand men, but it was raised by the successive arrival of the columns from the Eastern Pyrenees, before the middle of November, to sixty thousand men. Massena,\* who had acquired a remarkable knowledge of the localities of that rugged district during the preceding campaigns, and whose great military abilities had already become conspicuous, was intrusted with the command of the attack. Notwithstanding the vast accession of force which the Republicans had received, and the increased activity which they had for some time evinced, the Austrian commander was so little aware of his danger that he lay at La Pietra,<sup>1</sup> detained by an abscess in his mouth, while his officers were chiefly assem-

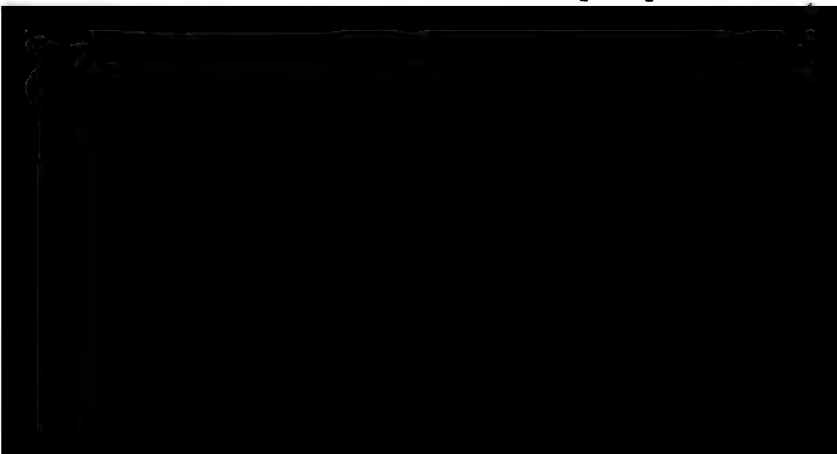
<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
 298, 309.  
 Toul. v.  
 378, 379.

\* See a biography of MASSENA, *Infra*, iii. 50, 51.

bled at Feriole, where they were roused from a ball CHAP. XVIII.  
by the sound of the French cannon, at six o'clock on 1795.  
the morning of the 23d November.

Scherer, the general-in-chief, commanded the right wing, Augereau the centre, and Serrurier the left. Com-  
Massena's design was to force the Austrian centre mence-  
with an overwhelming force, and from that vantage-ment of  
ground to take the remainder of the line in flank the action.  
and rear. After haranging his troops he led them  
to the assault. The Austrian centre, commanded by Nov. 23,  
Argenteau, made an obstinate resistance at the posts 1795.  
of Bardinetto and Melogno; but such was the vehe-  
mence of the fresh columns which the Republicans  
brought up to the assault, that they were compelled  
at length to retire to a second line on the right bank  
of the Bormida. Massena soon forced that position  
also, and by so doing, got into the interior of the  
Austrian line, and was able to take all their positions  
in rear. The result of this first day's combat was, Toul. v.  
that the centre of the Allies being forced, their left 379, 381.  
wing was liable to be overwhelmed by the combined Jom. vii.  
attacks of the French centre and right wing. 310, 315.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner was the Austrian general made sensible  
of this disaster, than he took the most precipitate Disastrous



CHAP. sides in a ravine, which formed their only line of re-  
XVIII. treat; the head of the column, seized with a panic,

1795. was driven back upon the centre, and thrown into utter confusion; and in the midst of an unparalleled scene of carnage and horror, forty-eight pieces of cannon, and one hundred caissons, were abandoned. The other column of the right wing only escaped by betaking themselves to almost inaccessible paths, and abandoning all their artillery, and at length, with great difficulty, effected their retreat by the road of the Corniche. Five thousand prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of ammunition and magazines, fell into the hands of the victors; the total loss on the side of the Austrians was not less than seven thousand, while that of the French hardly amounted to one thousand men. This great victory, which terminated the campaign of 1795 in the Alps, was of decisive importance to the Republic. It gave the French winter quarters at Loano, Savona, Vado, and other places on the Italian side of the Apennines, and by rendering them masters of the valleys of the Orba, the Bormida, and the Tanaro, afforded every facility, at the commencement of the following campaign, for achieving the great object of separating the Austrian from the Piedmontese troops. In Savoy, the early fall of the snows precluded active operations at that rigorous season; but the French continued to occupy their elevated position on the summits of the ridge of Mont Genevre, Mont Cenis, and Little St Bernard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
316, 324.  
Toul. v.  
380, 383.

This battle, the most decisive yet gained from the commencement of the war by the Republican forces, is well deserving of consideration. It was the first instance of the successful application by the French troops of those principles of strategy which were

Tactics by  
which it  
was gained  
by the Re-  
publicans.





afterwards carried to such perfection by Napoleon. It is the first victory in which a decisive advantage was gained, where the strength of the adverse army was at once broken by the number of prisoners and artillery which were taken. The same principles which the English adopted under Rodney and Howe, that of breaking the line, and falling with an overwhelming force upon one wing, was here carried into execution with decisive effect. It is worthy of observation, that this system was thus practically accomplished, and fully understood, by Massena, before Napoleon ever had the command of an army; another proof among the many which exist, that even the greatest genius cannot by more than a few years anticipate the lights of the age. Such a plan is the natural result of conscious prowess, and an experienced superiority in combat, which leads the attacking force to throw itself, without hesitation, into the midst of the enemy's columns. It will never be adopted but by the party by whom such a superiority is felt; it will never be successful, but where such a superiority exists.

The war on the Spanish frontier, during this campaign, was speedily brought to a successful ter-

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.

War in

CHAP. ened, by reinforcements from the interior, as to be  
XVIII. able to take the field. The fall of Figueras and

1795. Rosas gave the French a secure base for their operations in Catalonia ; but the operations there, though upon the whole successful, were not of any decisive importance. The Spanish army in that quarter was stationed on the river La Fluvia. Several combats of inconsiderable importance took place, the most remarkable of which was that of Bezalu, where Augereau, with a small force, defeated all the efforts

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii. of the Spanish army. The opposing armies were  
104, 110, still on the Fluvia when the treaty of peace between  
116. Toul. the two powers suspended all further hostilities.<sup>1</sup>  
v. 218, 221.

It was in Biscay that the decisive action took place which hastened this important event. Twelve thousand men detached from the army of La Vendée, and replaced in that quarter by the troops who had been engaged in the reduction of Luxembourg, at length put the French commander in a condition

Great successes of the Republicans in Biscay.

June 25. to take the field. Towards the end of June, the campaign commenced by an unsuccessful attempt of the French upon the corps commanded by Felangieri ; but in the beginning of July, Moncey forced the passage of the river Deva, and by a vigorous attack with his centre, succeeded in dividing the

July 17. Spanish army into two parts, and interposing a hostile force between them. General Crespo, who commanded the Spanish left, was so vigorously pursued by the Republicans, that he was compelled to abandon both Bilboa and Vittoria, and found himself driven to the frontiers of Old Castile, with a force reduced by the sword and desertion to seven thousand men. The left wing of the invading army was not so successful ;<sup>2</sup> and preparations were making for the investment of Pampeluna, when hostilities

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v. 220. Jom. vii. 118, 122, 125.

were terminated by the intelligence of the treaty of CHAP. XVIII.  
 Bâle, concluded on the 12th July between the hos-  
 tile powers. 1795.

By this treaty Spain recognized the French Republic, and ceded to France the Spanish half of the island Peace between France and Spain.  
 of St Domingo; an acquisition more embarrassing  
 than valuable, in the state of anarchy to which the  
 precipitate measures for the emancipation of the  
 negroes had reduced that once flourishing colony.  
 In return, the Republic relinquished all its conquests  
 in Europe, and the frontiers of the two states were  
 fixed as before the commencement of hostilities. July 12, 1795.  
 The principal advantage gained to France by this  
 treaty, and it proved in the end a most important  
 one, was the command which it gave the govern-  
 ment of two experienced and courageous armies,  
 who were forthwith transferred to the seat of war in  
 the Alps, and laid the foundation of the great  
 achievements which in the following campaign sig- 1 Martens, vi. 124.  
 nalized the progress of the army of Italy.<sup>1</sup>

During the whole winter of 1794, the unconquer-  
 able Charette maintained, with a few thousand men, Pacifica- tion of La Vendée.  
 the contest in La Vendée. The increase of the Re-  
 publican forces, the diminution of his own followers,



CHAP. Republic. At the suggestion of Carnot, they published a proclamation, couched in terms of reconciliation and amity; and this having led to an  
XVIII. 1795.

Jan. 18,  
1795.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii. 298. Jom. vii. 26. address in similar terms from the Royalist chiefs, conferences took place between the contending parties, and a treaty was concluded at La Jaunais for the final pacification of the west of France.<sup>1</sup>

Treaty with the insurgents. The principal conditions of this treaty were the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion to the inhabitants of the insurgent district; the establishment of a corps of two thousand territorial guards, composed of the natives of the country, and paid by government; the immediate payment of two millions of francs for the expenses of the war; various indemnities to the greatest sufferers from its ravages; the removal of the sequestration laid on the emigrants, and all condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal; the tacit permission to the people to retain their arms, and an exemption from every kind of tax, levy, or requisition. On their side the Royalists engaged to submit to the laws of the Republic, and, as soon as possible, surrender their artillery. There were also secret articles, the exact nature of which has never been ascertained; but Charette and the Royalist party have always maintained, that they contained an engagement on the part of the Convention, as soon as the state of the public feeling would admit of it, to restore the monarchy. This treaty, though not at the time embraced by Stofflet and the Chouans, was shortly after acceded to by both the one and the other. Nine days after the signature of this treaty, Charette and his officers made a triumphal entry into Nantes, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Discharges of artillery announced the passage of the

April 20,  
1795.

Loire, the scene of so many Republican murders, by the Royalist hero, who was mounted on a splendid charger, dressed in blue, with the Royalist scarf, and a plume of white feathers on his head. Four of his lieutenants rode by his side, arrayed in the same manner, which formed a striking contrast with the dress of the commissioners of the Convention, distinguished chiefly by the red cap of liberty.<sup>1</sup>

But after the first tumults of public joy had subsided, it became evident that the treaty was a truce rather than a final pacification, and that the seeds of inextinguishable discord subsisted between the opposite parties. The Royalists and the Republicans lived exclusively with each other: The officers of Charette appeared at the theatre with the white cockade; though he himself, who had so often rivalled Coligny in war, surpassed him in prudence and caution during peace. Carefully avoiding every menacing or hostile expression, he was yet reserved and circumspect in his demeanour; and it was evident to all, that though anxious to avoid an immediate rupture, he had no confidence in the continuance of the accommodation. The members of the Committee of Public Safety were impressed with

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
302, 303.  
Beauch. iii.  
142, 143.  
Jom. vii.  
28, 29.

Gradual  
estrangement of  
the pacified  
parties  
from each  
other.

CHAP. XVIII. contended for. It is painful to think that the renewal of hostilities in this district, and its tragic termination, was owing to the delusive hopes held out by, and ill-judged assistance of Great Britain.

1795.

Induced by the flattering accounts of the emigrants, the British government had long been making great preparations for a descent on the western coast of France, by a corps of those expatriated nobles whose fortunes had been rendered all but desperate by the Revolution. Its success appeared to them so certain, that all the terrors of the laws against the emigrants could not prevent a large force from being recruited among the emigrants in England and Germany, and the prisoners of war in the British prisons. They judged, perhaps wisely, that as the expected movement was to be wholly national, it would be inexpedient to give the command of the expedition to a British commander, or support it by any considerable body of English troops. The forces embarked consisted of six thousand emigrants in the pay of England, a regiment of artillerymen from Toulon, and they carried with them eighty pieces of cannon, with all their equipages and arms, and clothing for eighty thousand men. They were divided into two divisions; the first commanded by Puisaye, whose representations had been the origin of the plan; and the second by the Count de Sombreuil. A third division of English troops was destined to support the two first, when they had made good their landing on the French coast. The command of the whole was given to the Count d'Artois, and great hopes were entertained of its success, not so much from the numerical amount of the forces on board, as the illustrious names which the nobles bore,<sup>1</sup> and the expected

Expedition  
to Quiberon.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
135, 143.  
Beauch. iii.  
419, 421.  
Th. vii.  
454.

operation of the Chouans and Vendéans, who had  
gaged, on the first appearance of a prince of the  
ood, to place eighty thousand men at his disposal. CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.

The naval affairs of the French, on the western  
ast, had been so unfortunate as to promise every Running  
sea fight  
at Belleisle.  
ility to the invading force. In winter the Brest  
et, in obedience to the positive orders of govern-  
nt, put to sea; but its raw and inexperienced  
aws were totally unable to face the tempests, which  
pt even the hardy veterans of England in their  
rbours. The squadron was dispersed by a storm,  
e ships of the line were lost, and the remainder so  
ich damaged, that twelve line-of-battle ships were  
ne able in June to put to sea. This fleet, accom-  
nied by thirteen frigates, surprised the advanced-  
ard of the Channel fleet, under the command of  
lmiral Cornwallis, near Belleisle, on the 7th June;  
t such was the skill and intrepidity of the British  
miral, that he succeeded in maintaining a run-  
ng fight the whole day, and at length extricated  
s little squadron without any loss, from the fearful  
ds by which they were assailed. Six days after-  
rds Lord Bridport, with fourteen ships of the  
ie, and eight frigates, hove in sight, and after two  
rs' manœuvring, succeeded in compelling the ene-

CHAP. harbour of L'Orient, and made no attempt during  
 XVIII. the remainder of the season to dispute with the Bri-  
 1795. tish the empire of the seas.

This brilliant engagement having removed all ob-  
 stacles to the expedition, the three divisions of the  
 emigrants set sail, and on the 27th appeared in  
 Quiberon Bay. They immediately landed, to the  
 amount in all of about ten thousand men, and made  
 themselves masters of the Fort of Penthievre, which  
 defends the entrance of the peninsula of the same  
 name; and, encouraged by the success, disembarked  
 all the immense stores and train of artillery, which  
 were intended to organize the whole Royalist forces  
 of the west of France. But dissensions immediately  
 afterwards broke out between Puisaye and D'Her-  
 villy, neither of whom was clearly invested with the  
 supreme direction, the former having the command  
 of the emigrants, the latter of the British forces.  
 At the same time, a small force detached into the  
 interior, having experienced a check, the troops were  
 withdrawn into the peninsula and forts. The Chou-  
 ans, indeed, flocked in great numbers to the spot,  
 and ten thousand of these brave irregulars were arm-  
 ed and clothed from the British fleet; but it was  
 soon discovered that their desultory mode of fighting  
 was altogether unsuited for co-operation with regu-  
 lar forces; and, on the first occasion on which they  
 encountered the Republicans, they dispersed, leaving  
 the emigrants exposed to the whole shock of the  
 enemy. This check was decisive of the fate of the  
 expedition; the troops were all crowded into the  
 peninsula, lines hastily constructed to defend its en-  
 trance, and it was determined to remain on the de-  
 fensive: a ruinous policy for an invading force, and  
 which can hardly fail of exposing it to destruction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
 153, 154.  
 Ann. Reg.  
 1795, p.  
 71.  
 Beauch. iii.  
 453, 455,  
 470. Th.  
 vii. 466.



. Meanwhile, an inconceivable degree of agitation prevailed in the Morbihan, and all along the western coast of France. The appearance of a few vessels in the Bay of Quiberon before the fleet arrived, filled the peasantry with the most tumultuous joy; without the aid of couriers or telegraphs, the intelligence spread in a few hours through the whole province; and five hundred thousand individuals, men, women, and children, spent the night round their cottages, too anxious to sleep, and listening to every breeze for further information. One of their chiefs, D'Allegre, embarked on board a fishing vessel, and reached Lord Cornwallis's vessel, from whom he received a liberal supply of powder, which was openly disembarked on the coast. Instantly the whole population were at work; every hand was turned towards the manufacture of the implements of war. The lead was stript from the roofs of the houses and churches, and rapidly converted into balls; the women and children made cartridges; not a hand was idle; universal joy prevailed; the moment of deliverance appeared to be at hand.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

Prodigious  
agitation  
in the west  
of France.

<sup>1</sup> Beauch.  
iii. 432,  
434.

The intelligence of the disembarkation of the Royalist forces excited the utmost sensation through all

Vigorous



CHAP. of Quiberon. On the 7th July, he advanced in close  
 XVIII. columns to the lines, and, after a smart action, drove  
 1795. the Royalists back in confusion to the intrenched  
 July 7. camp which they had formed near the Fort of  
 Penthievre. This disaster led to an open rupture  
 between the emigrants and Chouan chiefs ; mutually  
 exasperated, they accused each other of the bad  
 success of the operations, and many thousands of the  
 latter disbanded, and sought to escape from the  
 peninsula. While vigour and resolution thus cha-  
 racterized all the operations of the Republicans,  
 disunion and misunderstanding paralysed the im-  
 mense force which, under able and united manage-  
 ment, might have been placed at the disposal of the  
 Royalists. The Royalist Committee at Paris, either  
 ignorant of, or determined to counteract the designs  
 of Puisaye on the coast, sent instructions to Charette  
 and the Vendéans in Lower Poitou, to attempt no  
 movement till the fleet appeared on his own shores.  
 He, in consequence, renewed his treaty with the  
 Convention at the very time when the expedition  
 was appearing off Quiberon Bay ; and refused to  
 accept the arms, ammunition, and money, which  
 Lord Cornwallis tendered to him to enable him to  
 act with effect. At the very time when every thing  
 depended upon unity of action, and a vigorous de-  
 monstration of strength in the outset, the Royalists  
 of Poitou, Anjou, Upper Brittany, and Maine, were  
 kept in a state of inactivity by the Royalist Com-  
 mittee, while the emigrants and the peasants of the  
 Morbihan, not a tenth part of the real force of the  
 insurgents, sustained the whole weight of the Re-  
 publican power.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. vii.  
 466, 473.  
 Jom. vii.  
 154.  
 Beauch. iii.  
 459, 462,  
 545, 546,  
 547.

The misery of the troops, cooped up in the camp,  
 soon became extreme. Eighteen thousand men found

themselves shut up in a corner of land, without tents or lodgings of any sort to protect them from the weather, and the want of provisions soon rendered it absolutely necessary to discover some means of enlarging the sphere of their operations. In this extremity, Puisaye, whose courage rose with the difficulties with which he was surrounded, resolved to make an effort to raise the blockade. He was the more encouraged to make this attempt from the arrival of the third division of the expedition, under the Count de Sombreuil, with the best regiments of the Royalists; and bearing with him the commission to himself as commander-in-chief of the whole allied forces. For this purpose, four thousand Chouans, under the command of Tinteniach, were sent by sea to the point of St James, to attack the Republican intrenchments in rear, while Count Vauban, with three thousand, was dispatched to Carnac, to combine with him in the same object, and Puisaye, at the head of the main body, assailed them in front.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

Their desperate situation.

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
157, 160.

Beauch. iii.  
478, 481.

Puisaye,  
v. 226,  
231.

Notwithstanding the extensive line, embracing twenty leagues, over which this attack on the Republican intrenchments was combined, it might have been attended with success, had not Tinteniach, mis-

Unhappy attempts at succour by the Chouan chiefs.



CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

men, and advanced towards the  
licans fell back at his approach  
ments; and a distant discharge  
the Royalists believe that Tinter  
already begun the attack in the  
decisive moment was come. F  
Puisaye gave the signal for the  
grant battalions advanced with  
to the foot of the redoubts; but  
reached them when several masses  
a terrible fire of grape, a shower  
above mowed down their ranks  
of the works in front rendered  
impossible. The expected attack  
appeared, the Royalists were met  
devastating fire of the intrench-  
taining it for some time with fire-  
ing that the expected diversion  
gave the signal for a retreat. It  
into a rout by the Republican columns  
with fury out of the besiegers'  
retiring columns into disorder:  
ed, and the assailants driven back  
mence to the fort on the peninsula  
fire of the English cruisers, they  
it pell-mell with the fugitives.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. vii.  
481, 485.  
Jom. vii.  
157, 159.  
Beauch. iii.  
495, 499.  
Puisaye, v.  
239, 250.

This bloody repulse was a  
Royalists. Tinteniac, returning  
nate digression to Elvin, toward  
on the following day, was encountered  
after the dispersion of his force  
of the Republicans. On the same day  
embarked his forces, but they arrived  
in time to share in the massacre  
ing. Hoche, resolved not to let

They are  
repulsed.  
Storming  
of the Roy-  
alists' in-  
trench-  
ments.  
July 17.

from their consternation, determined to storm the fort by escalade, without going through a regular siege. On the night of the 20th July the Republicans advanced in silence along the shore, while the roar of the waves, occasioned by a violent wind, prevented the sound of their footsteps from being heard in the fort. A division, under Menaye, threw themselves into the sea, in order to get round the rocks on which the redoubts were erected, while Hoche himself advanced with the main body to escalade the ramparts in front. Menaye advanced in silence with the water up to the shoulders of his grenadiers, and though many were swallowed up by the waves, a sufficient number got through the perilous pass to ascend and mount the rocky ascent of the fort on the side next the sea. Meanwhile the garrison, confident in their numbers, were reposing in fancied security, when the sentinels on the walls discovered a long moving shadow at the foot of the works. The alarm was instantly given; the cannon fired on the living mass, and the soldiers of Hoche, torn in pieces by the unexpected discharge, were falling into confusion and preparing to fly, when a loud shout from the other side announced the success of the escalad-

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

July 20.



CHAP. XVIII. the fugitives in the peninsula. It was no longer possible; terror had seized every heart; emigrants,

1795. Chouans, men and women, rushed in confusion

They are driven into the sea and capitulate.

towards the beach, while Hoche, vigorously following up his success, was driving them before him at the point of the bayonet. Eleven hundred brave men, the remains of the emigrant legions, in vain formed their ranks, and demanded with loud cries to be led back to regain the fort. Puisaye had gone on board the English squadron, in order to put in safety his correspondence, which would have compromised almost the whole of Brittany, and the young and gallant Sombreuil could only draw up his little corps on the last extremity of the sand, while the surrounding waves were filled with unfortunate fugitives, striving, amidst loud cries, and showers of balls, to gain the fishing barks which hovered in the distance. Many of these boats sunk from the crowds which filled them, and seven hundred persons lost their lives in that way. The English fleet, from the violence of the tempest, was unable to approach the shore, and the remains of the emigrants were supported only by the fire of an English corvette which swept the beach. At length the Republicans, penetrated with admiration for the noble conduct of their enemies, called out to them to lay down their arms, and they should be treated as prisoners of war; and Sombreuil, with generous devotion, stipulated that the soldiers should be treated as prisoners of war, and the emigrants allowed to embark, without providing any thing for his own personal safety. The capitulation was agreed to by Humbert and the officers present, though Hoche was not implicated in it;<sup>1</sup> and upon its assurance an officer was dispatched through

<sup>1</sup> Jom. vi. 171. Th. vii. 492. Lac. xii. 343, 350. Beauch. iii. 509, 520, 521, 522. Puisaye, vi. 511.

the surf, who, with great difficulty, reached the corvette, and stopped its destructive fire.<sup>1</sup>\*

CHAP.  
XVIII.

The wretched fugitives, numbers of whom were 1795.  
women, who had crowded round this last band of Despair  
their defenders, now rushed in despair into the waves, and dread-  
deeming instant destruction preferable to the lingering ful end of  
torments awaiting them from their conquerors; from the fugi-  
the beach, the Republicans fired at their heads, while tives.  
many of the Royalist officers in despair, fell on their  
swords, and others had their hands cut off in cling-  
ing to the boats, which were already loaded with fugi-  
tives. Though numbers were drowned, yet many  
were saved by the skill and intrepidity of the boats  
of the British fleet, who advanced to their assistance.  
One of the last boats which approached the British  
squadron contained the Duke of Levis, severely  
wounded. Such was the multitude which crowded  
the shore, that the English boats were compelled to  
keep off for fear of being sunk by the numbers who  
rushed into them. "Approach," exclaimed the  
French to the boatmen, "we ask you only to take <sup>1</sup> Deux  
up our commander, who is bleeding to death." The Amis, xiv.  
ensign-bearer of the regiment of Hervilly added, 114, 115.  
"Only save my standard and I die content;"<sup>1</sup> with Lac. xii.  
350. Jom.  
vii. 168,  
169. Th.  
vii. 493.  
Beauch. iii.



CHAP. standard, and returned to the Republican fire, which  
XVIII. speedily sent them to the bottom.

1795. Tallien, whom the Convention had sent down  
Atrocious with full power, as Commissioner of government, to  
cruelty of Quiberon Bay, made an atrocious use of this victory,  
the Repub- and stained with ineffaceable disgrace the glory of  
licans. his triumph over Robespierre. In defiance of the  
verbal capitulation entered into with the Royalists  
by Humbert and the officers engaged in the combat,  
he caused the emigrant prisoners, eight hundred in  
number, to be conveyed to Auray, where they were  
confined in the churches, which had been converted  
into temporary prisons, while he himself repaired to  
Paris, where, by a cruel report, he prevailed upon  
the government to disregard the capitulation, and  
bathe their hands in the blood of the noblest men in  
France. "The emigrants," said he, "that vile  
assemblage of ruffians, sustained by Pitt, those ex-  
ecrable authors of all our disasters, have been driven  
into the waves by the brave soldiers of the Republic;  
but the waves have thrown them back upon the  
sword of the law. In vain have they sent forward  
some flags of truce to obtain conditions; what legal  
bond can exist between us and rebels, if it be not  
that of vengeance and death?" In pursuance of  
this advice the Convention decreed that the prisoners  
should be put to death, notwithstanding the efforts  
of the brave Hoche, who exerted himself on the side  
of mercy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiv.  
114, 116.  
Lac. xii.  
355.  
Beauch. iii.  
530. Jom.  
vii. 170.

The unfortunate men were soon aware of the fate  
Noble con- which awaited them; and their conduct in the last  
duct and death of extremity reflected as much honour on the Royalist,  
the Royal- as their murder did disgrace on the Republican  
ist prison- cause. The ministers of religion penetrated into  
ers. those asylums of approaching death, and the Chris-



tian faith supported the last hours of their numerous inmates. An old priest covered with rags and filth, one of the few who had escaped the sword of the Republicans, conveyed its consolations to the numerous captives ; and they joined with him in the last offices of religion. Their last prayers were for their king, their country, and the pardon of their enemies. To the executioners they gave the garments which were still at their disposal. Such was the impression produced by the touching spectacle, that even the Republican soldiers, who had been brought up without any sort of religious impressions, were moved to tears, and joined, uncovered, in the ceremonies which they then, for the first time in their lives, had witnessed.<sup>1</sup>

When brought before the military commission, Sombreuil disdained to make any appeal in favour of himself ; but asserted, in the most solemn terms, that the capitulation had guaranteed the lives of his followers ; that but for a solemn promise to that effect, they would have perished with arms in their hands ; that their death was the work of executioners, not soldiers ; and that their execution was a crime which neither God nor man would pardon. When led out

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
356.Beauch. iii.  
529, 530,  
539.Heroic  
death of  
Sombreuil.

CHAP. XVIII. the remainder were suffered to escape by the indulgence of the soldiers who were intrusted with their massacre, and the humanity of the commissioner who succeeded Tallien in the command. These atrocious scenes took place in a meadow near Auray, still held in the highest veneration by the inhabitants, by whom it is termed the field of martyrs.\*

1795.

Rapid decline of the Royalist cause in the west of France.

The broken remains of the Quiberon expedition were landed in the Isle of Houat, where they were soon after joined by an expedition of two thousand five hundred men from England, which took possession of the Isle Dieu, and where the Count d'Artois assumed the command. The insurgents of La Vendée, under Charette, marched in three columns to the Sables d'Olonne to join the expedition; but so rapid and decisive were the measures of Hoche, that they were soon assailed by a superior force, and com-

\* The Republican authors of the valuable History of the Revolution, by Two Friends of Liberty, much to their honour, admit that this violation of the capitulation at Quiberon was indefensible. "Nous n'examinerons point ici," say they, "de quel côté se trouve la vérité; nous presumons seulement que les émigrés, s'attendant bien au sort qui leur était réservé d'après les decrets portés contre ceux qui seraient pris les armes à la main, n'ont du se rendre qu'en capitulant qu'ils auraient la vie sauvé; mais que le Général et le représentant qui, sans doute, n'avaient pas été presens à cette capitulation, ne se regardaient pas comme liés, et pensèrent devoir executer rigoureusement les decrets, déterminés d'ailleurs par des raisons de politique qui demandaient un exemple. Sans vouloir blâmer ces motifs, ni justifier des hommes qui rentraient dans leur patrie en rebelles, nous penchons à croire qu'il eût été plus généreux de renier ces émigrés pour des Français, et de les regarder comme des prisonniers de guerre."—*Histoire de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté*, xiv. 116, 117. The English historian need feel no hesitation in condemning this cruel violation of a military capitulation, even when said to have been unauthorized, because he will have occasion to pass a similar judgment on similar violations of military conventions, even when attended with less tragic consequences—in the cases of Schwartzberg's breach of the Convention of Dresden, *infra*, IX. 667, 668; of Nelson's violation of the Capitulation of Naples, IV. 96, 97; and the declinature of Wellington and Blücher to protect Ney, after the Convention of Paris, X. 910, 912.

pelled to seek safety by separating in the forest of  
 Aizenay. Several partial insurrections at the same  
 time broke out in Brittany; but from want of con-  
 cert among the Royalist chiefs they came to nothing.  
 Soon after, the English expedition not having met  
 with the expected co-operation, abandoned Isle Dieu,  
 which was found to be totally unserviceable as a naval  
 station, and returned with the Count d'Artois, who  
 evinced neither spirit nor conduct in this ill-fated  
 service, to Great Britain. From that moment the  
 affairs of the Royalists rapidly declined in all the  
 western provinces; the efforts of the Chouans and  
 Vendéans were confined to an inconsiderable guerilla  
 warfare; and it was finally extinguished in the suc-  
 ceeding year by the great army and able dispositions  
 of Hoche, whom the Directory invested, at the end  
 of the campaign, with the supreme command. It is  
 painful to reflect how different might have been the  
 issue of the campaign had Great Britain really put  
 forth its strength in the contest; and instead of land-  
 ing a few thousand men on a coast bristling with  
 bayonets, sent thirty thousand men to make head  
 against the Republicans, till the Royalist forces were  
 so organized as to be able to take the field with regu-

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

Deux  
 Amis, xiv.  
 116, 118.  
 Beauch. iii.  
 540, and  
 iv. 20. Mig.  
 ii. 402. Th.  
 vii. 433.  
 Jom. vii.  
 56, 240,  
 249.

CHAP. XVIII.  
1795. were in a state of extreme penury, from the fall of the paper money, in which their pay was received; and totally destitute of the equipments necessary for carrying on a campaign. They had neither caissons, nor horses, nor magazines; the soldiers were almost naked, and the generals even frequently in want of the necessaries of life, from the failure of the eight francs a-month, in silver, which formed the inconsiderable, but necessary supplement to their paper salaries. Those who were stationed in foreign countries, contrived indeed by contributions upon the vanquished, to supply the deficiency of their nominal pay; and the luxury in which they lived formed a strange and painful contrast to the destitute situation of their brethren on the soil of the Republic. Jourdan had neither a bridge equipage to enable him to cross the Rhine, nor a sufficiency of horses to move his artillery and baggage; Kleber, in front of Mayence, had not a quarter of the artillery or stores necessary for the siege of the place. Discipline had relaxed with the long-continued sufferings of the soldiers; and the inactivity, consequent on such a state of destitution, had considerably diminished their military spirit. Multitudes had taken advantage of the relaxation of authority following the fall of Robespierre, to desert and return to their homes; and the government, so far from being able to bring them back to their colours, were not even able to levy conscripts in the interior, to supply their place. Many resorted to Paris, where the Convention were happy to form them into battalions, for their own protection against the fury of the Jacobins. Soon the intelligence spread that the deserters were undisturbed in the interior; and this extended the contagion to such a degree, that in a

short time a fourth of the effective force had returned to their homes. The soldiers thought they had done enough for their country when they had repelled the enemy from its frontiers, and advanced its standards to the Rhine; the generals, doubtful of their authority, did not venture to take severe measures with the refractory; and those who remained, discouraged by the loss of so great a number of their comrades, felt that depression which is the surest forerunner of defeat.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1795.

1 Mig. ii.

402. Th.

vii. 434.

Jom. vii.

56, 58. St

Cyr, iii. 31,

34, 41, 50.

The Austrians, on the other hand, having made the greatest efforts during the winter to reinforce their armies, and not having as yet experienced any part of the exhaustion which extraordinary exertion had brought on the Republican forces, were in a much better state, both in point of numbers, discipline, and equipment. Including the contingents of Swabia and Bavaria, their forces on the Rhine had been raised to a hundred and fifty thousand men; while the French forces on the same frontier, though nominally amounting to three hundred and seventy thousand men, could only muster a hundred and forty-five thousand in the field.\* But such was the

State of  
the con-  
tending  
armies.

\* The distribution of the Republican forces at the commencement of the campaign was as follows: in effective troops, deducting the dis-



CHAP. state of destitution of these forces, that the caval-  
 XVIII. ry was almost completely dismounted ; and Jour-

1795. dan could not move a few marches from his supplies, until he got twenty-five thousand horses for the service of his artillery. The Rhine, that majestic stream, so long the boundary of the Roman empire, separated the contending armies from the Alps to the ocean. The Imperialists alone had the advantage arising from the possession of Mayence. That bulwark of the empire had been put into the best possible state of defence, and gave the Allies the means of making an irruption with security upon the left bank. Notwithstanding this great advantage, such was the consternation produced by their former reverses, that they remained inactive on the right bank of the river till the end of June, when Marshal Bender, having exhausted all his means of subsistence, and seeing no hope of relief, was compelled to surrender the important fortress of Luxembourg to the Republican generals. Ten thousand men, and an immense train of artillery, on this occasion fell into the hands of the victors.<sup>1</sup>

June 24,  
1795.

Fall of  
Luxem-  
bourg.  
1 Th. vii.  
435. Jom.  
vii. 38, 59,  
61. St Cyr,  
iii. 35.

Secret ne-  
gotiations  
between  
Pichegru  
and the  
Allies.

While the Imperialists were thus allowing the bulwark of the Lower Rhine to fall into the hands of the enemy, the Prince of Condé, on the Upper Rhine, was engaged in a negotiation, by which he hoped to procure the frontier fortresses of Alsace for the Bourbon Princes. This Prince, whose little corps formed part of the left wing of the Austrian army, was engaged in a correspondence with the malecontents in Alsace ; and from them he learned that Pichegru was not altogether inaccessible to negotiation. In fact, that illustrious man was, on many accounts, discontented both with his own situation and that of the country. Like Dumourier

and La Fayette, he had been horror-struck with the atrocities of the Convention, and saw no hope of permanent amendment in the weak and disunited government which had succeeded it; while, at the same time, the state of destitution to which, in common with all the army, he was reduced by the fall of the assignats, in which their pay was received, rendered him discontented with a government which made such returns to great patriotic services. During all the extremities of the Reign of Terror, Pichegru and his army, instead of obeying the sanguinary orders of the Dictators, had done every thing in their power to furnish the means of escape to their victims. He had nobly refused to execute the inhuman decree, which forbade the Republican soldiers to make prisoners of the English troops. His soldiers, after the conquest of Holland, had set a rare example of discipline; and the sway he had acquired over them was such, as to prevent all the license and insubordination which had followed the conquest of Flanders by the forces of Dumourier. In these circumstances nothing was more natural or more laudable, than that the same general who had secured the independence of his country by his

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.



CHAP. marshal's baton, the government of Alsace, a pension  
XVIII. of 200,000 francs, the chateau and park of Cham-

1795. bold, and a million in silver. No decisive evidence  
has yet been produced on the subject ; but it is cer-  
tain that, after six months consumed in mysterious  
communication, Pichegru broke off the negotiation,  
and prepared to obey the orders of the Convention,  
by commencing the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Th. vii.  
441. Lac.  
xiii. 86.  
Jom. vii.  
62, 67. St  
Cyr, iii. 69,  
71, 75.

Wurmser, to whom the cabinet of Vienna had en-  
trusted the command of its forces on the Upper Rhine,  
remained till the beginning of September without  
taking any step. Mutually afraid, the hostile armies  
occupied the opposite banks of the Rhine, without  
making any movement to disquiet each other. His  
forces, including garrisons, amounted to eighty thou-  
sand men ; while those of Clairfait, including the  
same species of force, were ninety-six thousand. The  
formidable state of defence in which Mayence had  
been placed, left no hope of reducing it without a  
regular siege ; while a squadron of gunboats on the  
Rhine gave the Allies the command both of that  
stream and of the numerous islands which lay on its  
bosom. Jourdan, having at length procured the  
necessary bridge equipage, prepared to cross the  
Rhine in the beginning of September. On the 6th  
of that month he effected the passage without any  
serious opposition, at Eichelcamp, Neuwied, and  
Dusseldorf, and compelled the garrison of the latter  
town to capitulate. After repulsing the Austrian  
corps in that vicinity, he advanced slowly towards  
the Lahn, and established himself on that stream a  
fortnight afterwards. Meanwhile Pichegru, in obe-  
dience to the orders of government, crossed the  
Upper Rhine at Manheim, and, by the terrors of a  
bombardment, compelled that important city, one of

Vast force  
of the Aus-  
trians on  
the Rhine,  
which the  
Republi-  
cans cross.

Sept. 6,  
1795.

Sept. 20.



the principal bulwarks of Germany, to capitulate. CHAP. XVIII.  
 This unexpected event threatened to change the fortune of the war; for Pichegru, now securely based on the Rhine, seemed equally in a situation to combine with Jourdan for a general attack on the allied forces, or to direct his arms to the reduction of Mayence.<sup>1</sup>

Alarmed by these successes, the Austrian generals made the most prudent dispositions which could have been adopted to arrest the enemy. Clairfait, unable, after the loss of Manheim, to defend the line of the Lahn, abandoned his position on that river, and fell back behind the Maine; while Jourdan, following his opponent, and leaving a division before Ehrenbreitstein, descended into the rich valley of the Maine, and invested Mayence on the left bank of the Rhine, at the same time that Pichegru was debouching from Manheim. In these critical circumstances, Clairfait displayed a degree of vigour and ability which led to the most important results. Reinforced by fifteen thousand Hungarian recruits, that able general deemed himself in a situation to resume the offensive; and, accumulating his forces on his own right, he succeeded, by a

1795.  
<sup>1</sup> Jom. vii.  
 179. Toul.  
 v. 314. St.  
 Cyr, iii.  
 96, 97, 105,  
 110.

Able and  
 vigorous  
 measures  
 of Clairfait  
 in defence.  
 Sept. 22.

CHAP. with Wurmser, or to abandon all his positions, and  
 XVIII. recross the Rhine. The disorganized state of his  
 1795. army rendered the former project, afterwards so ably  
 practised by Napoleon before Mantua, impracticable;  
 and therefore he commenced his retreat. It was  
 conducted in the utmost confusion; cannon, men,  
 and horses, arrived pell-mell at the bridges over the  
 Rhine, and hardly fifty men of any corps were to be  
 found together when they regained the left bank.  
 The loss in men was inconsiderable, but the moral  
 consequences of the retrograde movement were equi-  
 valent to a severe defeat. Had Clairfait been aware  
 of the circumstance, a great and decisive blow might  
 have been struck; for General Marceau, to whom  
 the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein had been entrusted,  
 having burned his flotilla when he raised the siege,  
 some of the burning vessels were carried down by  
 the stream to Neuwied, where they set fire to the  
 bridge established at that place, which was speedily  
 consumed. Kleber, with twenty-five thousand men,  
 who had not as yet repassed, was now in a desperate  
 situation; but, fortunately for him, the Allies were  
 ignorant of the accident, and Clairfait about the  
 same time relinquished the pursuit and drew his  
 forces towards Mayence, where he meditated opera-  
 tions which soon produced the most important  
 results.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
 314, 316.  
 Jom. vii.  
 200, 202.  
 St Cyr, iii.  
 150, 159,  
 189, 192.

Suddenly abandoning the pursuit of the French  
 left wing, this intrepid general turned by forced  
 marches to Mayence, at the head of a chosen corps,  
 and at daybreak on the following morning issued  
 out by several columns to attack the lines of circum-  
 vallation, which were still in the hands of the Re-  
 publicans on the left bank of the river. These lines,  
 the remains of which still excite the admiration of

He attacks  
 the lines  
 round  
 Mayence.  
 Oct. 29.

the traveller, were of immense extent, and required an army for their defence. The French army had been engaged for a year in their construction, and they were garrisoned by thirty thousand men. The secret of the march of the Imperial army had been so well preserved, that the besiegers were first apprised of their arrival by the sight of the formidable columns which advanced to storm their intrenchments. The Imperialists advanced in three columns, and in admirable order, to the assault; and such was the consternation of the Republicans, that they abandoned the first line almost without opposition. An event of that description is generally decisive of the result in the defence of intrenchments, because the defenders are thunderstruck by seeing their redoubts forced in any quarter, and, instead of thinking of driving back the enemy as in the open field, betake themselves to a precipitate flight. So it proved on the present occasion. The measures of the Austrians were so well taken, that the French found themselves assailed in all quarters at once; they made for some time an obstinate defence in the second line; but at length, perceiving that they were turned by other forces which had crossed below

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.



CHAP. XVIII. two battalions which composed its garrison ; and by this success, which rendered the evacuation of the

1795. *tête-du-pont* of Neuwied unavoidable, they were entirely driven below Mayence to the left bank of the river. At the same time, Wurmser attacked and carried the *tête-du-pont* erected by Pichegru on the Neckar ; and this success, coupled with the great blow struck by Clairfait, compelled Pichegru to retire behind the Pfrim, which was not accomplished without the utmost confusion. The small number of troops which Clairfait had brought to the left bank of the Rhine, alone saved the Republicans on this occasion from the greatest disasters. Pichegru had left a garrison ten thousand strong in Mannheim, and the position which he had occupied enabled him to communicate with the place by his right flank.

Other operations along this river, and Republicans driven from before Mannheim. Oct. 31.

Nov. 9. Despairing of being able to effect its reduction as long as this communication was preserved open, the Austrians resolved to dislodge the French from their position. For this purpose, Clairfait was reinforced with twelve thousand men from the army of the Upper Rhine, and he immediately made preparations for an attack. It took place on the following day, and after an obstinate resistance, the Republicans were compelled to abandon the line of the Pfrim, and retire behind the Elsbach, leaving Mannheim to its own resources.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v. 324. Th. viii. 95. St Cyr, iii. 210, 219.

Capitulation of Mannheim, and Pichegru driven to the lines behind the Queich.

While these important events were going forward on the Upper Rhine, Jourdan, with his defeated and discouraged force, was suffering the most cruel perplexity on the Lower. His army was with difficulty reorganized, and put in a condition for active service ; and the Directory having meanwhile succeeded to the helm of affairs, Carnot transmitted to him the most pressing orders to advance to the suc-

cour of Mannheim, which was now severely pressed by the Austrians. At length, towards the end of November, he put himself in motion at the head of forty thousand men, and advanced to the Natre, in the midst of the most dreadful weather; but all his efforts were in vain. The central position of Clairfait and Wurmser, both covered the siege of Mannheim and prevented the junction of the Republican armies; the defiles by which a communication could have been maintained were all in the hands of the Imperialists, and after several unsuccessful attacks, Jourdan was obliged to fall back, leaving Mannheim to its fate. That important place, with a garrison of nine thousand men, capitulated at the same time to Wurmser. This important event was decisive of the fate of the campaign. Wurmser, now relieved from all apprehensions as to his communications, brought his whole forces to the left bank of the Rhine, and drove back Picbegru to the lines of the Queich, and the neighbourhood of Landau; while Clairfait pressed Jourdan so severely, that he began to construct an intrenched camp at Traerbach, with a view to secure his passage over the Moselle. In this disastrous state it was with the utmost joy

CHAP.

XVIII.

1795.

Nov. 26.

Nov. 28.

Dec. 16.

CHAP. XVIII. availed themselves of their maritime supremacy to make themselves masters of the important station of the Cape of Good Hope, which surrendered to Sir James Craig on the 16th of September. Unable to act in large squadrons, the French confined themselves to mere predatory expeditions; and the vast extent of the English commerce afforded them an ample field for this species of warfare, from which, towards the close of the year, they derived great success.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Reg.  
1795, p.  
139. Jom.  
vii. 330.

By the result of this campaign the Allies gained considerable advantages. The career of French conquest was checked, the Republican soldiers driven with disgrace behind the Rhine; and while the Imperial forces, so lately disheartened and desponding, were pressing forward with the energy of conquest, their opponents, distracted and disorderly, had lost all the spirit with which they formerly were animated. The movements of Clairfait and Wurmser proved that they had profited by the example of their adversaries; their tactics were no longer confined to a war of posts, or the establishment of a cordon over an extensive line of country, but showed that they were aware of the value of an interior line of operations, and of the importance of bringing an overwhelming force to the decisive point. By adopting these principles, they checked the career of conquest, restored the spirits of their troops, and not only counterbalanced the disadvantage of inferior numbers, but inflicted severe losses upon their adversaries. This result was the natural effect of the continuance of the contest. The energy of a democracy is often formidable during a period of popular excitement, and is capable of producing unparalleled exertions for a limited period; but it seldom suc-

Results of  
the cam-  
paign.  
Declining  
state of the  
affairs of  
the Repub-  
licans.

ceeds in maintaining a lasting contest with a regular and organized government. The efforts of the populace resemble the spring of a wild beast; if the first burst fails, they rarely attempt a second. During the invasions of 1793 and 1794, the French nation were animated with an extraordinary spirit, and urged to the defence of their country by every motive which can sway a people; but their efforts, how great soever, necessarily and rapidly declined. During the contest they had exhausted the means of maintaining a prolonged war; the vehemence of their exertions, and the tyranny by which they were called forth, rendered it impossible that they could be continued. The nation, accordingly, which had twelve hundred thousand men on foot during the invasion of 1794, could not muster a third of the number in the following campaign; and the victor of Fleurus, within a year after his triumph, was compelled to yield to an inferior enemy.

Nothing also is more remarkable than the comparatively bloodless character of the war, up to this period. The battle of Jemappes, which gave <sup>Feeble character of the war</sup> Flan-  
ders to Dumourier; that of Nerwinde, which re-<sup>up to this period.</sup> stored it to the Imperialists; that of Fleurus, which

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1795.



CHAP. sand were unwounded at the conclusion of the fight.  
 XVIII. So much more desperately did the parties fight as  
 1795. the contest advanced ; so much more vehement were  
 the passions excited in its later stages ; and so  
 much more terrible was the struggle when the Re-  
 publicans, instead of the lukewarm soldiers of the  
 South, met the sturdy inhabitants of the North of  
 Europe.

Every thing, therefore, conspires to indicate, that,  
 by a concentrated and vigorous effort, after the first  
 burst of French patriotism was over, the objects of  
 the war might have been achieved, and security from  
 aggression afforded to the neighbouring powers.  
 These objects were not the forcing of an unpopular  
 dynasty upon France, or of a tyrannical govern-  
 ment upon its people, but the compelling it to retire  
 within those limits which are consistent with the  
 peace of Europe, and give up its attempts to propa-  
 gate its revolutionary principles in other states.  
 Had Prussia, instead of weakly deserting the alli-  
 ance, in the beginning of 1795, sent a hundred thou-  
 sand men to the Rhine, to support the Austrian  
 troops ; had Great Britain raised three hundred  
 thousand soldiers, instead of a hundred and twenty  
 thousand, and sent eighty thousand native English  
 to Flanders, instead of five thousand emigrants to  
 Quiberon Bay, no one can doubt, that in the state  
 of exhaustion in which France then was, the Re-  
 public would have been compelled to abandon all  
 its conquests. The moment her armies were forced  
 back from foreign states, and thrown upon their  
 own resources ; the moment that war was prevented  
 from maintaining war, the weakness arising from  
 her financial embarrassments and blighted industry  
 would have become apparent, the weakness of age

Great re-  
 sults which  
 might have  
 followed a  
 vigorous  
 exertion of  
 the allied  
 strength.



would at once have fallen on the exhausted state. CHAP.  
The great error of the Allies, and, above all, of XVIII.  
England, at this period, was, that they did not make 1795.  
sufficiently vigorous efforts at the commencement;  
and thought it enough, in a struggle with the des-  
perate energy of a revolutionary state, to exert the  
moderate strength of an old and methodical warfare.  
Nothing is so ill judged, in such a situation, as the  
niggardly conduct which prolongs a contest; by  
spending L.50,000,000 more at its commencement,  
Great Britain might have saved L.500,000,000;  
by sending an army worthy of herself to the Conti-  
nent in 1795, she might have then achieved the  
triumph of 1815. It was to this period of lassitude  
and financial embarrassments, necessarily consequent  
upon a series of extraordinary revolutionary exer-  
tions, that Mr Pitt always looked for the successful  
termination of the war. Possibly, even with the  
slight efforts which alone were then thought practi-  
cable by this country, his expectations might have  
been realized before many years had elapsed, if the  
ordinary course of human affairs had continued.  
But the hand of fate was on the curtain, a new era  
was about to open on human affairs, and a resistless

CHAP. sand were unwounded at the c  
XVIII. So much more desperately

1795. the contest advanced; so

the passions excited :

much more terrible

publicans, instead

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XIX.

FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE  
TO THE FALL OF THE DIRECTORY.

ARGUMENT.

Effect of seasons of mourning on Nations—General reaction against  
the w of Terror—Universal Transports at the Fall of Robespierre—  
Fall of the Committee of Public Safety—And Rise of the Thermi-  
doreans—Contests between the two Parties—Rise of the Jeunesse Dorée—  
Contests with the Jacobins—They close their Hall and destroy their  
power—Universal joy at that event—Trial of the Prisoners from Nantes  
—Their Acquittal and the Trial of Carrier—Dreadful Atrocities divulged  
during its Progress—He is Condemned—Return to Humanity in the  
Convention—Public Manners during this period—Bals des Victimes—  
Gradual Abolition of the Revolutionary Measures—Of the Law of the  
Maximum, and an Amnesty to the Children of Persons condemned during  
the Revolution—Impeachment of Billaud Varennes and the Jacobin  
Leaders—Extreme Distress and Agitation in Paris—Revolt of the Popu-  
lace—Defeat of the Insurgents—Humanity of the Thermidorians after  
their Victory—Condemned Prisoners are transported to Ham—And  
thence to Cayenne—Fresh Efforts of the Jacobins—Excessive misery at  
Paris—Great Insurrection in May—Convention Besieged—Heroic con-  
duct of Boissy d'Anglas—They obtain the mastery of the Convention  
—But are at length defeated by the Committees and the Jeunesse Dorée  
—Trial and Condemnation of Rome and the Jacobin remnant—Condem-  
nation of Feraud's murderer—Disarming of the Faubourg St Antoine  
—And final termination of the rule of the Multitude—Further progress of  
humane Measures, and Abolition of the Revolutionary Tribunal—Formation  
of a new Constitution—General abandonment of Democratic principles from  
the force of Experience—Violent reaction in the South of France—Generous  
conduct of the Duke of Orleans' Sons—Death and last days of Louis XVII  
in Prison—Liberation of the Duchess d'Angouleme—Continued captivity  
of Lafayette—General interest in his behalf—Completion of the new Con-  
stitution—The Constitution of the Directory—Elective Franchise confined  
to the Class of Proprietors—Vast Agitation in Paris and throughout France  
at these changes—Coalition of the Royalists and sections of the National  
Guard—Vehement Royalist Declamations at the Sections—Extreme Agi-  
tation at Paris—Convention throw themselves on the Army—Sections  
openly resolve to revolt—Meeting of the Electors at the Theatre Français  
—They resolve to fight—Measures of the Convention—Failure of Menou  
against the Insurgents—Armed force of the Convention entrusted to Barras

and Napoleon—His decisive measures in seizing the Artillery—Combat round the Tuileries—Defeat of the Sections—Establishment of Military despotism—Humanity of the Convention after their Victory—Election of the Council of Ancients and Five Hundred—Reflections on the History of the Convention—Slow growth of all durable Human Institutions—General Reflections on the History of the Revolution, and the causes of its Distasters.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1794.

“It is a sad calamity,” says Jeremy Taylor, “to see a kingdom spoiled, and a church afflicted; the priests slain with the sword, and the blood of nobles mingled with cheaper sand; religion made a cause of trouble, and the best men most cruelly persecuted; government turned, and laws ashamed; judges decreeing in fear and covetousness, and the ministers of holy things setting themselves against all that is sacred. And what shall make recompense for this heap of sorrows when God shall send such swords of fire? Even the mercies of God, which shall then be made public, when the people shall have suffered for their sins. For so I have known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs and bold excrescences, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and afford but little clusters to the wine-press; but when the lord of the vine had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant, and make it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into fair

Moral  
effect of  
seasons of  
mourning  
on nations.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

Never were these truths more strongly exemplified than in France during the progress of the Revolution. Each successive convulsion had darkened the political atmosphere ; anguish and suffering incessantly increased ; virtue and religion seemed banished from the earth ; relentless cruelty reigned triumphant. The bright dawn of the morning, to which so many millions had turned in thankfulness, was soon overcast, and darkness deeper than midnight overspread the world. " But there is a point of depression in human affairs," says Hume, " from which the change is necessarily for the better." This change is not owing to any oscillation between good and evil, in the transactions of the world, but to the reaction which is always produced by long-continued suffering. Wherever the tendency of institutions is erroneous, an under current begins to flow, destined to correct their imperfections ; when they become destructive, it overwhelms them.

General  
reaction  
against the  
Reign of  
Terror.

The result of the conspiracy of Robespierre and the Municipality proved that this point had been reached under the Reign of Terror. On all former occasions since the meeting of the States-General, the party which revolted against the constituted authorities had been victorious ; on that it was vanquished. The Committees of the Assembly, the subsisting government, crushed a conspiracy headed by the powerful despot who wielded the revolutionary energy of France, and was still supported by the terrible force of the Faubourgs, which no former authority had been able to withstand. This single circumstance demonstrated that the revolutionary movement had reached its ascendant, and that the opposite principles of order and justice were beginning to resume their sway. From that moment the

anarchy and passions of the people subsided, the storms of the moral world began to be stilled, through the receding darkness the ancient landmarks dimly appeared, and the sun of heaven at length broke through the clouds which enveloped him.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

“*Defluit saxis agitatus humor :  
Concedunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,  
Et minax (nam sic voluere) ponto  
Unda recumbit.*”

An interesting episode in the annals of the Revolution occurred in the prisons during the contest which preceded the fall of the tyrant. From the agitation and cries in the streets, the captives were aware that a popular movement was impending, and a renewal of the massacres of 2d September was anticipated from the frantic multitude. Henriot had been heard in the Place de Carrousel to pronounce the ominous words, “We must purge the prisons.” The sound of the générale and of the tocsin made them imagine that their last hour had arrived, and they embraced each other with tears, exclaiming, “We are all now eighty years of age!” After two hours of breathless anxiety, they heard the decree of

Singular  
event in  
the prisons  
on the fall  
of Robe-  
spierre.



CHAP. became afterwards memorable—it was JOSEPHINE  
XIX. BEAUHARNAIS, future Empress of France.

1794. The transports were the same through all France.

Universal  
transports  
which his  
fall occa-  
sioned.

The passengers precipitated themselves from the public conveyances, embraced the bystanders, exclaiming, “ My friends, rejoice, Robespierre is no more; the tigers are dead!” Two hundred thousand captives in the prisons throughout the country were freed from the terror of death; three hundred thousand trembling fugitives issued from their retreats, and embraced each other with frantic joy on the public roads. An epitaph designed for his tomb expressed in powerful language the public opinion on the consequence of prolonging his life :

“ Passant, ne pleure point son sort,  
Car si vivait tu serais mort.”

No words can convey an idea of the impression which the overthrow of Robespierre produced in Europe. The ardent and enthusiastic in every country had hailed the beginning of the French Revolution as the dawn of a brighter day in the political world, and in proportion to the warmth of their hopes had been the grievousness of their disappointment at the terrible shades by which it was so early overcast. The fall of the tyrant revived those hopes, and put an end to those apprehensions; the moral laws of nature were felt to be still in operation; the tyranny had only existed till it had purged the world of a guilty race, and then it was itself destroyed. The thoughtful admired the wisdom of Providence, which had made the wickedness of men the instrument of their own destruction; the pious beheld in their fall an immediate manifestation of the Divine justice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xff.  
126, 128.  
Deux  
Armée, xlii.  
3, 5.

The Revolution of 9th Thermidor, however, was

by no means, as is commonly supposed, the reaction of virtue against wickedness; it was the effort of one set of assassins threatened with death against another. The leaders of the revolt in the Convention which overthrew the central government, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Amar, Barère, were in no respect better, in some worse, than Robespierre and St Just. Equally unscrupulous in the means they employed, equally bloody in the executions they ordered, they were far more selfish in their objects, and more despicable in their characters. With them the Revolution was not, as in Robespierre, a desperate and sanguinary struggle for the happiness of man, in which all its supposed enemies required to be destroyed; it was merely an engine for advancing their private fortunes. They conspired against him, not because they hated his system, but because they perceived it was about to descend upon themselves. Little amelioration of the state government was to be expected from their exertions. It was public opinion, clearly and energetically expressed after the fall of the Committee of Public Safety, which compelled them to revert to the path of humanity. But this opinion was irresistible; it

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

Real nature of the Revolution of 9th Thermidor.

CHAP. Paris, that of the committees, who strove to maintain  
XIX. the remnant of their power, and that of the liberators,

1794. who laboured to subvert them. The latter were from the first distinguished by the name of *Thermidorians*, from the day on which their triumph had been achieved. Tallien was at their head, and they soon numbered among their supporters all the generous youth of the metropolis. The party of the committees was paralysed by the fall of the Municipality of Paris, sixty of the most obnoxious members of which had been executed the day after the death of Robespierre. Their influence consisted only in the possession of the machinery of government, and in the vigour of some of their members, all of whom saw no safety to themselves but in the maintenance of the revolutionary government. Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barere, Vadier, Amar, and Carnot, constituted a body, influenced by the same principles, capable of maintaining their authority in the most difficult circumstances, but after the counter-revolution of the 9th Thermidor, the current of public opinion soon became irresistible, and they were impelled, in spite of themselves, into measures of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis,  
xiii. 6, 8.  
Mig. ii.  
348, 349.  
Th. vii. 4.  
14. Lac.  
xii. 128,  
129. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
iv. 224,  
225.

And rise  
of the  
Thermido-  
rians.

The Thermidorians were composed of the whole centre of the Assembly, the remnant of the Royalists, and the survivors of the party of Danton. Boissy d'Anglas, Siêyes, Cambaceres, Chenier, Thibaudeau, from the moderate party, ranged themselves beside Tallien, Freron, Legendre, Barras, Bourdon de L'Oise, Roveré, and others, who had followed the colours of Danton. Four of this party were chosen to replace the executed members of the Committee of Public Safety, and soon succeeded in moderating its sanguinary measures. But great caution was necessary



in effecting the change. The Jacobins were still powerful from their numbers, their discipline, and their connexion with the affiliated societies throughout France; and their early support of the Revolution identified them in the eyes of the populace with its fortunes. Hence the Thermidorians did not venture at first to measure their strength with such antagonists, and four days after the death of Robespierre the sittings of that terrible club were resumed. But so vehement was the current of public opinion, so dreadful had been the general suffering under the Reign of Terror, that the friends of clemency daily gained accessions of strength. The seventy-three members of the Assembly, who had protested against the violence of 31st May, were brought forth from prison, and joined their liberators. Such of the victims of that unhappy day as were still alive, were also restored to their places in the Assembly, and augmented the phalanx of the friends of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

The two parties were not long in measuring their strength after their common victory. Barere, on the part of the Committee, proposed, on the 30th July, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be continued, and that Fouquier Tinville should continue

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
9, 11. Mig.  
ii. 349, 350.  
Lac. xii.  
129, 130.  
Th. vii. 16,  
17.

Contests  
between  
the two  
parties.  
Trial and  
death of  
Fouquier

CHAP. criminal took place with extraordinary formality,  
 XIX. and in the most public manner, before the Revo-  
 1794. lutionary Tribunal. It developed all the injustice  
 and oppression of that iniquitous court; the trial  
 of sixty or eighty prisoners in one sitting of three  
 or four hours; the inhuman stopping of any de-  
 fence; and the atrocious celerity of the condem-  
 nations. After a long process he was condemned,  
 and fourteen jurymen of the same Tribunal along  
 with him. The indignation of the populace was  
 strongly manifested, when they were led out for  
 execution; cries, groans, and applauses, broke  
 from the crowd as they passed along. The som-  
 bre, severe air of Fouquier, especially attracted  
 notice; he maintained an undaunted aspect, and  
 answered the reproaches of the people by ironical  
 remarks on the dearth of provisions under which  
 they laboured.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ull. du  
 Tribunal  
 Rév. No.  
 25, 28.  
 Toul. v.  
 232. Mig.  
 ii. 351.  
 Lac. xii.  
 180. Th.  
 vii. 37, 38.

Gradual  
 return to  
 humane  
 measures.

The next measures of the Assembly were of a hu-  
 mane tendency. The law of 22d Prairial against  
 suspected persons was repealed, and though the Re-  
 volutionary Tribunal was continued, its forms were  
 remodeled, and its vengeance directed in future  
 chiefly against the authors of the former calamities.  
 The captives were gradually liberated from confine-  
 ment, and, instead of the fatal chariots which for-  
 merly stood at the gates of the prisons, crowds of  
 joyous citizens were seen receiving with transport  
 their parents or children, restored to their arms.  
 Agreeably to the advice formerly given by Danton  
 and Camille Desmoulins, the captives were not all  
 discharged at once, but they were all at length re-  
 stored to their friends; and at the end of two  
 months, out of ten thousand suspected persons, not  
 one remained in the prisons of Paris. The efforts

of the Jacobins to prevent the liberation of the persons confined in prison in the departments, whom they all designated as aristocrats, were very great : but the numerous and heart-rending details of the massacres which were transmitted to the Convention from every part of the country overwhelmed all their opposition. Among the rest, one related by Merlin de Thionville excited particular attention. It was an order signed by a man named Lefevre, an adjutant-general, addressed to, and executed by, a Captain Macé, to drown at Paimboeuf forty-one persons; of whom one was an old blind man 76 years of age; twelve women of different ages; twelve girls below 20 years; fifteen children, of whom ten were between 5 and 10 years of age; and five still at the breast. The order was conceived in these terms, and rigidly executed : " It is ordered to Peter Macé, captain of the brig destiny, to put ashore the woman Bidet, and the remainder of the preceding list shall be taken to the heights of Black Peter, and thrown into the sea, as rebels to the law. This operation concluded, he will return to his post." <sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1794.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de  
la Conv. ii.  
242, 243.  
Bull. du  
Trib. Rév.  
Procès de  
Carrier,  
No. 12, 13.

The imprudent zeal of one of their party, however, soon convinced the Thermidorians how neces- Premature



CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

Rise of the  
Jeunesse  
Dorée.

By the advice of Madame de Fontenai, the beautiful mistress, but afterwards courageous and eloquent wife of Tallicn, the Thermidorians called to their support the youth of the metropolis; men, at an age when generous feeling is strong, and selfish considerations weak, and whose minds, unwarped by the prejudices or passions of former years, had expanded during the worst horrors of the Revolution. They soon formed a powerful and intrepid body, ever ready to combat the efforts of the Jacobins, and confirm the order which was beginning to prevail. Composed of the most respectable ranks in Paris, they almost all numbered a parent or relation among the victims of the Revolution, and had imbibed with their earliest breath the utmost horror at its sanguinary excesses. To distinguish themselves from the populace, they wore a particular dress, called the *Costume à la Victime*, consisting of a robe without a collar, expressive of their connexion with those who had suffered by the guillotine. Instead of arms, they bore short clubs, loaded with lead, and were known by the name of *La Jeunesse Dorée*. They prevailed over the Jacobins at the Palais Royal, where they had the support of the shopkeepers of that opulent quarter, but were worsted in the gardens of the Tuileries, where the vicinity of the club of their antagonists rendered revolutionary influence predominant. Their contests with the democrats were incessant; on the streets, in the theatres, in the public walks, they were ever at their post, and contributed by their exertions in a most signal manner to confirm and direct the public mind. In revolutions, the great body of mankind are generally inert and passive; the lead speedily falls into the hands of those who have the boldness to take it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
39, 40.  
Lac. xii.  
135, 147.  
Th. vii. 38,  
39, 112,  
113. Mig.  
ii. 352,  
356, 357.

These contests between the two parties at length

assumed the most important character. The whole of Paris became one vast field of battle, in which the friends of humanity, and the supporters of terror, strove for the mastery of the Republic. But public opinion pronounced itself daily more strongly in favour of the Thermidorian party. Billaud Varennes declared in the Popular Society:—"The lion sleeps, but his wakening will be terrible." This declaration occasioned the greatest agitation in Paris; and the cry was universal to assault the Club of the Jacobins. The National Guard of the Sections supported the troops of the Jeunesse Dorée, and their combined forces marched against that ancient den of blood. After a short struggle the doors were forced, and the Club dispersed. On the following day they proceeded to lay their complaints before the Convention, but Rewbell, who drew up the report on their complaints, pronounced their doom in the following words:—"Where was the Reign of Terror organized? At the Club of the Jacobins. Where did it find its supporters and satellites? Among the Jacobins. Who are they who have covered France with mourning; peopled its soil with Bastiles; and rendered the Republican yoke so odious, that a slave

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

Their contests with the Jacobins. They close their hall, and destroy their power.



CHAP. miny and contempt ; and on the following day, the  
XIX. commissioners of the Convention put a seal on their

1794. papers, and terminated their existence. Thus fell  
the Club of the Jacobins, the victim of the crimes it  
had sanctioned, and the reaction it had produced.

Within its walls all the great changes of the Revolu-  
tion had been prepared, and all its principal scenes

<sup>1</sup> Deux

Amis. Læ.

xii. 116,

155. Mig.

ii. 357, 359.

Toul. v.

135, 136.

Th. vii.

115, 116,

135, 151,

159, 164.

rehearsed ; from its energy the triumph of the de-  
mocracy had sprung, and from its atrocity its de-  
struction arose. A signal proof of the tendency of  
revolutionary violence to precipitate its supporters  
into crime, and render them at last the victims of  
the atrocity which they have committed.<sup>1</sup>

Universal  
joy at their  
overthrow.

A contemporary journalist has preserved a striking  
account of the universal transports at the closing of  
the Jacobin club. " It was a truly touching spec-  
tacle to behold the joy of the people at the extinc-  
tion of the Jacobins. All hearts were opened at the  
news of the salutary decree of the Convention. In  
the evening the streets and public places resounded  
with cries of joy, with almost childish mirth, with  
games and dances. *Every one pressed his friend's  
hand, without mentioning why* : all understood what  
was meant. In the coffee-houses, in the cabarets,  
toasts were universal to the health of the National  
Convention ; in the public gardens they parodied a  
stanza of the Carmagnole with the words—

' Les Jacobins avaient promis  
De faire egorger tout Paris.'

" Many citizens spontaneously illuminated their  
windows ; a sweeter, a more cordial joy was univer-  
sal than had appeared during the noisy fêtes ima-  
gined by the Committee of Public Safety, to strew  
with flowers the bloody avenue to slavery, and adorn  
the victims whom they were about to sacrifice to their  
ambition. Is there one amongst you, who, during

those odious fêtes, did not feel his heart sink within him, his flesh creep, and who in the enchantment of that ordered illumination, in the whirl of bought dances, cries of joy, and strains of music in those gardens, decked with so much care, did not withdraw within himself in the midst of the intoxicated multitude, to weep over the present, and mourn over the future? Very different is the spontaneous joy, the unbought entrancement, of this auspicious moment."<sup>1</sup>

Another event, which contributed in the most powerful manner to influence the public mind, was the trial of the prisoners from Nantes, who had been brought up to Paris under the reign of Robespierre. These captives, who were one hundred and thirty in number, when they left the banks of the Loire, were reduced to ninety-four by the barbarous treatment they experienced on the road. Their trial was permitted to proceed by the Thermidorian party, in hopes that the detail of the atrocities of the Jacobin leaders, would increase the horror which they had excited in the public mind. It proceeded slowly, and the series of cruelties which it developed exceeded even what the imagination of poets had

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

L'Orateur  
du Peuple,  
No. xxxi.

See also  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 179.

L'Ami des  
Citoyens,  
No. xxiii.

Trial of  
the prison-  
ers from  
Nantes.

CHAP. sanction a proceeding which they were conscious  
 XIX. might be drawn into an example fatal to many of  
 1794. themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The trial of this infamous man developed a still more dreadful series of iniquities, and contributed perhaps more than any other circumstance to confirm the inclination of the public mind. One of the witnesses deponed, "that he had obtained a licence to visit a chamber in the prisons where three hundred infants were confined; he found them groaning amidst filth, and shivering of cold; on the following morning he returned, but they were all gone; they had been drowned the preceding night in the Loire." Many thousand persons of both sexes, and all ages, including an extraordinary number of children, perished in this inhuman manner. Carrier did not deny these atrocities, but sought only to justify himself by alleging the orders of the Committee of Public Safety at Paris, and the necessity of making reprisals against the fanatical cruelty of the insurgents of La Vendée. The massacres of the children, of the women, and the noyades of the priests, which could not be vindicated on that ground, he alleged he had not commanded; although he could not dispute that he had permitted them, in a district where his authority was unbounded. After a long trial, this infamous wretch was found guilty of numerous noyades and illegal massacres, condemned, and with him Grand-Maison and Pinard, members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes. The acquittal of the others excited the public indignation so strongly, that the Convention ordered that they should be arrested anew, and the Tribunal which had abolished them abolished.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin  
 du Trib.  
 Rév. No.  
 20, p. 77.  
 Lac. xii.  
 167, 168.  
 Toul. v.  
 129, 130.  
 Th. vii.  
 169.

Yielding to the growing influence of public opinion, which daily pronounced itself more strongly in favour



of humane measures, the Convention at length re-  
 voked the decree which had expelled the nobles and  
 priests; and Cambaceres, taking advantage of a mo-  
 ment of enthusiasm, proposed a general amnesty for  
 all revolutionary offences other than those declared  
 capital by the criminal code. The proposition was  
 favourably received, and remitted to a committee.  
 On the following day, Tallien proposed the suppres-  
 sion of all the Revolutionary Tribunals; the Jaco-  
 bins vehemently opposed the proposal, and the As-  
 sembly, fearful of precipitating matters by too hasty  
 measures, contented themselves for the present with  
 abridging their power.<sup>2</sup>

The manners of the people during those days of re-  
 viving order, exhibited an extraordinary mixture of  
 revolutionary recklessness with the reviving gayety  
 and elegance of the French character. The captives re-  
 cently delivered from prison, comprised all the higher  
 classes in Paris, and their habits gave the tone to the  
 general manners of the day. Never was seen a more  
 remarkable union than their circles afforded of grief  
 and joy, of resentment and forgetfulness, of prudence  
 and recklessness, of generous exaltation and blame-  
 able indifference, of Jacobin vulgarity and returning

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

Return to  
humanity  
in the Con-  
vention.  
Dec. 8,  
1794.

<sup>1</sup> Toul. v.  
143. Hist.

Parl.  
xxxvi. 188,  
189.

Public  
manners  
during this  
period.

CHAP. return into the world, much of that benevolent and  
XIX. Christian spirit which had been awakened in many

1794. cases for the first time in their minds. Nor was the transformation less violent and immediate in the dresses generally worn; but in the tumult of reviving enjoyment, the ladies outstripped the bounds of decency in their attire.\* The hideous unwashed Jacobins, with their long black uncombed locks, their haggard eyes and revolting stare, disappeared. Their filthy rags, assumed to please the mob, were exchanged for elegant attire: out of the secret deposits of their plunder were brought out stores of wealth: furniture, dresses, pictures, all of the most costly description, suddenly made their appearance; the removal of the necessity of assuming the appearance of incorruptibility revealed at once the extent of their cupidity, and the magnitude of their spoliations.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiv.  
30, 34.  
Lac. xii.  
172, 173.  
Th. vii.  
218, 223.

Bals des  
Victimes,  
and extra-  
ordinary  
manners of  
the period.

The two centres of the society of Paris were the Faubourg St Germain, and the quarter of the Chaussée d'Antin; the first comprising the residence of the remains of the nobility, the last of the bankers and merchants who had risen to wealth during the recent troubles. Rigid economy prevailed in the former; the pride of riches, and the passion for newly acquired distinction swayed the latter. At the theatres, at the public assemblies, every thing breathed the recent deliverance from death. No

\* "Le libertinage étoit pris pour la galanterie et l'indécence la plus condamnable pour un raffinement d'élégance. La licence dans la parure fut portée, à un tel point que ces femmes ne se montroient plus dans les assemblées, et dans les promenades publiques, que la gorge absolument nue, les bras totalement decouverte; un seul voile de gaze cachoit si faiblement le reste de leurs corps, que non seulement toutes leurs formes étoient nécessairement indiquées par la légèreté de leur vêtement, mais que sa transparence laissoit souvent à percevoir le nudité."—*Deux Amis*, xiv. 33, 34.

such thunders of applause shook the opera, as when the orchestra struck up the favourite air of the Troupe Dorée, called *le Réveil du Peuple*, which successfully combated the revolutionary energy of the Marseillaise hymn. One of the most fashionable and brilliant assemblies was called *Le Bal des Victimes*, the condition of entrance to which was the loss of a near relation by the guillotine. Between the country dances, they said, "We dance on the tombs;" and a favourite dress for the hair was adopted from the way in which it had been arranged immediately before execution. The almanacks most in request were called "*Les Almanacks des Prisons*," in which the sublime resignation and courage of many of the captives were mingled with the ribaldry and indecency with which others had endeavoured to dispel the gloom of that sombre abode. But the Christian virtue of charity was never more eminently conspicuous than among those who, recently delivered themselves from death, knew how to appreciate the sufferings of their fellow-creatures.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Convention gradually undid the laws which had passed during the Revolutionary government. The law of the maximum of prices, which had been introduced to favour the poor, was

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiv.  
30, 81.  
Lac. xii.  
174, 176.  
Mig. ii.  
356.

Gradual  
abolition of  
the Revo-

CHAP. *des Familles*, and Legendre concluded a powerful  
 XIX. speech in their favour with these touching words:

1794. —“ If I possessed one acre belonging to these un-  
 fortunate sufferers, never could I taste of repose.  
 In the evening, while walking in my solitary gar-  
 den, I would fancy I beheld in each rosebud, the  
 Dec. 29, tears of an orphan whom I had robbed of its inhe-  
 1794. rittance.” The bust of Marat was soon after broken  
 at the Theatre Feydeau by a band of the Troupe  
 Dorée, and next day destroyed in all the public  
 places. His body, which had been buried with ex-  
 traordinary pomp in the Pantheon, was taken out  
 and thrown into a common sewer. About the same  
 time, the survivors of the twenty-two proscribed  
 members of the Girondist party, who had been in  
 concealment since the revolt of the 31st May, were  
 restored to their seats in the Assembly ; and the  
 Thermidorian party saw itself strengthened by the  
 accession of Louvet, Isnard, Lanjuinais, Henri La-  
 riviere, and others, alike estimable for their talents,  
 and their constancy under adverse fortune.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
 xxxvi. 199,  
 200, 220.  
 Mig. ii.  
 361, 363.  
 Lac. xii.  
 177, 179.  
 Th. vii.  
 229, 230.  
 Hist. de la  
 Conv. iv.  
 237, 245.

Impeach-  
 ment of  
 Billaud  
 Varennes  
 and the  
 Jacobin  
 Leaders.

Strengthened by the accession of so many new  
 members, and the increasing force of public opinion,  
 Tallien and his friends at length proceeded to the  
 decisive measure of impeaching Billaud Varennes,  
 Collot d'Herbois, Barere, and Vadier, the remaining  
 heads of the Jacobins. “ You demand the Resto-  
 ration of Terror,” said Tallien : “ Let us consider  
 the means it employs before we estimate its effects.  
 A government can never inspire terror but by men-  
 acing with capital punishments ; by menacing with-  
 out intermission, without distinction, without inves-  
 tigation, all who oppose it : by menacing without  
 proof, on mere suspicion, on no ground at all : by  
 striking continually with relentless hand, in order to

inspire terror into all the world. You must suspend over every action a punishment, over every word a threat, over silence even a suspicion : you must place under every step a snare, in every family a traitor, in every tribunal an assassin : you must put every citizen to the torture, by the punishment of multitudes, and subsequent massacre of the executioners, lest they should become too powerful. Such is the system of governing by terror ; does it belong to a free, humane, and regular government, or to the worst species of tyranny ?” These eloquent words produced a great impression : the opposition against the Jacobins became so powerful, both within and without the Assembly, that a return to severe measures was impossible, and the government was swept along by the universal passion for a humane administration.<sup>1</sup>

This bold step, however, excited the most violent tumults among the democratical party. Several causes at that period contributed to inflame the public discontent. The winter, which had set in with uncommon severity, exposed many of the lower classes to suffering : a scarcity of provisions was, as usual, ascribed by the multitude to the conduct of government, and the dreadful depreciation

CHAP.  
XIX.

1794.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 254,  
255. Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
80. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
iv. 231.Se-March  
1795. Ex-  
treme dis-  
tress and  
agitation  
in France.

CHAP. XIX.  
1794. lating medium, and the immense quantity of confiscated property which was at the same time brought to sale ; and they had now fallen to one-fifteenth of the sum for which they were issued. “ The worst rebellions,” says Lord Bacon, are “ those which proceed from the stomach ;” and of this truth Paris soon furnished an example. The Jacobin leaders, threatened with accusations, used their utmost exertions to rouse the populace, and the discontent arising from so much suffering made them lend a willing ear to their seditious harangues. Carnot was not included in the Act of Accusation ; but he had the magnanimity to declare, that, having acted with his colleagues for the public good, he had no wish but to share their fate. This generous proceeding embarrassed the accusers ; but, in order to avoid implicating so illustrious a character in the impeachment, it was resolved to limit it to some only of the members of the Committee, and Amar, Vouland, and the painter David, were excluded : the last of whom had disgraced a fine genius by the most savage revolutionary fanaticism.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, xiii. 37, 39. Hist. Parl. xxxvi. 184, 192. Lac. xii. 174, 191, 194. Mig. ii. 364, 366. Th. vii. 249, 250. Hist. de la Conv. iv. 232.

On the 1st April, a revolt was organized in the Faubourgs, to prevent the trial of Billaud Varennes, Collot d’Herbois, Barere, and Vadier, which was about to commence two days after. The cry of the insurgents was—bread, the constitution of 1793, and the freedom of the patriots in confinement. The universal suffering which had followed the democratic rule, afforded the Jacobins too powerful a lever to move the passions of the people. “ Since France had become republican,” says the graphic annalist, himself a member of the Convention, and supporter of Robespierre, “ every species of evil had accumulated upon its devoted head. Famine,

Revolt of the populace to save the Jacobin leaders. April 1, 1795.

a total cessation of commerce, civil war, attended by its usual accompaniments, conflagration, robbery, pillage, and murder: justice was interrupted, the sword of the law wielded by iniquity: property spoliated, confiscation rendered the order of the day, the scaffold permanently erected, calumnious denunciations held in the highest estimation. Nothing was wanting to the general desolation: virtue, merit of every sort were persecuted with unrelenting severity: debauchery encouraged, arbitrary arrests universally established, the revolutionary armies ploughing through the state like a devouring flame, hatred every where fomented, hatred and disunion brought into the bosom of domestic families. Never had a country descended so low: never had a people been overwhelmed by a similar chaos of crimes and abominations." Instigated by such sufferings, a formidable band soon surrounded the Assembly. Speedily they forced their way in; drunken women, abandoned prostitutes, formed the revolting advanced guard; but speedily a more formidable band of petitioners, with pikes in their hands, filled every vacant space.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 260,  
262. Hist.  
de la Cony.  
II. 215, 216.

Having penetrated to the bar, they commenced



CHAP. are worth nothing ; for you have passed decrees  
XIX.

1795. Mountain, the men of the 14th July invoke your aid in this crisis to save the country." With these words, ascending the benches of the members, they seated themselves with the deputies of the Mountain. Every thing announced the approach of a crisis ; the Jacobins were recovering their former audacity, and the majority of the Assembly, labouring under severe apprehension, were on the point of withdrawing, when, fortunately, a large body of the Troupe Dorée, who had assembled at the sound of the tocsin, entered the hall, under the command of Pichegru, chanting in loud strains the " Réveil du Peuple." The insurgents knew their masters ; and that formidable body, before whom the strength of the monarchy had so often trembled, yielded to the cou-

rage of a few thousand undisciplined young men. The crowd, lately so clamorous, gradually withdrew from the bar, and, in a short time, the accused members were left alone to the vengeance of the Assembly, to answer for a revolt, which they had so evidently excited.<sup>1</sup>

The Thermidorians made a humane use of their victory. They were fearful of making too large chasms in the ranks of the allies by whose assistance they had so recently been delivered from the tyranny of Robespierre ; and they justly feared a reaction in the public mind, if they put themselves in practice, on their first triumph, the bloody maxims which they had so severely condemned in their adversaries. By a concert with the leaders of the Girondists, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barere, were condemned to the limited punishment of transportation ; and seventeen members of the

Humanity  
of the  
Thermido-  
rians after  
their vic-  
tory. The  
accused  
are only  
trans-  
ported.



Mountain, who had seemed most favourable to the revolt, were put under arrest, and the next day conducted to the Chateau of Ham. The persons thus put in confinement, comprised Cambon, Ruamps, Thuriot, Amar, and the whole strength of the Jacobin party. The transference of the condemned deputies to the Chateau of Ham was not accomplished without some difficulty. They were once rescued by the insurgent populace; but Pichegru<sup>1</sup> having arrived at the head of three hundred of the Troupe Dorée, the mob was dispersed, and the prisoners again seized and conducted to the place of their confinement. Nothing is more instructive in the history of the French Revolution than the important consequences which, in all its stages, attended the efforts even of the smallest body, acting energetically in the cause of order.<sup>1</sup>

The fate of these revolutionary leaders was commensurate to their crimes in the colony to which they were conveyed. Their lives, which were in the first instance threatened by the burning climate of Cayenne, were saved by the generous kindness of the Sisters of Charity, who, in the hospital on that distant shore, continued to practise towards the most de-

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Deux  
Amis, xlii.  
108. Hist.  
Parl.  
xxxvi 274.  
300. Lac.  
xii. 198.  
200. Mig.  
ii. 367.  
Toul. v.  
213. Th.  
vii. 290,  
300.

And  
thence to  
Cayenne.

CHAP. XIX. 1795. decencies of the revolutionary language. Barere had nearly died shortly after his sentence, of a loathsome malady which he had contracted at Rochefort; but he survived that disease and escaped from prison, and was restored to France by Napoleon in 1800, where he lingered out his life an obscure pamphleteer in the Imperial pay; and before the expiry of his exile, Billaud Varennes beheld the arrival, in the hut next his own, of the illustrious Pichegru, whose vigour had been so instrumental in conducting him thither.\*

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii. 201, 202. Mém. de Barere, Introd. 87, 100. Deux Amis, xiii. 108, 109.

Renewed efforts of the Jacobins.

The Jacobins were broken, but not subdued. By the fall of Robespierre, and the execution of his associates in the Municipality, they had lost the Commune; the closing of their place of debates had deprived them of their centre of operations: by the exile of so many members of the Assembly, they were bereaved of their ablest leaders. Still there remained to them the forces of the Faubourgs; the inhabitants of which retained their arms which they had received in an early period of the revolutionary troubles; while their needy circumstances, and exasperation at the high price of provisions, rendered them ready for the most desperate enterprises. In May 19. the *Annales Patriotiques* of 19th May 1795, it was

\* Barere was employed in obscure situations by Napoleon, and was alive at Brussels, where he was living in great poverty, in 1831. It was one of his favourite positions at that time, "that the world could never be civilized till the punishment of death was utterly abolished, and that no human being had a right to take away the life of another." This was the man who said in 1793, "the Tree of Liberty cannot flourish if it is not watered by the blood of a king; and Il n'y a que les morts qui ne revient pas." So completely does a Revolution unhinge the human mind, that no reliance can be placed, in its vicissitudes, on any thing but the sense of duty which religion inspires. Before the Revolution he was the Marquis de Veissac, with an ample fortune. He died at Brussels on 13th January 1841.—See SIR ARTHUR BROOKS FALKNER'S *Travels in Germany*, i. 196.

stated—"It would be difficult to find a people upon the face of the globe so unhappy as that of Paris. Yesterday we received each a ration of two ounces of bread; that pittance, small as it is, has been diminished to-day. That measure has spread consternation among the people, who murmur now louder than ever. All our streets resound with the cries of those who are dying of famine." The failure of the revolt on 1st April did not discourage their leaders; they saw in it only a proof of the necessity of making a greater effort with more formidable forces. A general insurrection of the Faubourgs was agreed on for the 20th May; above thirty thousand men, armed with pikes, were then to march against the Convention, a greater force than that which had proved victorious on many former occasions, and never before had they been animated by so ferocious a spirit. Their rallying cry was, "Bread, and the Constitution of 1793."<sup>1</sup>

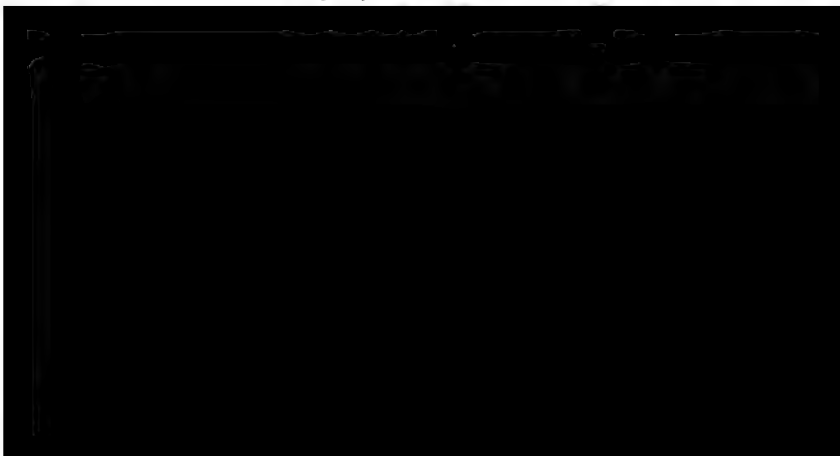
CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
125, 129.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 310,  
312. An-  
nales Pat-  
riotiques.  
March 19,  
1795.

The succeeding night (19th May) was one of the most frightful which occurred during the whole course of the Revolution. From sunset Paris was the theatre of unceasing perturbation: seditious groups were formed on the quays, in the squares, on the

Insurrec-  
tion of the  
20th May.



CHAP. cries, fierce vociferations, mingled with the occa-  
 XIX. sional discharge of muskets and pistols: while the  
 1795. cannon of government sounded at intervals: and  
 the deep bell, placed lately on the summit of the  
 Great Pavilion of the Tuileries, by its loud and  
 measured toll called the National Guard to the  
 defence of the Convention.

Hesitation appeared on the following morning  
 among the supporters of order: the Jacobins were  
 already in arms; immense assemblages appeared  
 round the Pantheon, in the place of the Bastile, in  
 that of Notre Dame, in the Place de Grève, in the  
 Place Royale. The whole city was in agitation:  
 vast bodies of insurgents by daybreak surrounded  
 the Assembly, and by ten o'clock every avenue to it  
 was choked with a forest of pikes. The insurgents  
 had adopted the most energetic measures to restore  
 the democratic order of things. In the name of the  
 "Insurgent people, who had risen to obtain bread,  
 and resume their rights," they established a provi-  
 sional committee, which immediately abolished the  
 existing government, proclaimed the democratic  
 Constitution 1793; the dismissal of the members of  
 administration and their arrest; the liberation of  
 the patriots in confinement; the immediate convo-  
 cation of the primary assemblies; the suspension of  
 all authority not emanating from the people. They  
 resolved to create a new Municipality to serve as a  
 centre of operations, to seize the telegraph, the bar-  
 riers, the cannon of alarm, and the tocsin; and to  
 invite all the forces, both regular and irregular, to  
 join the banners of the people, and march against  
 the Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

The misery at Paris at this time, in consequence  
 of the famine which the Reign of terror had brought

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xlii.  
 141, 143,  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxvi. 313,  
 321. Mig.  
 ii. 368,  
 889. Th.  
 vii. 384.  
 Hist. de la  
 Conv. iv.  
 311, 312.

upon France, and the general failure of agricultural exertion, in consequence of the forced requisitions and the law of the *Maximum*, had now risen to the very highest pitch. A contemporary republican writer gives the following energetic picture of the public suffering: "The Convention had lost all its popularity, because it had evinced so little disposition to relieve the sufferings of the people, which had now become absolutely intolerable. The anarchists, the enemies of order, profited by this ferment, and did their utmost to augment it, because that class reaped no harvest but in the fields of misery. France, exhausted by every species of suffering, had lost even the power of uttering a complaint; and we had all arrived at such a point of depression, that death, if unattended by pain, would have been wished for even by the youngest human being, because it offered the prospect of repose, and every one panted for that blessing at any price. But it was ordained that many days, months, and years, should still continue in that state of horrible agitation, the true foretaste of the torments of hell." The mobs which had, for some weeks preceding, assembled in the streets on account of the high price of provisions and universal

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Excessive  
misery at  
Paris, and  
great in-  
surrection  
on May 20.

CHAP. Guard of the Sections by the sound of the tocsin to  
XIX. their defence.

1795. But these measures promised only tardy relief, while the danger was instant and imminent. Scarcely were the decrees of the Convention passed, when a furious multitude broke into the hall, crying aloud for bread and the Constitution of 1793. The President Vernier behaved with a dignity befitting his situation. "Your cries," he said, "will not alter one iota of our measures; they will not hasten by one second the arrival of provisions: they will only retard them." A violent tumult drowned his voice; the insurgents broke open the inner doors with hatchets, and instantly a vociferous multitude filled the whole of the room. A severe struggle ensued between the National Guard, entrusted with the defence of the Assembly, and the furious rabble. Vernier was torn from the chair, it was immediately occupied by Boissy d'Anglas, who, through the whole of that perilous day, evinced the most heroic firmness of mind. Feraud, with generous devotion, interposed his body to receive the blows destined for the president; he was mortally wounded, dragged out by the populace, and beheaded in the lobby. They instantly placed his head on a pike, and with savage cries re-entered the hall, bearing aloft in triumph the bloody trophy of their violence. Almost all the deputies fled in consternation; none remained excepting the friends of the revolt; and Boissy d'Anglas, who, with Roman constancy, filled the chair, and regardless of all the threats of the multitude, unceasingly protested, in the name of the Convention, against the violence with which they were assailed. They presented to him the lifeless head of Feraud on the

Conven-  
tion be-  
sieged.  
Heroic  
conduct  
of Boissy  
d'Anglas.

top of the pike, and waved it before his eyes; he turned aside with emotion from the horrid spectacle; they again presented it, and he bowed with reverence before the remains of fidelity and devotion. The multitude laughed loudly and applauded long at the sight of the bloody head. Cries of "Bread! bread! Liberate all the patriots!" resounded for more than than half an hour through the hall, with such vehemence that no other voice could be heard. He was at length torn from his chair by the efforts of his friends, and the insurgents, overawed by the grandeur of his conduct, permitted him to retire without molestation. Being now undisputed masters of the Convention, the insurgents, with the aid of their associates in the Assembly, proceeded without delay to assume the government. Amidst the gloom of twilight, they named a president, got possession of all the bureaux, and in the midst of deafening applause, passed a series of resolutions declaratory of their intentions. The most important of these were, the restoration of the Jacobin club, the re-establishment of the democratic constitution, the recall of the exiled members, the dismissal of all the existing members of the government. A provisional admini-

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
140, 141.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 341,  
343 Mig.  
ii. 370.  
Lac. xii.  
221, 223.  
Th. vii.  
386, 394.  
Hist. de la

CHAP. and the forces of the Sections began to assemble in  
XIX. strength round the Committees. Encouraged by the

1795. strength of their defenders, they even returned to the seat of government, and there ventured on an open attack on the insurgents: the Sections advanced with fixed bayonets, the pikemen of the Faubourgs stood their ground, and a bloody strife ensued in the hall and on the benches of the Convention. The opposing cries, "Vivent les Jacobins!" "Vive la Convention!" resounded from the opposite sides of the room, and success was for a few minutes doubtful. At length the insurgents were forced back at the point of the bayonet, and a frightful mass of men and women, half of whom were intoxicated, were driven headlong, amidst frightful cries, out of the hall. At eleven o'clock Legendre made a sally, and speedily routed the surrounding multitude; they made a resistance as pusillanimous as their conduct had been violent; and the members who had fled, resumed at midnight their places in the Convention. All that had been done by the rebel authority was immediately annulled; eight and twenty members who had supported their proceedings were put under arrest, and at five in the morning they were already five leagues from Paris. Such was the termination of this memorable revolt, which obtained the name of the insurrection of the 1st Prairial. On no former

<sup>1</sup> Deux occasion had the people evinced such exasperation, Amis, xiii. or a spectacle so terrible been exhibited in the legis- 144. Mig. lature. If cannon were not planted in battery ii. 371. against the Convention, as on the 31st May, yet Lac. xii. 223. Th. against the Convention, as on the 31st May, yet vii. 395, 398. Hist. the scenes in the interior of its hall were more de la Conv. bloody and appalling; and the victory of the popu- iv. 339, lace for the time not less complete.<sup>1</sup> The want of 344. Hist. design and decision on the part of the insurgents Parl. xxxvi. 351.



alone, made them lose the victory after they had gained it, and saved France from a return to the Reign of Blood.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

But the Faubourgs, though defeated, were not subdued. On the following day the tocsin sounded in every quarter of Paris at eight o'clock in the morning; the générale beat to summon the National Guard; and the Convention, little expecting to survive the day, assembled in their hall at nine. The insurgents quickly appeared in great strength; they advanced in still greater force against the Convention, and had already pointed their cannon against the place of their deliberation. The conduct of the President Legendre on this trying occasion was in the highest degree admirable. The sound of the approach of the cannon made several members start from their seats, and run towards the door. There new terrors appeared: the cannoniers of the Convention, as soon as they saw the guns of the Faubourgs charged, went over to the mob, and, both united, pointed them, with the matches lighted, against the Assembly. All seemed lost: a similar defection the other way had ruined Robespierre. But, in that extremity, the conduct of the President Legendre was worthy

Fresh  
efforts of  
the Jacobins.  
May 21.



CHAP. ranged themselves round the Convention ; cannon  
XIX. were planted, and platoons ready to discharge on

1795. both sides. Intimidated by a resistance they had not expected, the chiefs of the insurgents paused ; and the Assembly, taking advantage of their hesitation, entered into a negotiation with their leaders, who prevailed on the people to retire, after receiving the assurance that the supply of provisions for the capital

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. should be attended to, and the laws of the Constitu-  
xxxvi. 366, tion 1793 enforced. The result of that day demon-  
372. Deux strated, that the physical force of the populace, how-  
Amis, xiv. ever formidable, being deprived of the guidance of  
147, 149. Mig. ii. leaders of ability, could not contend with the perma-  
372. Hist. de la Conv. iv. 349, nent influence of the government.<sup>1</sup>  
350.

Instructed by so many disasters, and such narrow escapes from utter ruin, the Convention resolved on the most decisive measures. Eleven of the most obnoxious members of the Mountain—viz., Rhul, Romme, Goujon, Du Quesnoy, Duroy, Soubrani, Bourbrotte, Prypard, Forrestier, Albite, and Prieur de la Marne, were delivered over to a military commission, or the ordinary tribunals, by whom they were all condemned, except the two last, who escaped. Three of them, Romme, Goujon, and Du Quesnoy, stabbed themselves at the bar on receiving sentence, and expired in presence of the judges ; the others were only mortally wounded, and were led, still bleeding, to the scaffold. They all died with a stoical firmness, so often displayed during those days of anarchy, the victims of political, worse than any religious fanaticism. Barere, Collot d'Herbois, Varennes, and Vadier, were ordered to be tried by the criminal tribunal of Charente Inferieure ; but before the decree arrived at Rochefort, they had all, except Barere, been transported or escaped.<sup>2</sup> Ba-

Trial and  
condemna-  
tion of  
Romme  
and the  
Jacobin  
remnant.

June 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lac. xii.  
230. Mig.  
ii. 373. Th.  
vii. 407,  
408. Hist.  
de la Conv.  
iv. 351.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 379.

rere was tried and sentenced to transportation ; but he succeeded in escaping from the prison of Saintes.

CHAP.  
XIX.

At length the period was arrived when the Faubourgs, whose revolts had so often proved fatal to the tranquillity of France, were to be finally subdued. The murderer of the deputy Feraud had been discovered, and condemned by a military commission. When the day of his punishment approached, the Convention, to prevent another revolt, ordered the disarming of the Faubourgs. A band of the most intrepid of the Troupe Dorée imprudently advanced into that thickly peopled quarter ; and after seizing some guns found themselves surrounded by its immense population. They owed their safety to the humanity or prudence of the leaders of the revolt, who hesitated to imbrue their hands in the blood of the best families of Paris. But no sooner were they permitted to retire, than the National Guard, thirty thousand strong, supported by four thousand troops of the line, surrounded the revolutionary quarter ; the avenues leading to it were planted with cannon, and mortars disposed on conspicuous situations to terrify them into submission. Alarmed at the prospect of a bombardment, by which their property

1795.

Condemnation of  
Feraud's  
murderer.

Disarming

of the

Faubourg

St Antoine,

and termi-

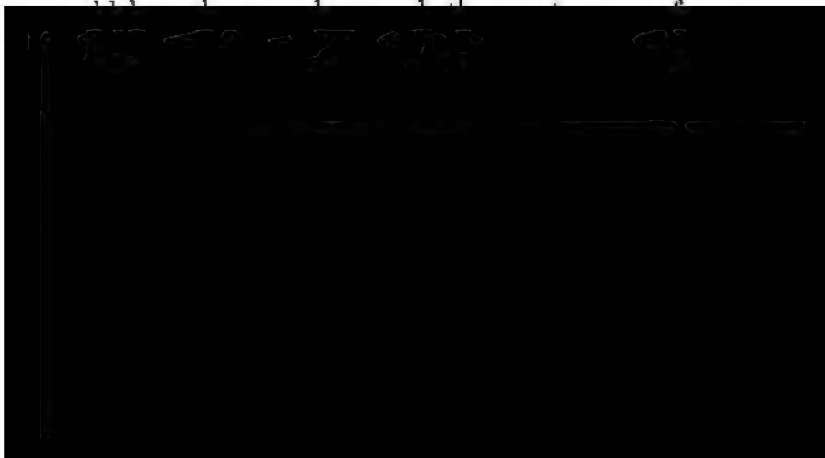
nation of

the reign

of the mul-

titude.

May 24.



CHAP. guards were organized on a new footing ; the work-  
 XIX. men, the valets, the indigent citizens, were excluded  
 1795. from its ranks ; and its new members, regularly or-  
 ganized by battalions and brigades, were subjected  
 to the orders of the Military Committee. At the

<sup>1</sup> Deux same time, in accordance to an earnest petition from  
 Amis, xiii. the few remaining Catholics, they were permitted to  
 150, 153. make use of the churches, on condition of maintain-  
 Hist. Parl. ing them at their own expense.<sup>1</sup>  
 xxxvi. 206,  
 207.

Thus TERMINATED THE REIGN OF THE MULTI-  
 May 24. TUDE, six years after it had been first established by  
 1795. the storming of the Bastile. From the period of  
 their being disarmed, the populace took no further  
 share in the changes of government ; they were  
 brought about solely by the middle classes and the  
 army. The Revolution, considered as a movement  
 of the people, was thereafter at an end ; the subse-  
 quent struggles were merely the contests of other  
 powers for the throne which they had made vacant.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Mfg. ii.  
 373. Th.  
 vii. 410,  
 420. Lac.  
 xii. 227.  
 Toul. v.  
 260, 261.  
 Hist. de la  
 Conv. iv.  
 351, 352.

The gradual relaxation of the extraordinary ri-  
 gour of government erected by the Convention, pre-  
 sents an interesting epoch in the history of the  
 Revolution.

After the overthrow of Robespierre, the Conven-  
 tion endeavoured to retrace their steps towards the  
 natural order of society ; but they experienced the  
 utmost difficulty in the attempt. To go on with the  
*maximum*, forced requisitions, and general distribu-  
 tion of food, was impossible ; but how to relax these  
 extreme measures was the question, when the genera.  
 industry of the country was so grievously reduced,  
 and the usual supplies so much straitened, both by  
 the abstraction of agricultural labourers, the terror  
 of the requisitions, and the forced sales at a nominal

Measures  
 of the Con-  
 vention af-  
 ter the fall  
 of Robes-  
 pierre.

and ruinous price. The first step towards a return to the natural state was an augmentation of the price fixed as a *maximum* by two-thirds, and a limitation of the right of making forced requisitions. But these oppressive exactions were in fact abandoned by the reaction in the public feeling, and the cessation of terror, after the fall of the Dictatorial government. The assignats going on continually declining, the aversion of all the industrial classes to the *maximum* was constantly increasing, because the losses they sustained through the forced sales were thereby daily augmented; and the persons entrusted with the administration of the laws, being of a more moderate and humane cast, were averse to have recourse to the sanguinary measures which were still placed at their disposal. Thus there was every where in France a general endeavour to elude the *maximum*, and the newly constituted authorities winked at frauds which they felt to be the necessary consequence of so unjust a law. No one, during the Reign of Terror, ventured openly to resist regulations which rendered the industrial and commercial classes tributary to the soldiers and the multitude; but when the danger of the guillotine was at an end, the reaction

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
Amis, xiii.  
137, 139.Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi.207. Mig.  
ii. 402.Hist. de la  
Conv. iv.

257, 258.

Th. vii. 66,  
139, 224,  
225.

[illegible][illegible]

any impression on such immense possessions. The difficulty, in truth, was inextricable; no sales to any extent went on: the assignats were continually increasing with the vast expenditure of government, and at length it was got over, as will appear in the sequel, by forced means, and the proclamation of a national bankruptcy of the very worst kind.<sup>1</sup>

But the attention of the Convention was soon drawn to evils of a still more pressing kind. The abolition of the *maximum* and of the forced requisitions, had deprived government of its violent means of feeding the citizens, while, in consequence of the shock which these tyrannical proceedings had given to industry, the usual sources of supply were almost dried up. The consequence was a most severe scarcity of every kind of provisions, which went on increasing during the whole of the winter of 1794-5, and at length, in March 1795, reached the most alarming height. To the natural evils of famine were superadded the horrors of a winter of uncommon severity, such as had not been experienced in Europe for a hundred years. The roads, covered with ice, were impassable for carriages; the canals were frozen up; and the means of subsistence to the metropolis seemed to be totally exhausted. In this extremity every family endeavoured to lay in stores for a few days, and the few convoys which approached Paris were besieged by crowds of famishing citizens, who proceeded twenty and thirty miles to anticipate the ordinary supplies. Nothing remained but for government, who still adhered, though with weakened powers, but to the system of distributing food to the people, to diminish the rations daily issued;<sup>2</sup> and on the report of Boissy d'Anglas, the quantity served out from the public magazines,

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 212.

Th. vii.

241, 242.

Mig. ii. 403.

The Dreadful  
scarcity in  
Paris from  
the aboli-  
tion of the  
forced re-  
quisitions.

Deux

Amis, xiv.

99, 108.

Hist. Parl.

xxxvi. 261.

Th. vii.

246, 248.

Lac. xii.

192.

CHAP. lation of gold and silver, which had been arrested  
 XIX. by the Revolutionary government, was again per-  
 1795. mitted. The inextricable question of the assignats  
 next occupied the attention of the Assembly; for  
 the suffering produced by their depreciation had  
 become absolutely intolerable to a large portion of  
 the people. Being still a legal tender at par, all  
 those who had money to receive lost eleven-twelfths  
 of their property. The salaries of the public func-  
 tionaries, and the payments to the public creditors,  
 were to a certain degree augmented, but by no  
 means in proportion to the depreciation of the paper.  
 But this was a trifling remedy; the great evil still  
 remained unmitigated in all payments between man  
 and man over the whole country.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
 xxxvi. 83,  
 112.  
 Th. vii.  
 236, 240.  
 Rapport de  
 Lindet sur  
 la situation  
 interieure  
 de la Rep.

The only way of withdrawing the assignats from  
 circulation, and in consequence enhancing their  
 value, was by the sale of the national domains, when,  
 according to the theory of their formation, they  
 should be retired by government and destroyed.  
 But how were purchasers to be found? That was  
 the eternal question which constantly recurred, and  
 never could be answered. The same national con-  
 vulsion which had confiscated two-thirds of the land  
 of France belonging to the emigrants, the clergy,  
 and the crown domains, had destroyed almost all  
 the capital which could be employed in its purchase.  
 Sales to any considerable extent were thus totally out  
 of the question, the more especially as the estates thus  
 brought all at once to sale, consisted in great part of  
 sumptuous palaces, woods, parks, and other domains,  
 in circumstances, of all others, the worst adapted  
 for a division among the industrial classes. It was  
 not a few capitals of shopkeepers and farmers which  
 had escaped the general wreck, that could produce

Inextrica-  
 ble difficul-  
 ty in con-  
 tracting  
 the Assign-  
 ats.



any impression on such immense possessions. The difficulty, in truth, was inextricable; no sales to any extent went on: the assignats were continually increasing with the vast expenditure of government, and at length it was got over, as will appear in the sequel, by forced means, and the proclamation of a national bankruptcy of the very worst kind.<sup>1</sup>

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CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 212.

Th. vii.

241, 242.

Mig. ii. 403.

Dreadful  
scarcity in  
Paris from  
the aboli-  
tion of the  
forced re-  
quisitions.

CHAP. zines was diminished to one-half, or a pound of  
XIX. bread a-day for each person above the working  
1795. classes, and a pound and a half to those actually  
engaged in labour.

Miserable  
fare and  
sufferings  
of the  
people.

At this rate, there was daily distributed to the 636,000 inhabitants of the capital, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven sacks of flour. But small as this quantity was, it was soon found necessary to reduce it still further; and at length, for several weeks, each citizen received only *two ounces* of black and coarse bread a-day. Small as this pittance was, it could be obtained only by soliciting tickets from the committees of government, and after waiting at the doors of the bakers from eleven at night till seven in the morning, during the rigour of an arctic winter. The citizens of Paris were for months reduced

to the horrors of a besieged town; numbers perished of famine, and many owed their existence to the kindness of some friend in the country, and the introduction of the potato, which already began to assuage this artificial, as it has so often since done the most severe natural scarcities.<sup>1</sup>

Enormous  
depreciation in the  
value of  
the assignats, and  
public despair in consequence.

The abolition of the *maximum*, of the requisitions, and of all the forced methods of procuring supplies, produced, as might have been anticipated, a most violent reaction on the price of every article of consumption, and, by consequence, on the value of the assignats. Foreign commerce having begun to revive with the cessation of the Reign of Terror, sales being no longer forced, the assignat was brought into comparison with the currency of other countries, and its enormous inferiority precipitated still further its fall. The rapidity of its decline gave rise to numerous speculations on the exchange of Paris; and the people, in the midst of the horrors of famine,

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 260,  
261. Th.  
vii. 246,  
252. Lac.  
xii. 191,  
193. Deux  
Amis, xiv.  
24, 26.

were exasperated by the sight of fortunes made out of the misery which they endured. Government, to provide for the necessities of the inhabitants, had no other resource but to increase the issue of assignats for the purchase of provisions; three milliards more of francs (L.120,000,000) were issued for this necessary purpose, and the consequence was, that the paper money fell almost to nothing. Bread was exposed for sale at twenty-two francs the pound, and what formerly cost 100 francs, was now raised to 4000. In the course of the year the depreciation became such, that 28,000 francs in paper were exchanged for a louis d'or, and a dinner for five or six persons cost 60,000 francs, in assignats. A kind of despair seized every mind at such prodigious and apparently interminable losses, and it was the force of this feeling which produced the great revolts already mentioned, which had so nearly proved fatal to the Thermidorians, and restored the whole forced system of the Reign of Terror.<sup>1</sup>

The overthrow of this insurrection led to several laws which powerfully tended to diminish the destructive ascendancy of the people in the government. The National Guards were reorganized on

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 261,  
Deux Amis,  
xiv. 28, 29.  
Th. vii.  
376, 381.  
Lac. xiii.  
40.

Changes in  
the laws.  
June and  
July 1795.

CHAP. inducement to the turbulent and restless to assem-  
 XIX. ble at these great centres of democratic power. The

1795. churches were restored to the anxious wishes of the Catholics, on the condition that they should maintain them themselves; the first symptom of a return to religious feeling in that infidel age.

All the evils, the necessary result of an excessive and forced paper circulation, went on increasing after the government, which had returned to moderate measures, were installed in power. Subsistence was constantly wanting in the great towns; the treasury was empty of all but assignats; the great bulk of the national domains remained unsold; the transactions, debts, and properties of individuals were involved in inextricable confusion. Sensible of the necessity of doing something for those who were paid in the government paper, the Directory adopted a scale by which the assignats were taken as worth a fifth of their nominal value; but this was an inconsiderable relief, as they had fallen to a *hundred-and-fiftieth* part of the sum for which they had been originally issued. The consequence of this excessive depreciation in a paper which was still a legal tender, was, that the whole debts of individuals were extinguished by a payment worth nothing; that the income of the fundholders was annihilated; and the state itself, compelled to receive its own paper in payment of the taxes, found the treasury filled with a mass of sterile assignats. But for the half of the land-tax, which was received in kind, the government would have been literally without the means either of feeding Paris or the armies.<sup>1</sup>

Vain measures of the government to arrest the evil.

<sup>1</sup> Deux Amis, xiv. 28, 29. Hist. Parl. xxvii. 12, 36. Th. viii. 85, 86. Lac. xiii. 32, 36. armies.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto the reaction had been in favour of con-

stitutional and moderate measures; but the last great victory over the Jacobins revived the hopes of the Royalists. The emigrants and the clergy had returned in great numbers since the repeal of the severe laws passed against them during the Reign of Terror, and contributed powerfully to incline the public mind to a moderate and constitutional monarchy. The horror excited by the sanguinary proceedings of the Jacobins was so strong and universal, that the reaction naturally was in favour of a Royalist government. The recent successes of the Troupe Dorée, who formed the flower of the youth of Paris, had awakened in them a strong *esprit de corps*, and prepared the great and inert body of the people to follow a banner which had so uniformly led to victory. So strong was the feeling at that period from recent and grievous experience of the dangers of popular tumults, that after the disarming of the Faubourgs, several sections made a voluntary surrender of their artillery to the government. A large body of troops of the line were brought to Paris, and encamped in the plain of Sablons; and the galleries of the Assembly were closed except to persons having tickets of admission.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Further  
progress  
of humane  
measures,  
and aboli-  
tion of the  
Revolutionary  
Tribunal.

CHAP. cious institution, of which, since the Council of  
 XIX. Blood established by the Duke of Alva in the Low  
 1795. Countries, the history of tribunals, instruments of  
 injustice, has preserved the remembrance."

Formation of a new constitution. During this revolution of public opinion, the Convention were engaged in the formation of a Constitution. It is in the highest degree both curious and instructive to contemplate the altered doctrines which prevailed after the consequences of popular government had been experienced, and how generally men reverted to those principles which, in the commencement of the Revolution, were stigmatized as slavish and disgraceful. Boissy d'Anglas was chosen to make a report upon the form of the Constitution; his memoir contains much important truth, which preceding events had forced upon the observation of mankind. "Hitherto," said he, "the efforts of France have been solely directed to destroy; at present, when we are neither silenced by the oppression of tyrants, nor intimidated by the cries of demagogues, we must turn to our advantage the crimes of the monarchy, the errors of the Assembly, the horrors of the Decemviral tyranny, the calamities of anarchy. Absolute equality is a chimera; virtue, talents, physical or intellectual powers, are not equally distributed by nature. Property alone attaches the citizen to his country; all who are to have any share in the legislature should be possessed of some independent income. All Frenchmen are citizens; but the state of domestic service, pauperism, or the non-payment of taxes, forbid the great majority from exercising their rights. The Executive government requires a central position, a disposable force, a display calculated to strike the vulgar. The people should

never be permitted to deliberate indiscriminately on public affairs; a populace constantly deliberating rapidly perishes by misery and disorder; the laws should never be submitted to the consideration of the multitude." Such were the principles ultimately adopted by the Revolutionary Assembly of France. In a few years, centuries of experience had been acquired.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Rapport  
de Boissy  
d'Anglas,  
sur la con-  
stitution.  
Toul. v.  
272, 273.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvii. 34.

If such was the language of the Convention, it may easily be conceived how much more powerful was the reaction among the middle classes of the people. The National Guard, and the *Jeunesse Dorée* of several Sections, were become openly Royalists; they wore the green and black uniform which distinguished the Chouans of the western provinces; the Réveil du Peuple was beginning to awaken the dormant, not extinguished, loyalty of the French character. The name of *Terrorist* had become the signal for proscriptions as perilous in many places as that of *Aristocrat* had formerly been. In the south, especially, the reaction was terrible. Bands, bearing the names of the "Companies of Jesus," and the "Companies of the Sun," traversed the country, executing the most dreadful reprisals

General  
abandon-  
ment of  
democratic  
principles  
from the  
force of  
experience.

CHAP. infuriated mob, and the unhappy inmates all perished  
 XIX. in the flames. The people, exasperated with the  
 1795. blood which had been shed by the revolutionary  
 party, were insatiable in their vengeance; they in-  
 voked the name of a parent, brother, or sister, when  
 retaliating on their professors; and while com-  
 mitting murder themselves, exclaimed, with every  
 stroke, "Die, assassins!" History must equally con-  
 demn such horrors by whomsoever committed; but  
 it must reserve its severest censure for those by whom  
 they were *first* perpetrated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xiv.  
 44, 50.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxvi. 417,  
 433. Lac.  
 xii. 210.  
 Mig. ii.  
 382. Fre-  
 ron, 9, 32,  
 73.

Generous  
 conduct of  
 the young  
 Duke of  
 Orleans'  
 sons, and  
 indulgence  
 shown to  
 the Jacob-  
 ins.

Many innocent persons perished, as in all popular  
 tumults, during those bloody days. The two sons of  
 the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Montpensier, and  
 the Count Beaujolais, were confined in the Fort of  
 St John at Marseilles, where they had been forgot  
 during the Reign of Terror. On the 6th June, a  
 terrible noise round the fort announced the approach  
 of the frantic multitude. The cries of the victims  
 in the adjoining cells too soon informed them of the  
 danger which they ran; Royalists and Jacobins were  
 indiscriminately murdered by the bloody assassins.  
 Isnard and Cardroi at length put a stop to the  
 massacres, but not before eighty persons had been  
 murdered. The former, though he strove to mode-  
 rate the savage measures of the Royalists, increased  
 their fury by the fearful energy of his language.  
 "We want arms," said the young men who were  
 marching against the Jacobins of Toulon. "Take,"  
 said he, "the bones of your fathers to march against  
 their murderers." The fate of these young Princes  
 was in the highest degree interesting. Some months  
 afterwards they formed a plan of escape; but the  
 Duke de Montpensier, in descending the wall of the  
 fort, broke his leg, was seized, and reconducted to



prison. He consoled himself for his failure by the thoughts that his brother had succeeded, when he beheld him re-enter the cell, and fall upon his neck. Escaped from danger, and on the point of embarking on board a vessel destined for America, he had heard of the misfortune of his brother, and, unable to endure freedom without him, he had returned to prison to share his fate. They were both subsequently liberated, and reached America; but they soon died, the victims of a long and severe captivity of four years. During the predominance of these principles, upwards of eighty Jacobins were denounced in the Convention, and escaped execution only by secreting themselves in different parts of France. The only secure asylum which they found was in the houses of the Royalists, whom, during the days of their power, they had saved from the scaffold. Not one was betrayed by those to whom they fled. So predominant was the influence of the Girondists, that Louvet obtained a decree, ordering an expiatory fête for the victims of 31st May. None of the Thermidorian<sup>1</sup> ventured to resist the proposal, though many amongst them had contributed in no inconsiderable degree to their fate.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.

XIX.

1795.

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.

212, 216,

231. Deux

Amis, xv.

44, 49.

CHAP. threatened to dash his head against the wall; the  
 XIX. surgeon, Naulin, interfered to prevent him, and the  
 1795. unhappy child next day presented him with two  
 pears, which had been given him for his supper the  
 preceding evening, lamenting, at the same time,  
 that he had no other means of testifying his grati-  
 tude. Simon and Hebert had put him to the tor-  
 ture, to extract from him an avowal of crimes con-  
 nected with his mother, which he was too young to  
 understand; after that cruel day, he almost always  
 preserved silence, lest his words should prove fatal  
 to some of his relations. This resolution, and the  
 closeness of his confinement, soon preyed upon his  
 health. In February 1795, he was seized with a  
 fever, and visited by three Members of the Commit-  
 tee of General Safety; they found him sitting at a  
 little table, making castles of cards. They addressed  
 to him the words of kindness, but could not obtain  
 any answer. In May, the state of his health became  
 so alarming, that the celebrated surgeon Dessault  
 was directed by the Convention to visit him; his  
 generous attentions assuaged the sufferings of his  
 latter days, but could not prolong his life. The  
 public sympathy was so strongly excited by this  
 event, that it induced the Assembly to consent to  
 the freedom of the remaining child of Louis XVI.  
 On the 18th of June, the Duchess d'Angouleme was  
 liberated from the Temple, and exchanged for the  
 four Commissioners of the Convention, whom Du-  
 mourier had delivered up to the Austrians.<sup>1</sup> She  
 had owed her life, during the ascendancy of Robes-  
 pierre, to a project which he was revolving in his mind,  
 of marrying that unhappy princess, and thus uniting  
 in his person the Revolutionary and Royalist parties.<sup>1\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
 369, 374,  
 383. Deux  
 Amis, xiv.  
 172, 173.

\* " Dans ces tems que cette jeune infortunée n'avait du son salut qu'à

The fate of La Fayette, Latour Maubourg, and other eminent men who were detained in the Austrian prisons, since their defection from the armies of France, at this time excited the most ardent sympathy both in France and England. They had been rigorously guarded since their captivity in the fortress of Olmutz: and the humane in every part of the world beheld with regret men who had voluntarily delivered themselves up to avoid the excesses of a sanguinary faction, treated with more severity than prisoners of war. Mr Fox in vain endeavoured to induce the British government to interfere in their behalf; the reply of Mr Pitt in the House of Commons equalled the speech of his eloquent rival. His wife and daughters, finding all attempts at his deliverance ineffectual, generously resolved to share his captivity; and they remained in confinement with him at Olmutz, till the victories of Napoleon in 1796 compelled the Austrian government to consent to their liberation. His imprisonment, however tedious, was probably the means of saving his life; it is hardly possible that in France he could have survived the Reign of Terror, or escaped the multitude which he had roused to revolution.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Continued  
captivity  
of La  
Fayette,  
and gene-  
ral interest  
in his be-  
half.

I Lac. x.

CHAP. turning long-established institutions. But the con-  
XIX. stitution of 1795 was very different from those which

1795. had preceded it, and gave striking proof of the altered condition of the public mind on the state of political affairs. Experience had now taught all classes that the chimera of perfect equality could not be attained; that the mass of the people are unfit for the exercise of political rights; that the contests of factions terminate, if the people are victorious, in the supremacy of the most depraved. The constitution which was framed under the influence of these sentiments differed widely both from that struck out during the glowing fervour of 1789, or the democratic transports of 1793. The ruinous error was now acknowledged of uniting the whole legislative powers in one Assembly, and enacting the most important laws, without the intervention of any time to deliberate on their tendency, or recover from the excitement under which they may have originated. Guided by experience, France reversed its former judgment on the union of the orders in 1789, which had brought about the Revolution. The legislative power, therefore, was divided into two Councils, that of the *Five Hundred*, and that of the *Ancients*. The Council of Five Hundred was entrusted with the sole right of originating laws; that of the *Ancients* with the power of passing or rejecting them; and to ensure the prudent discharge of this duty, no person could be a member of it till he had reached the age of forty years. No bill could pass till after it had been three times read, with an interval between each reading of at least five days.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mig. ii.  
385. Toul.  
v. 404.  
Th viii. 13.  
Hist. Parl.  
xxxvi. 485,  
500.

The executive power, instead of being vested as heretofore in two committees, was lodged in the hands of Five Directors, nominated by the Council

of Five Hundred, approved by that of the Ancients. CHAP. XIX.  
 They were liable to be impeached for their miscon-  
 duct by the Councils. Each individual was by ro- 1795.  
 tation to be President during three months; and  
 every year a fifth new Director was to be chosen in  
 lieu of one who was bound to retire. The Direc-  
 tory thus constituted had the entire disposal of the  
 army and finances, the appointment of public func-  
 tionaries, and the management of all public ne-  
 gotiations. They were lodged during the period of  
 their official duty in the Palace of the Luxembourg,  
 and attended by a guard of honour. The privilege  
 of electing members for the legislature was taken  
 away from the great body of the people, and con-  
 fined to the colleges of delegates. Their meetings  
 were called the *Primary Assemblies*; and, in order  
 to ensure the influence of the middle ranks, the per-  
 sons elected by the Primary Assemblies were them-  
 selves the electors of the members of the legislature.  
 All popular societies were interdicted, and the press  
 declared absolutely free.<sup>1</sup>

It is of importance to recollect that this constitu-  
 tion, so cautiously framed to exclude the direct in-  
 fluence of the people, and curb the excesses of popular

The con-  
stitution  
of the  
Directory.

Hist. Parl.  
xxxvii.  
485, 494.  
Mig. ii.  
385, 387.  
Th. v ii.  
14, 15.  
Toul. v.  
399.

Reflections  
on this  
constitu-



CHAP. upon the power of the people were the work of their  
 XIX. own delegates, chosen by universal suffrage during  
 1795. a period of unexampled public excitation, whose  
 proceedings had been marked by a more violent love  
 of freedom than any that ever existed from the be-  
 ginning of the world. Nothing can speak so strongly  
 in favour of the necessity of controlling the people,  
 as the work of the representatives whom they had  
 themselves chosen, without exception, under the  
 influence of the most vehement excitement, to con-  
 firm their power.

The formation of this constitution, and its discus-  
 sion in the assemblies of the people, to which it was  
 submitted for consideration, excited the most violent  
 agitation throughout France. Paris, as usual, took  
 the lead. Its forty-eight sections were incessantly  
 assembled, and the public effervescence resembled  
 that of 1789. This was brought to its height by a  
 decree of the Assembly, declaring that *two-thirds* of  
 the present Convention should form a part of the  
 new legislature, and that the electors should only fill  
 up the remaining part. The citizens beheld with  
 horror so large a proportion of a body, whose pro-  
 ceedings had deluged France with blood, still des-  
 tined to reign over them. To accept the constitu-  
 tion, and reject this decree, seemed the only way of  
 getting free from their domination. The Thermi-  
 dorian party had been entirely excluded from the  
 Committee of *Eleven*, to whom the formation of the  
 new constitution was entrusted, and in revenge they  
 joined the assemblies of those who sought to coun-  
 teract their ambition. The focus of the effervescence  
 was the section Lepelletier, formerly known by the  
 name of that of the *Filles de St Thomas*, the richest  
 and most powerful in Paris,<sup>1</sup> which, through all the

<sup>1</sup> Delib. de  
 l'Assem-  
 blée Prim.  
 de Lepel-  
 letier, 7.  
 Sept. 1795.  
 Hist. Parl.  
 xxxvii.  
 20, 21.  
 Toul. v.  
 327, 328,  
 330. Th.  
 viii. 16, 19.  
 Mig. ii.  
 388, 389.  
 Lac. xii.  
 402, 403.

changes of the Revolution, had steadily adhered to Royalist principles.

CHAP.  
XIX.

The Royalist Committees of Paris, of which Le Maitre was the known agent, which had still existed through all the horrors of the Revolution, finding matters brought to this crisis, coalesced with the journals and the leaders of the sections. They openly accused the Convention of attempting to perpetuate their power, and of aiming at usurping the sovereignty of the people. The orators of the sections said at the bar of the Assembly, "Deserve our choice, do not seek to command it; you have exercised an authority without bounds; you have united in yourselves all the powers—those of making laws, of revising them, of changing them, of executing them. Recollect how fatal military despotism was to the Roman republic." The press of Paris teemed with pamphlets, inveighing against the ambitious views of the legislature; and the efforts of the sections were incessant to defeat their projects. The agitation of 1789 was renewed, but it was all now on the other side; the object now was, not to restrain the tyranny of the court, but repress the ambition of the delegates of the people.'

1795.

Coalition  
of Royal-  
ists with  
sections of  
National  
Guard.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxxvii. 23,  
27.  
Lac. xii.  
404. Toul.  
v. 331, 333.  
Th. viii.  
20, 22, 23.  
Mig. ii.  
389.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

pierre. The Convention has done nothing but destroy : shall we now entrust it with the work of conservation ? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed ? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is, every man in France. It is we ourselves who have forced upon them those acts of tardy humanity on which they now rely as a veil to their monstrous proceedings. But for our warm representations, the members *hors la loi* would still have been wandering in exile, the seventy-three deputies still languishing in prison. Who but ourselves formed the faithful guard who saved them from the terrible Faubourgs, to whom they had basely yielded their best members on the 31st May ? They now call upon us to select among its ranks those who should continue members, and form the two-thirds of the new Assembly. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood ? Can we ever forget that many of its basest acts passed *unanimously*, and that a majority of three hundred and sixty-one concurred in a vote which will be an eternal subject of mourning to France ? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new assembly, entrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers ? The Convention is only strong because it mixes up its crimes with the glories of our armies ; let us separate them ; let us leave the Convention its sins, and our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
406, 409.

Such discourses, incessantly repeated from the tribunes of forty-eight sections, violently shook the public mind in the capital. To give greater publicity



to their opinions, the orators repeated the same sentiments in addresses at the bar of the Assembly, which were immediately circulated with rapidity through the departments. The effervescence in the south was at its height ; many important cities and departments seemed already disposed to imitate the sections of the metropolis. The cities of Dreux and Chartres warmly seconded their wishes ; the sections of Orleans sent the following message:—"Primary assemblies of Paris, Orleans is at your side, it advances on the same line ; let your cry be resistance to oppression, hatred to usurpers, and we will second you." The National Guard of Paris shared in the general excitation. The troops of the *Jeunesse Dorée* had inspired its members with part of their own exultation of feeling, and diminished much of their wonted timidity. Resistance to the tyrant was openly spoken of ; the Convention compared to the Long Parliament which shed the blood of Charles I. ; and the assistance of a Monk ardently looked for to consummate the work of restoration.<sup>1</sup>

Surrounded by so many dangers, the Convention did not abate of its former energy. They had lost the Jacobins by their proscriptions, the Royalists by

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Extreme  
agitation  
at Paris.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxxvii. 14,  
34. Jac.  
xii. 414.  
Th. viii.  
22, 23.

Convention throw

CHAP. XIX. 1795. strangers to the horrors which had alienated so large a part of the population of Paris from the Revolution, eagerly supported a constitution which promised to continue the *régime* under which they had risen to the stations they now enjoyed. A body of five thousand regular troops were assembled in the neighbourhood of Paris, and their adhesion eagerly announced to the citizens. The Convention called to their support the Prætorian Guards; they little thought how soon they were to receive from them a master.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii. 414, 415. Th. viii. 35, 36. Mig. ii. 390.

Sections openly resolve to revolt. Oct. 2. It soon appeared that not only the armies, but a large majority of the departments had accepted the constitution. The inhabitants of Paris, however, accustomed to take the lead in all public measures, were not discouraged; the Section Lepelletier unanimously passed a resolution, "That the powers of every constituted authority ceased in presence of the assembled people;" and a provisional government, under the name of a Central Committee, was established under the auspices of its leaders. A majority of the Sections adopted their resolution, which was immediately annulled by the Convention, and their decree was, in its turn, reversed by the Assemblies of the Electors. The contest now became open between the Sections and the Legislature; the former separated the constitution from the decrees, ordaining the re-election of two-thirds of the old Assembly; they accepted the former, and rejected the latter. On the 3d October, (11th Vendemiaire,) it was resolved by the Sections, that the electors chosen by the people should be assembled at the Théâtre Français, under protection of the National Guard; and on the 3d they were conducted there by an armed force of chasseurs and grenadiers.<sup>2</sup> The dangers of an insurrec-

Oct. 3. <sup>2</sup>Hist. Parl. xxxvii. 27, 33. Mig. ii. 390, 391. Lac. xii. 415. Th. viii. 26, 29, 30. Hist. de la Conv. iv. 368, 369.

tion against a government having at its command the military force of France, was apparent; but the enthusiasm of the moment overbalanced all other considerations.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

On the one side it was urged, "Are we about to consecrate, by our example, that odious principle of insurrections which so many bloody days have rendered odious? Our enemies alone are skilled in revolt; the art of exciting them is unknown to us. The multitude is indifferent to our cause; deprived of their aid, how can we face the government? If they join our ranks, how shall we restrain their sanguinary excesses? Should we prove victorious, what dynasty shall we establish? What chiefs can we present to the armies? Is there not too much reason to fear that success would only revive divisions now happily forgotten, and give our enemies the means of profiting by our discord?" But to this it was replied,—“Honour forbids us to recede; duty calls upon us to restore freedom to our country, his throne to our monarch. We may now, by seizing the decisive moment, accomplish that which former patriots sought in vain to achieve. The 9th Thermidor only destroyed a tyrant; now tyranny itself is

Meeting of  
the elec-  
tors at the  
Théâtre  
Français,  
when re-  
sistance is  
resolved  
on.

to be overthrown. If our names are not chosen

CHAP. unanimously resolved upon resistance. The National  
XIX. Guard amounted to above thirty thousand men; but

1795. it was totally destitute of artillery; the Sections having, in the belief that they were no further required, delivered up the pieces with which they had been furnished in 1789, upon the final disarming of the insurgent Faubourgs. Their want was now severely felt, as the Convention had fifty pieces at their command, stationed at Sablons near Paris, whose terrible efficacy had been abundantly proved on the 10th August; and the cannoniers who were to serve them were the same who had broken the lines of Prince Cobourg. The National Guard hoped, by a rapid advance, to capture this formidable train of artillery, and then the victory was secure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac. xii.  
391, 419.

Measures  
of the Con-  
vention.  
Failure of  
Menou, and  
appoint-  
ment of  
Napoleon.  
Oct. 3.

The leaders of the Convention, on their side, were not idle. In the evening of the 3d October, (11th Vendemiaire,) a decree was passed, ordering the immediate dissolution of the electoral bodies in Paris, and embodying into a regiment fifteen hundred of the Jacobins, many of whom were liberated from the prisons for that especial purpose. These measures brought matters to a crisis between the sections and the government. This decree was openly resisted, and the National Guard having assembled in force to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français, the Convention ordered the military to dispossess them. General Menou was appointed commander of the armed force, and he advanced with the troops of the line to surround the Convent des Filles de St Thomas, the centre of the insurrection, where the Section Lepelletier was assembled. Menou, however, had not the decision requisite for success in civil contests. Instead of attacking the insurgents, he entered into a negotiation with them, and retired in

the evening without having effected any thing. His failure gave all the advantages of a victory to the sections, and the National Guard mustered in greater strength than ever, and resolved to attack the Convention at its place of assembly on the following day. Informed of this failure, and the dangerous fermentation which it had produced in Paris, the Convention, at eleven at night, dismissed General Menou, and gave the command of the armed force, with unlimited powers, to General Barras. He immediately demanded the assistance, as second in command, of a young officer of artillery, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon and the war in the Maritime Alps, NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1795.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xxxvii. 37,  
39. Mig. ii.  
391, 392.  
Lac. xii.  
421, 434.  
Th. viii.  
35, 39.  
Deux Amis,  
xiii. 374,  
385.

This young officer was immediately introduced to the Committee. His manner was timid and embarrassed; the career of public life was as yet new; but his clear and distinct opinions, the energy and force of his language, already indicated the powers of his mind. By his advice the powerful train of artillery in the plains of Sablons, consisting of fifty pieces, was immediately brought by a lieutenant, afterwards well known in military annals, named MURAT, to the capital, and disposed in such a position as to command all the avenues to the Conven-

His decisive measures in seizing the artillery.

CHAP. ertions to inspire the troops with confidence: he  
 XIX. visited every post, inspected every battery, and spoke  
 1795. to the men with that decision and confidence which  
 is so often the prelude to victory.

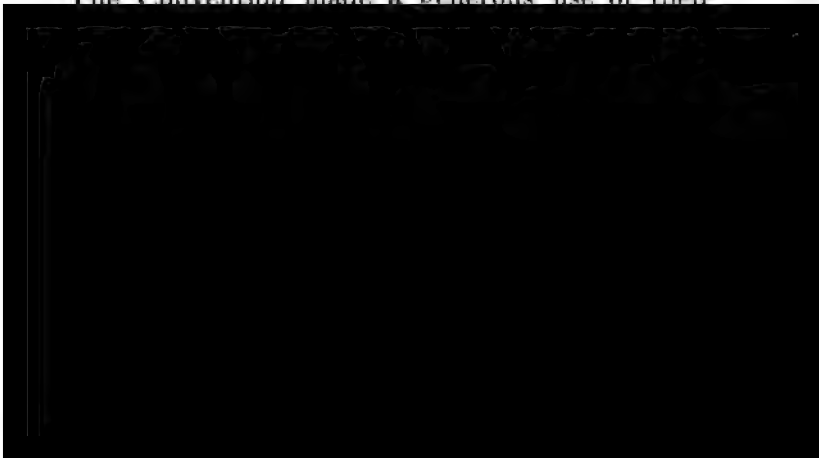
Combat round the Tuileries. Defeat of the sections.  
 The action was soon commenced; above thirty thousand men, under Generals Danican and Duhoux, surrounded the little army of six thousand, who, with this powerful artillery, defended the seat of the legislature. The combat began in the Rue St Honoré at half-past four; the grenadiers, placed on the Church of St Roch, opened a fire of musketry on the cannoniers of the Convention, who replied by a discharge of grape-shot, which swept destruction through the serried ranks of the National Guard which occupied the Rue St Honoré. Though the insurgents fought with the most determined bravery, and the fire from the Church of St Roch was well sustained, nothing could resist the murderous grape-shot of the regular soldiers. Many of the cannoniers fell at their guns, but the fire of their pieces was not diminished. In a few minutes the Rue St Honoré was deserted, and the flying columns carried confusion into the ranks of the reserve, who were formed near the Church of the Filles de St Thomas. General Danican galloped off at the first discharge, and never appeared

again during the day. Meanwhile, the Pont Neuf  
<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. xxxvii. 53, was carried by the insurgents, and a new column,  
 57. Deux ten thousand strong, advanced along the opposite  
 Amis, xliii. quay to the Tuileries, to attack the Pont Royal;  
 394, 399. Napoleon allowed them to advance within twenty  
 Mig. ii. yards of his batteries, and then opened his fire; the  
 394, 395. insurgents stood three discharges without flinching;  
 Lac. xii. but not having resolution enough to rush upon the  
 436, 441. cannon after they were fired, they were ultimately  
 Th. viii. driven back in disorder,<sup>1</sup> and by seven o'clock the  
 42, 50.  
 Toul. v.  
 66, 368.  
 Nap i. 70,  
 78, Bour.  
 i. 90, 96.

victory of the Convention was complete at all points. CHAP.  
At nine, the troops of the line carried the posts of XIX.  
the National Guard in the Palais Royal, and on the 1795.  
following morning the Section Lepelletier was dis-  
armed, and the insurgents every where submitted.

Such was the result of the LAST INSURRECTION of  
the people in the French Revolution; all the subse-  
quent changes were effected by the government, or <sup>Establish-</sup>  
the armies, without their interference. The insur- <sup>ment of</sup>  
gents were not the rabble or the assassins who had <sup>military</sup>  
so long stained its history with blood; they were <sup>despotism.</sup>  
the flower of the citizens of Paris, comprising all  
that the Revolution had left that was generous, or  
elevated, or noble in the capital. They were over-  
thrown, not by the superior numbers or courage of  
their adversaries, but by the terrible effect of their  
artillery, by the power of military discipline, and the  
genius of that youthful conqueror, before whom all  
the armies of Europe were destined to fall. The moral  
strength of the nation was all on their side: but in  
revolutions, it is seldom that moral strength proves  
ultimately victorious; and the examples of Cæsar and  
Cromwell are not required to show that the natural  
termination of civil strife is military despotism.

The Convention made a generous use of their



CHAP. demned, and died with a firmness worthy of the  
 XIX. cause for which he suffered. Most of the accu-  
 1795. sed persons were allowed time to escape, and sen-  
 tence of outlawry merely recorded against them;  
<sup>1</sup>Hist. Parl. many returned shortly after to Paris, and resumed  
 xxxvii. 59, their place in public affairs. The clemency of Na-  
 72. Th.viii. poleon was early conspicuous; his counsels, after the  
 66. Lac. victory, were all on the side of mercy, and his inter-  
 xii. 441. ception saved General Menou from a military com-  
 Mig. ii. mission.<sup>1</sup>  
 395. Hist.  
 de la Conv.  
 iv. 387,  
 390.

In the formation of the Councils of Five Hundred  
 Election of and of the Ancients, the Convention made no attempt  
 the Council to constrain the public wishes. The third of the le-  
 of Ancients gislature, who had been newly elected, were almost  
 and Five all on the side of the insurgents, and even contained  
 Hundred. several Royalists; and a proposal was in consequence  
 made by Tallien, that the election of that third should  
 be annulled, and another appeal made to the people.  
 Thibaudeau, with equal firmness and eloquence, re-  
 sisted the proposal, which was rejected by the Assem-  
 bly. They merely took the precaution, to prevent a  
 return to royalty, to name for the Directors five per-  
 sons who had voted for the death of the king, Lare-  
 veillere, Rewbell, Letourneur, Barras, and Carnot.  
 Having thus settled the new government, they pub-  
 lished a general amnesty, changed the name of the  
 Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Con-  
 corde, and declared their sittings terminated. The  
 last days of an Assembly stained with so much blood,  
 were gilded by an act of clemency, of which Thibau-  
 deau justly said the annals of kings furnished few  
 examples.<sup>2</sup>

The Convention sat for more than three years;  
 from the 21st September 1791, to the 26th October  
 1795. During that long and terrible period, its

<sup>1</sup> Deux  
 Amis, xv.  
 399, 404.  
 Mig. ii.  
 396. Lac.  
 xii. 444.  
 Thib. ii.  
 12, 13. Th.  
 viii. 65, 67.  
 Hist. de la  
 Conv. iv.  
 389.



precincts were rather the field on which faction strove for ascendancy, than the theatre on which legislative wisdom exerted its influence. The destruction of human life which took place during its government, in civil dissension, was unparalleled : it amounted to above A MILLION of human beings !

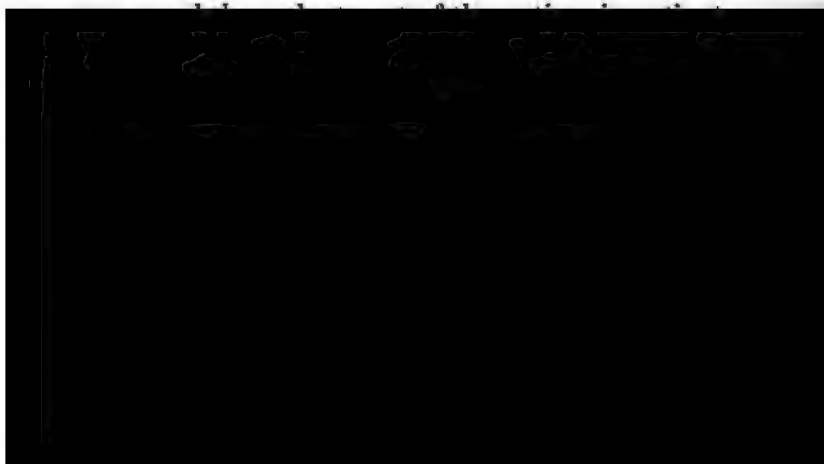
CHAP.

XIX.

1795.

Reflections  
on the his-  
tory of the  
Conven-  
tion.

All the parties which divided France there endeavoured to establish their power, and all perished in the attempt. The Girondists attempted it, and perished ; the Mountain attempted it, and perished ; the Municipality attempted it, and perished ; Robespierre attempted it, and perished ; the Royalists attempted it, and perished. In revolutions, it is easy to destroy ; the difficulty is to establish and secure. All the experience of years of suffering, fraught with centuries of instruction ; all the wisdom of age, all the talent of youth, were unable to form one stable government. A few years, often a few months, were sufficient to overturn the most apparently stable institutions. A fabric seemingly framed for eternal duration, disappeared almost before its authors had consummated their work. The gales of popular favour, ever fickle and changeable, deserted each successive faction as they rose into



CHAP. be produced. They resemble rather the trees of the  
 XIX. forest, slow of growth, tardy of development, readily  
 1795. susceptible of destruction. An instant will destroy  
 low what it has taken centuries to produce; centuries  
 growth of must again elapse before in the same situation a si-  
 durable must again elapse before in the same situation a si-  
 human in- milar production can be formed. Transplantation,  
 mstitutions. difficult in the vegetable, is impossible in the moral  
 world; the seedling must be nourished in the soil,  
 inured to the climate, hardened by the winds. Many  
 examples are to be found of institutions being sud-  
 denly imposed upon a people; none of those so formed  
 having any duration. To be adapted to their cha-  
 racter and habits, they must have grown with their  
 growth, and strengthened with their strength. The  
 progress of improvement is irresistible. Feudal ty-  
 ranny must give way in an age of increasing opu-  
 lence, and the human mind cannot be for ever en-  
 chained by the fetters of superstition. No efforts of  
 power could have *prevented* a change in the govern-  
 ment of France; but they might have altered its cha-  
 racter and spared its horrors. Nature has ordained  
 that mankind should, when they are fit for it, be free;  
 but she has not ordained that they should reach this  
 freedom steeped in blood. Although, therefore, the  
 overthrow of the despotic government and modifica-  
 tion of the power of the privileged orders of France  
 was inevitable, yet the dreadful atrocities with which  
 their fall was attended might have been averted by  
 human wisdom. The life of the monarch might have  
 been saved instead of sacrificed; the constitution mo-  
 dified, without being subverted; the aristocracy pu-  
 rified, without being destroyed.

Timely concession from the Crown is the first cir-  
 cumstance which perhaps might have altered the cha-  
 racter of the French Revolution. Had Louis, in the

commencement of the troubles, yielded the great and reasonable demands of the people; and the nobility permitted him to carry his intentions into effect; had he been allowed to grant them equality of taxation, the power of voting subsidies, freedom from arrest, and periodical parliaments, the agitation of the movement might have been allayed, and an immediate collision between the throne and the people prevented. At a subsequent period, indeed, increasing demands, and the want of more extended privileges, might have arisen; but these discontents, being turned into a regular and legal channel, would probably have found vent without destroying the state. When the floods are out, safety is to be found only in providing early and effectual means for letting off the superfluous waters, and, at the same time, strengthening the barriers against their further encroachment.

But although the gradual concession of power, and the redress of all *real* grievances before the Revolution, would have been not less politic than just, nothing can be clearer than that the sudden and vast accession of importance conferred by M. Necker on the Tiers Etat, by the duplication of their numbers, with-

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.

Reflections  
on the his-  
tory of the  
Revolution,  
and  
the causes  
of its disas-  
ters.

Ruinous  
effect of  
Necker's  
duplication  
of the Tiers  
Etat.

CHAP. XIX. **beneficent reign of a reforming monarch, they fell**  
 1795. **under the iron grasp of the Committee of Public**  
**Safety, were constrained to tremble under the bloody**  
**sway of Robespierre, and fawn upon the military**  
**sceptre of Napoleon.**

Dreadful  
 effect of  
 the emi-  
 gration of  
 the no-  
 blesse.

No lesson is more strongly impressed upon the mind by the progress of the French Revolution than the disastrous consequences which followed the desertion of their country by the higher orders, and the wonderful effects which might have resulted from a determined resistance on their part to the first actual outrages by the people. Nearly a hundred thousand emigrants fled from France, at a time when a few hundred resolute men might have saved the monarchy from destruction. La Fayette, with five battalions of the National Guard, vanquished the Jacobins in the Champ-de-Mars in the most fervent period of the Revolution: had he marched against their club, and been vigorously supported, the Reign of Terror would have been prevented. Five hundred horse would have enabled the Swiss Guard to have saved the throne on the 10th August, and subdue an insurrection which deluged the kingdom with blood. Three thousand of the troops of the sections overthrew Robespierre at the zenith of his power; a body of undisciplined young men chased the Jacobins from the streets, and rooted out their den of wickedness; Napoleon, with five thousand regular soldiers, vanquished the National Guard of Paris, and crushed an insurrection, headed by the whole moral strength of France. These examples may convince us what can be accomplished by a small body of resolute men in civil convulsions; their physical power is almost irresistible; their moral influence commands success. One-tenth part of the emigrants who fled from France, if properly headed

and disciplined, would have been sufficient to have curbed the fury of the populace, crushed the ambition of the reckless, and prevented the Reign of Terror.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XIX.

1795.  
<sup>1</sup> Burke,  
vi. 237.

No doubt can now exist that the interference of the Allies augmented the horrors, and added to the duration of the Revolution. All its bloodiest excesses were committed during, or after, an alarming but unsuccessful invasion by the allied forces. The massacres of September 2d were perpetrated when the public mind was excited to the highest degree, by the near approach of the Duke of Brunswick; and the worst days of the government of Robespierre, were immediately after the defection of Dumourier, and the battle of Nerwinde, threatened the rule of the Jacobins with destruction. Nothing but a sense of public danger could have united the factions who then strove with so much exasperation against each other; the peril of France alone could have induced the people to submit to the sanguinary rule which so long desolated its plains. The Jacobins maintained their ascendancy by constantly representing their cause as that of national independence, by stigmatizing their enemies as the enemies of the country;

Effects of  
the allied  
interference.

CHAP. ration of the English monarchs, in 1660, a proof of  
 XIX. the wisdom of the second. To advance with menaces,  
 1795. and recoil with shame : to awaken resistance and not  
 extinguish opposition ; to threaten and not execute,  
 is the most ruinous course that can possibly be adopted.  
 It is to unite faction by community of danger ; to  
 convert revolutionary energy into military power ;  
 to strengthen the hands of crime by giving it the  
 support of virtue. Ignorance of the new element  
 which was acting in human affairs, may extenuate  
 the fatal errors committed by the European powers  
 in the first years of the Revolutionary war ; no ex-  
 cuse will hereafter remain for a repetition of the mis-  
 take.\*

Dreadful  
 retribution  
 endured by  
 France. But it is not with impunity that such sins as dis-  
 graced the Revolution can be committed by any  
 people. The actors in the bloody tragedy almost all  
 destroyed each other ; their crimes led to their natu-  
 ral and condign punishment, in rendering them the  
 first victims of the passions which they had unchained.  
 But a signal and awful retribution was also due to  
 the nation which had suffered these iniquities, which  
 had permitted such torrents of innocent blood to flow,

\* It is remarkable that these truths, of the justice of which every  
 candid inquirer is now convinced, were clearly stated and strenuously  
 enforced by the Emigrant Noblesse, at the time of the disastrous para-  
 lysis of the King of Prussia's operations in Champagne in 1792. " A  
 methodical war," said they, in September 1792, " may be the most pru-  
 dent against a regular power, the forces and strength of which is known ;  
 but those of France during a revolution cannot be thus estimated. Its  
 armies, at present far from numerous—ill-disciplined, will become  
 habituated to war, will be multiplied tenfold, if they are allowed time :  
 the soldiers, the chiefs, will alike learn by experience. Revolutionary  
 fanaticism will every day make greater progress in the minds of the  
 people ; and soon they will become ungovernable by any other method  
 but force. At present they hesitate : they have not declared themselves  
 openly. They are waiting for some decisive event—some striking suc-  
 cess to show them to which side victory is likely to incline. It was  
 neither after the battle of the Trebbia, nor of Trasymene, that the allies

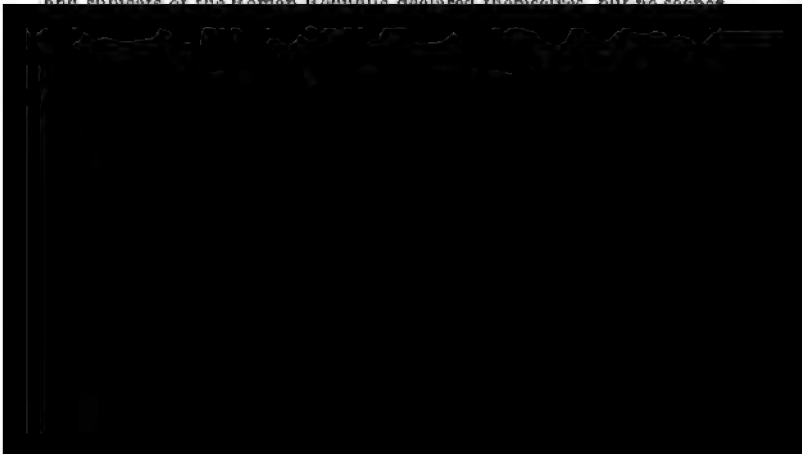
and spread the bitterness of domestic suffering to such an unparalleled extent throughout the land. These crimes were registered in the book of fate; the anguish they had brought on others was speedily felt by themselves; the tears they had caused to flow were washed out in the torrents which fell from guilty eyes.\* France was decimated for her cruelty; for twenty years the flower of her youth was marched away by a relentless power to the harvest of death; the snows of Russia revenged the guillotine of Paris. Allured by the phantom of military glory, they fell down and worshipped the power which was consuming them; they followed it to the verge of destruction, till the mask of the spectre fell, and the ghastly features of death appeared.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1795.

This dreadful punishment also was the immediate effect of the atrocities which it chastised. In the absence of all the enjoyments of domestic life, in the destruction of every pacific employment, one only career, that of violence, remained. From necessity, as well as inclination, every man took to arms; the sufferings of the state swelled the ranks on the frontier, and France became a great military power, from the causes which it was thought would have led to

Manner in  
which it  
was  
brought  
about.

and subjects of the Roman Republic declared themselves, but no sooner



CHAP. its destruction. The natural consequence of this was  
 XIX. the establishment of military despotism, and the pro-  
 1795. secution of the insane career of conquest by a victo-  
 rious chieftain. France only awakened from her  
 dream of ambition when her youth was mowed down,  
 her armies destroyed, her conquests rifled, and her  
 glory lost. Both the allied powers, and the French  
 people suffered in these disastrous conflicts, because  
 both deserved to suffer; the former for their ambi-  
 tious projects on the territory of the Republic, and  
 total oblivion of the moral objects of the contest; the  
 latter for their unparalleled internal cruelty, and uni-  
 versal external oppression.

Finally, the history of those melancholy periods  
 affords the strongest evidence of the incessant opera-  
 tion of the principles destined for the preservation  
 and extension of social happiness, even in the dark-  
 est periods of human existence. Since the fall of the  
 Roman empire, no such calamitous era had arisen  
 as that which immediately followed the 10th of Au-  
 gust; none in which innocence so generally suffered,  
 and vice so long triumphed; in which impiety was  
 so openly professed, and profligacy so generally in-  
 dulged; in which blood flowed in such ceaseless tor-  
 rents, and anguish embittered such a multitude of  
 hearts. Yet, even in those disastrous times, the be-  
 nevolent laws of nature were incessantly acting;  
 this anguish expiated the sins of former times; this  
 blood tamed the fierceness of present discord. In the  
 stern school of adversity wisdom was learned, and  
 error forgotten; speculation ceased to blind its vota-  
 ries, and ambition to mislead by the language of vir-  
 tue. Years of suffering conferred centuries of expe-  
 rience; the latest posterity will, it is to be hoped, in  
 that country at least, reap the fruits of the Reign of

Incessant  
 operation  
 of the laws  
 of Provi-  
 dence du-  
 ring all the  
 period.



Terror. Like all human things, the government of France may undergo changes in the lapse of time; different institutions may be required, and new dynasties called to the throne; but no bloody convulsion similar to that which once tore its bosom will again take place; the higher ranks will not a second time be massacred by the lower; another French Revolution of the same character as that which has been portrayed, and the age in which it occurs must be ignorant of the first.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1795.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

